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Sidonius

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The Complete Works of

SIDONIUS

(c.430-489 AD)



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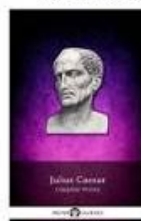
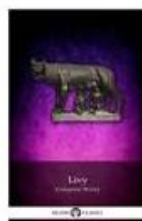
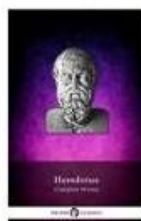
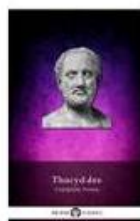


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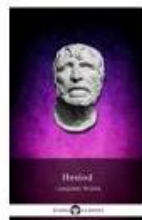
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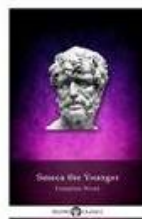
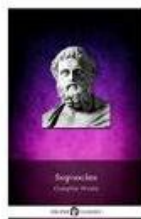
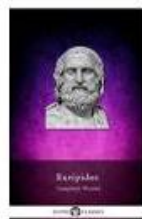
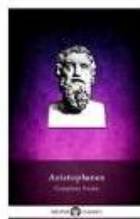
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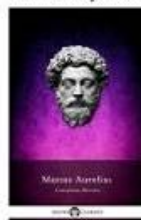
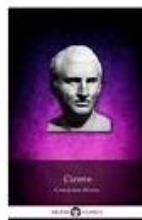
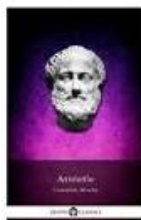
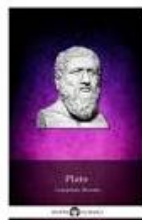
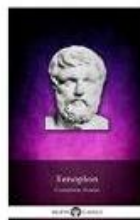
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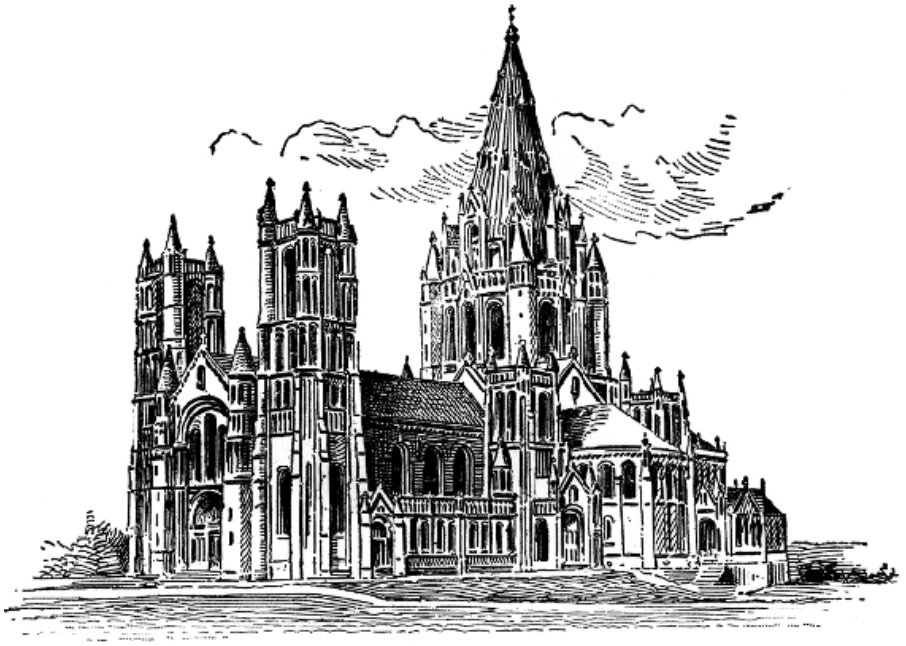
Philosophers



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The Complete Works of
SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS



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Complete Works of Sidonius Apollinaris

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The Translations



Lyon (ancient Lugdunum), a city in east-central France — Sidonius' birthplace. His father Apollinaris was the Prefect of Gaul under Valentinian III.



The Ancient Theatre of Fourvière, Lyon

POEMS



Translated by W. B. Anderson

The poet, diplomat and bishop, Gaius Sollius Modestus Apollinaris Sidonius, better known as Saint Sidonius Apollinaris (c. 430-489 AD), was born in Lugdunum (Lyon). There are only two extant works by Sidonius: his poetry and nine books of letters. The poems are written in the form of panegyrics, concerning different emperors (largely drawing upon the models of Statius, Ausonius and Claudian) and detailing several important political events. Of particular note is Carmen 7, which is a panegyric written to his father-in-law Avitus on his inauguration as emperor. Carmen 2 is a panegyric to the emperor Anthemius, revealing Sidonius' efforts to be appointed Urban Prefect of Rome. As well as three long panegyrics, there are shorter poems addressed to or concerned with friends, apparently written in Sidonius' youth.



Tremissis of Emperor Anthemius (c. 420-472), who was Western Roman Emperor from 467 to 472. He is regarded as one of the last capable Western Roman Emperors.

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A coin of Majorian (c. 420-461), who was the Western Roman Emperor from 457 to 461. A prominent general of the Late Roman army, Majorian deposed Emperor Avitus in 457 and was one of the last emperors to make a concerted effort to restore the Western Roman Empire.

I. PREFACE TO THE PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF THE EMPEROR ANTHEMIUS, CONSUL FOR THE SECOND TIME

WHEN nature established the young Jupiter above the stars and the new god was entering upon an ancient sovereignty, all the deities vied in paying worship to their deity, and uttered in diverse measures the same “bravo.” Mars with trumpet’s blare acclaimed his sire and with thunderous din praised the thunderbolts. The Arcadian and the Archer God sounded the clanging strings, the one more skilled to strike the zither, the other the lyre. Castalia’s maiden band gave forth their plaudits in varied strains with songs, reeds, thumb, voice and foot. But after the denizens of heaven, ’tis said, the god brooked even the inferior chants of demigods; then Dryads in union with Fauns, Mimallones with Satyrs, a rustic multitude, poured forth a sprightly song. The Pans that sound the hemlock-reed left high Maenalus, and after the lyre the hoarse pipe pleased Jove’s ears. Amid this throng Chiron, dancing to the sounding quill, moved his ungainly horse-limbs elegantly, and that beast-man earned a hearing and found grace even though he neighed in the midst of his singing.

So tongues rich and poor made an acceptable offering, and the greatest tribute in that day’s sacrifice was song. In like manner, O Caesar, chiefest hope of our time, I come after great lords and offer thee humble incense, boldly singing my lay in presence of the learned Victor, who is wont to speak either with the voice of Phoebus or with thine, and who, though he is quaestor in thine everlasting court, shall everlastingly be my master. So, my prince, let offering of diverse utterance pay worship to thee; for thou makest our hearts new temples for thy habitation.

II. PANEGYRIC

RAISE up, Augustus, thy second fasces, seconded by Fortune; gleaming with mass of gold upon thy robe do thou, an old consul, begin the new year, and deem it no disgrace to grace the roll of office twice with thy name. Although thou walkest with a diadem surmounting thy hair and thy shoulders are covered by a Tyrian mantle after the fashion of thy predecessors, yet may the bright purple of the consul's gown charm thee more; for repeated consulships have from all time been rare. And thou, Janus, to whom a laurel wreath is due every year, dispel thy lethargy, bind thy locks with any foliage; and be not affrighted by the sudden radiance of our prince, nor deem that the elements are in upheaval. Nature is making no change; this day's Sun also has come from the East.

This, my Lords, is the man for whom Rome's brave spirit and your love did yearn, the man to whom our commonwealth, like a ship overcome by tempests and without a pilot, hath committed her broken frame, to be more deftly guided by a worthy steersman, that she may no more fear storm or pirate. The country-dweller's prayer, the goodwill of the leagued peoples, the trumpet in the camp, the plaudits in the senate-house all called for thee; for thee have the tribes recorded their suffrages, and thy colleague hath consigned thee to us and the sovereignty to thee: all the votes that the whole world can muster are for thee. I confess we were all sore disquieted lest thine honest colleague should commit to thine own decision what all the people had decided. Will future generations believe it? — to ensure, O Prince, that this complete power over us should be thine, full power over thyself was denied thee. Augustus Leo, thou dost surpass the deeds of thy forerunners; for he who can command a man to reign towers above regal power. Now your government shall be more perfectly one, having thus become a government of two.

All hail to thee, pillar of sceptred power, Queen of the East, Rome of thy hemisphere, no longer to be worshipped by the eastern citizen alone, now that thou hast sent me a sovereign prince — O home of Empire, and more precious in that thou appearest before the world as Empire's mother! The land of the Thracians, whereon Rhodope and Haemus rest, is thine, a region fruitful of heroes. Here children are born into a world of ice, and their native snow hardens the soft limbs of infants even from the mother's womb. Scarce anyone is reared at the breast; rather is he dragged from the maternal bosom to suck from a horse through a wound; thus deserting milk the whole race drinks in courage. They have grown but a short time, and anon they play at battle with javelins; this sport is prompted by the wounds that suckled them. The boys, gifted hunters, clear the dens of their beasts; the young men, enriched with plunder, honour the laws of the sword; and when their old age has reached its fullness not to end it with steel is a disgrace. Thus do these

countrymen of Mars order their lives. But thou, surrounded by the sea, dost imbibe a tempered blend of Europe's and Asia's air, commingled from two sides; for the Thracian blasts of Aquilo are gradually softened by the breath of Eurus' trumpet, wafted from Calchis hard by. Meanwhile Susa trembles before thee, and the Persian of Achaemenes' race in suppliant guise inclines his crescent-tiara. The Indian, with hair steeped in fragrant balm, disarms for thy profit the throat of his land's wild denizens, that he may make payment of curved ivory; thus the elephant takes home ingloriously a mouth shorn of the tribute yielded to the Bosphorus. Thou dost spread out a great city of spacious walls, yet doth the multitude therein make its bounds too narrow; so the sea is invaded with massive masonry and new land cramps the old waters; for the dusty sand of Puteoli is brought thither and made solid by entering the water, and the hardened mass bears upon it imported plains amid an alien flood. Thus art thou ordered; on all sides thou beholdest harbours, and, walled in as thou art by the sea, thou art surrounded by all the blessings of earth. Right fortunate art thou in having shared Rome's triumphs, and now we regret it no longer; farewell to the division of the empire! The two sides of the balance are poised; by taking over our weights thou hast made all even.

A citizen from such a city, thou shinest also with the lustre of thy father Procopius, whose ancient lineage springs from imperial ancestors, a man whom no eloquence could worthily celebrate — not even if from Avernus that bard should arise who once with his song swayed rocks and with his tuneful fingers impelled the woods to hasten, all ears, to the sounding quill, while the waters of Hebrus stood still and, its flow held fast, the waves of the entranced river were strangely athirst for song.

To him once in his youth was committed the restoring of peace with Assyria. The Parthian was amazed that he had no power to withstand the aged wisdom of those youthful years. Every satrap that sat below the king faltered in terror, so strongly had the envoy's genius gripped them. The Median realms trembled, and Babylon, that had not closed her gates against the serpent-born foe, now at last thought herself too widely opened. Then when a treaty had been established between them on new terms, recited by Procopius to the Magi, they took oath by their gods, fire and water, and he called his divine ancestors to witness that the bargain should be upheld. An aged Chaldaean over a victim's entrails, in the manner of the pontiffs, muttered the mystic words, and the king himself, holding a jewelled bowl, stooped and poured out cups over the incenseburning altar. When the envoy returned, the eminence of a twofold honour welcomed him; Patrician now and Master of Horse and Foot, he was set in command of camps where he must needs hold the barriers of Taurus and force the roaming Ethiopians over the border by the terror of war and behold Orontes with calmed flood subservient to his will.

His wife's father was Anthemius, who, as prefect and likewise consul, ordered peoples by his judgments and the year by his name. Men of the purple are ever attended by Fortune with purple ready to bestow; the only change

that happens to them is that he who was consul becomes sovereign. But I pass over all the others: come thou to my lyre, thou whose hair frayed by the warrior's helmet came to wear the diadem, thou who hast laid aside the breastplate to receive the glowing purple of a Caesar, and whose hand hath been emptied of the sword to be filled with the sceptre. Thy cradle gleamed with tokens of imperial power, and the prophetic earth, altering her progeny, gave promise of a golden age. They tell how, at thy birth, honey appeared, making rivers flow tardily with sweetened waters, and oil ran through the amazed mills while the olive-berry still hung upon the bough. The plain brought forth without seed a waving crop and the vine-branch looked grudgingly on the grapes brought into being without her. Roses blushed red in winter and lilies scorning the cold mocked the surrounding frosts. When Lucina is bringing such a birth to fulfilment the order of the elements gives way and a changed world gives assurance of coming sovereignty. Thus does nature declare that blessed gods have arrived. Flames played lovingly round the childish locks of the staunch Iulus; Astyages, fated to be dethroned by his grandson Cyrus, shuddered to see the grape-clusters spreading from the vine that grew from the womb; the mother-wolf gave suck to the untroubled Quirinus; Julius came into the world whilst a laurel blazed; Alexander the Great and Augustus are deemed to have been conceived of a serpent god, and they claimed between them Phoebus and Jupiter as their progenitors; for one of them sought his sire near the Cinyphian Syrtes, the other rejoiced that from his mother's marks he was deemed the offspring of Phoebus, and he vaunted the imprints of the healing serpent of Epidaurus. Many have been encircled by eagles, and a quick-formed ring of cringing plumage has playfully figured the crown that was to come. But as for this prince of ours, illustrious Lords, right early might it be known that he was destined for the sceptre, when it came to pass that in his father's house a severed vine-branch brought forth shoots no longer its own. That was the spring-time of his sovereignty; in the guise of leafage happy omens burgeoned along that withered branch. But when the early years of infancy were past he would clamber over his father's armour, and gripping with his two forearms the neck pressed by the close-fitting metal he would loosen the helmet and find an entrance for his livid kisses. In boyhood it was his sport to handle eagerly arrows that had been seized from the foe, and on captive bows to force the resisting strings on to the curving horn, or to hurl with boyish arm the quivering javelin, or with a leap to throw upon the back of a chafing steed all his weight of steel chain-armour and heavy lance; or at other times to find and chase the wild beasts, to seek them in their leafy lurking-places and, when he espied them, sometimes to enclose them in a tight net, sometimes to pierce them with cast of spear. Then would he oft be cheered with great noise by his comrades, as with gnashing teeth the beast received the steel and the weapon entered and passed clean through the shoulders. Now hide thy Thessalian honours, scion of Aeacus, high-mettled boy and hunter — though, as thou didst bestride thy master's compliant back,

and so traverse the haunts of beasts in safety, it was rather thou that wert controlled by thy steed. Even Paeon Apollo did not aim his shafts better than our prince, as the god stood over Python and, sore distressed, with quiver wellnigh emptied, pierced those numerous coils with innumerable weapons.

And amid all these doings he busied himself no less in hearkening to the lore of ancient sages; how Thales, that son of Miletus, condemned all lawsuits, how Cleobulus of Lindus sings "Let moderation be our ideal," how Periander of Corinth practises everything, how Athenian Solon keeps his eye wisely fixed on life's end, how Bias of Priene deems the wicked to be the majority, how Pittacus, native of Lesbos, advises to mark well the opportune time, and how Chilon of Lacedaemon would have all men know themselves. Moreover, he learned new doctrines of divers schools — whatsoever in the Scythian land Anacharsis praised, all the gain that Sparta got with Lycurgus for her law-giver, all that the company of Cynics debates in the Erechthean gymnasium, copying the disciples of Epicurus; all that the two Academies loudly proclaim, affirming naught to be true; all the wisdom that Cleanthes has won with much biting of nails; the tears of Heraclitus, the laughter of Democritus, or the silence of Pythagoras; whatsoever teaching Plato's intellect, which dwelt in the citadel, sets forth in triple array; or again, the snares that Aristotle, dividing speech into its members, sets for us with his syllogistic reasoning; and also whatever has been bestowed by Anaximenes, Euclid, Archytas, Zeno, Arcesilas, Chrysippus and Anaxagoras, and by the soul of Socrates as it lives after his death in the *Phaedo*, a soul that recked naught of the huge fetters on his wasted leg, while death's self trembled before the prisoner and the executioner's hand was pale as it proffered the poison, though the master's heart was untroubled. Besides these he was wont to range through all that antiquity strove to inscribe on Latin pages: the battles and the ocean perils that Mantua paraded, copying the trumpet-tones of Smyrna's bard; whatever aid to speaking the consul of Arpinum affords, he who follows without ceasing that smith's son who set his father at naught, deeming more precious a tongue made keen by use of eloquence; or again whatever the volumes of the Paduan deliver for all time in those Euganean pages; the brevity that wins applause in Crispus, the weightiness of Varro, the wit of Plautus, the lightning of Quintilian, and the majesty of Tacitus, a name never to be uttered without praise.

By such studies was he moulded, from such lineage sprung, in such habits nurtured; and the prince to whom at that time the world from east to west was giving the sceptre, on whom an only daughter, now of age for wedlock, must needs bestow grandchildren that should wear the purple, chose this man for her husband. Yet he did not rest in slothful luxury, content with her father's glory, seeking a life of ease and owing nothing to himself; nay, receiving a count's authority he traversed the Danube bank and the whole length of the great frontier-lines, exhorting, arranging, examining, equipping. Even so had Pius under his father's sway ruled his father's camps; thus Marcus, too, while

Pius still lived; these two, destined later to be lawgivers, then commanded legions innumerable. When Anthemius returned, every office was bestowed upon him; he shone upon the world as Master of Both Services and as consul; to this was added the authority of Patrician; and thus with speedy step he ran through the highest dignities that a subject may reach; youth though he was, he mounted the curule throne of the elders, and sat, a young veteran, on the gold that belongs to the old campaigner.

And now thy father was numbered with the gods; but thou hadst no craving for empire; the diadem after a long rejection chose out an illustrious man, one whom thou couldst not slight when he in his turn chose thee. Fortune hath given thee this unique honour, that although the order of succession demanded thee, thou art looked on as a prince chosen, not as a prince by inheritance. Thou reignest after an Augustus who was thy wife's father, but the purple came not to thee by thy marriage; thy royal bride hath been rather the glory of thy royalty than its cause, for when the commonwealth chose thee to wield the reins of state it was for thy kingly soul, not for thy kin. My judgment errs if the four quarters of the earth do not approve the choice; the West seeks thee, the East sends thee, as ruler; thou fightest in the North and art feared in the South.

But I would fain touch on the triumphs that the Illyrian region beheld before thy colleague made thee his partner, when that land, deserted, as it chanced, through a Roman leader's fault, was bemoaning its devastation by the arms of Walamir. Even so was it in former days when Caepio's slaughter had given up Ausonia's best warriors to the enemy; the terrified commonwealth, compelled by that crashing blow, essayed to choose a leader; 'twas after the strangling of Jugurtha, and they set against the frenzied Cimbrian the batman from Arpinum who had avenged Calpurnius' treaty.

Thereupon the province, beholding thine eagles, ceased of a sudden to shudder at the dragons of the foe. Straightway crushed in war and reft of their spoil they in their turn were spoils for thee, lying prostrate at thy feet.

But such folk I pass by as mere raiders; rather do I now relate the exploits of a real war; which war no small band contrived, no Spartacus, bondsman destined for the gladiator's work, who had burst open his prison, but a roaming multitude from Scythian clime, teeming with savagery, frightful, ravening, violent, barbarous even in the eyes of the barbarian peoples around them, a race whose leader was Hormidac, a man of their own nation. Their land, their habits and their origin were after this manner.

Where the white Tanais, driven down through the valleys of the far north, falls from the Rhiphaean crags, in the region of the Bear, there dwells a race with menace in heart and limbs; for truly the very faces of their infants have a gruesomeness all their own. Their heads are great round masses rising to a narrow crown; in two hollows beneath the brow resides their sight, but the eyes are far to seek; the light, as it forces its way into the arched recesses in the skull, can scarce reach those retreating orbs — retreating, but not shut; for

from that vault of narrow space they enjoy a spacious vision, and pellucid pin-points in those sunken wells give all the service that an ampler light could bring. Moreover, the nostrils, while still soft, are blunted by an encircling band, to prevent the two passages from growing outward between the cheek-bones, that thus they may make room for the helmets; for those children are born for battles, and a mother's love disfigures them, because the area of the cheeks stretches and expands when the nose does not intervene. The rest of the men's bodies is comely; chest large and firm, fine shoulders, compact stomach beneath the flanks. On foot their stature is middling, but it towers aloft if you view them on horseback: thus are they often deemed long of frame when seated. Scarce has the infant learnt to stand without his mother's aid when a horse takes him on his back. You would think the limbs of man and beast were born together, so firmly does the rider always stick to the horse, just as if he were fastened to his place: any other folk is carried on horseback, this folk lives there. Shapely bows and arrows are their delight, sure and terrible are their hands; firm is their confidence that their missiles will bring death, and their frenzy is trained to do wrongful deeds with blows that never go wrong. This people had burst forth in a sudden invasion; they had come, crossing with wheels the solid Danube, marking the moistureless waters with ruts. Straight against them didst thou go, as they roamed through the Dacian fields; thou didst attack and vanquish and hem them in; and soon as Serdica beheld thee with thine encampment laid out, thou didst straitly besiege them. The town marvelled at thee as thou didst tarry thus for long within the rampart, because thy soldiers went not forth into the fields in regular or stealthy raids. Though oft they lacked corn and always wine, they lacked not discipline; hence though the foe was nigh they feared their general more. So at length it came to pass that he who chanced to be thine ally then but straightway played thee false gained nothing when he retreated before the foe at the first onset; for when he had begun to flee, turning aside and laying bare the wings, thou didst stand thy ground, a host in thyself; 'to thee did those warriors rally whom their captains flight had scattered, back to thee came the cavalry as thou didst toil and sweat, fighting on foot; and following thy standards the soldiers felt that they were not deserted in the fray.

Go to now, ancient generation of our fathers! Proclaim, if ye will, the praises of old Tullus, for that he lied in a noble exhortation and concealed the collapse of the treaty with the deserter Mettus! There is nothing like that here; thou, Anthemius, wouldst not choose to have even thine enemy misled. 'Those old-time soldiers conquered in the belief that they would be aided; but these conquered in the knowledge that they were deserted. The captain flees; thou dost pursue; he renews the fray; thou conquerest; he shuts himself in; thou dost storm his entrenchment; he slips away; thou dost overwhelm him, and dost demand his life as the price of peace with the Sarmatians. Thy will is done, and straightway the deserter has suffered the death decreed and has fallen — thy victim, though slain by a foreign sword. Come now, Antiquity!

Enter the contest once more, if it please thee!

When the surrender of the bold Hannibal was claimed by those that would punish him, though in that last hour he had not power to live, yet had he power to determine his death; and so, when the dark dungeon awaited him, and the iron hook, and the lictor appointed to break the prisoner's neck, he swallowed the poison, a stauncher man than his Bithynian host: but the man that deserted thee was cut off by a death that had been commanded, and it was a judge's rather than a victor's lips that sealed his doom.

Now grant thy presence, Paean Apollo, whose hook-beaked gryphons the well-schooled curb doth constrain with its bond of laurel, whensoever thou wieldest thy leafy reins and guidest their winged shoulders with double-hued ivy! Hither direct thy lyre! It is not now the time to sing of Python's destruction or to hymn the twice seven wounds of the Niobids — victims whose dooms are preserved to thine honour in song, so that their deaths live in deathless poesy. Ye Muses, likewise, reveal in brief words by what divine power Anthemius came to us with a covenant made by the two realms; an empire's peace hath sent him to conduct our wars.

By nature's law Severus had been added to the ranks of the gods. Oenotria, when from the crags of towering Apennine she beheld this calamity, hied her to the glassy abode of blue Tiber. She had not encased her cheeks in a helmet (and she wore no hauberk fashioned with stitched rings of tight-driven hooks), but bared was her head. Instead of hair there overran her forehead a vine-branch with clustered grapes, binding fast her many towns, and along her shapely shoulders and radiant arms jewelled brooches gripped her flowing robe. The slowness of old age was in her gait, and she held as a staff an elm covered with vine-foliage, and guided her venerable limbs thereby. Yet Abundance attended her; wherever she drew nigh, with her coming she spread fruitfulness over her path, and Vintage, accompanying her steps, joyfully made the juice rise wherever her feet trod.

So she entered the cave of Tiber's stream. There sat the running river. On his green hair drifted a like-hued clump of tall reeds. The water sounded as it fell from his chin, though a beard of shaggy bristles underneath did much to dull the roar. From his breast he threw out streams, and falling more rapidly the flood now furious furrowed his soaking stomach. As the goddess drew nigh fear seized him; his hands relaxed, and the urn and the oar fell from them. He was devising words of excuse when she broke in: "I come that through thee, if it please thee, I may sway by my tears Rome, now bereft of our ruler. I would have her turn to the region of Dawn; let her put her disdain aside and by granting this one thing deserve even greater love. Teach her what strength she must enlist, and tell her in what world she must crave a head for her own stricken world. Whenever Fortune hath chosen a man born in my clime, she hath instantly broken the wheels of his empire. On this side the Vandal foe presses hard; and every year he wars with multitudinous navy to destroy us; the natural order hath been reversed, and now parched Byrsa

launches against me the frenzy of the Caucasus. Yea more, unconquerable Ricimer, to whom the destiny of our nation looks for safety, doth barely drive back with his own unaided force the pirate that ranges over our lands, that ever avoids battles and plays a conqueror's part by flight. Who could brook an enemy that refuses both concord and combat? For never does he make a treaty with Ricimer. Hear now why he hates our leader with such exceeding hate. His father is unknown, yet he prates ever of him, since 'tis well known his mother was a slave-woman. So now, to make himself out a king's son, he proclaims his mother's shame. He is jealous also because two kingdoms call Ricimer to kingly power, Suevian as he is on the father's side, Gothic on the mother's. He likewise remembers this, that Wallia, grandsire of Ricimer, laid low on Spanish soil the Vandal squadrons and the Alans, their comrades in the war, and their corpses covered Calpe in the far west. But why tell of ancient routs, of the losses of bygone generations? Nay, he calls to mind the havoc of Agrigentum's plain. Madly he rages because his adversary has amply proved himself the grandchild of that hero at sight of whom the Vandal did ever turn in flight. No whit more glorious didst thou, Marcellus, return from Sicilian lands, thou through whom our arms did beset the homes of Syracuse by land and sea; or thou, Metellus, whose fortune it was to outdo the triumph of Curius, when thou didst display to us a throng of elephants, and the dusky herd screened the white chariot-steeds with their mighty bulk, and the triumphal parade hid the winner of the triumph. If the Norican is restraining the Ostrogoth, it is that Ricimer is feared; if Gaul ties down the armed might of the Rhine, it is he that inspires the dread; and because the Vandal foe plundered me while the Alan, his kinsman, swept off what remained, this man took vengeance by the force of his own arms. But he is only one man; alone he cannot remove these perils, but only delay their day; we need now an armed prince who in the manner of our sires shall not order wars but wage them, one before whom land and sea shall quake when he advances his standards, so that at last with power regained the Roman war-trump may direct Rome's dormant navies."

Father Tiber heard and heeded. To the city he went and straightway with his own eyes beheld the goddess, and bowed in humble adoration, so that his horns touched her breast and her uncovered bosom.

Then he delivered his message of entreaty, and the goddess, compliant, made ready for the journey. stern was her look as she bound up her flowing hair; then she shut in her towers and hid them under a helmet; laurel formed her fillet. Her belt, rough with shield-studs taken from enemies, made fast a sword, which rose high on her left side. Her conquering arm was thrust into a shield, whose orb was filled with the twin sons of Mars, with the wolf and Tiber and Love and Mars and Ilia. A clasp fixes with gripping tooth the raiment that retreats back from her breast. Her threatening spear flashes, and an oak bowed down with trophies sways and tires the goddess under its welcome burden. The covering of her sole is of one piece, but this strip is not

carried beyond the tips of the toes; the great toe sends two strings upward from its encircled socket in opposite directions, so that they bind the sandal tight and, with the side-loops drawn together, weave a curving mesh of ties up the leg. In this guise, then, she was wafted through the clear bright air, seeking the warm rising-place of the nascent sun.

There is a region by Ocean's shore, nigh to the distant Indians, under the eastern sky, stretching towards the Nabataean wind. Perpetual spring is there, the ground is not made pale by any invading seasons of cold; the fields bedizened with ever-blooming flowers know not the frosts of strange lands. The countryside is fragrant with roses, and throughout those unowned and undivided fields a sweet aroma breathes. The plains ever bring forth violets, clover, thyme, privet, lilies, narcissus, casia, culcas, marigold, costum, malobathrum, myrrh, balm, frankincense. Yea, when old age knocks at his door, the phoenix that dwells hard by seeks from hence the cinnamon that brings a new life. Here the home of Aurora, overlaid with plates of flashing gold, displays withal smooth pearls on its broken surface. On all sides are things to capture the gaze, and, thanks to their masterly artistry, whatsoever meets the eye seems to surpass the rest. But all that beauty is dimmed in the presence of its mistress, who with her blushing radiance destroys the diverse fires of the gems, because she has fires of her own. Her combed hair poured forth saffron hues; her arm was bent as the comb sank in and arranged the yellow tresses on her temples. Her eyes poured forth rays; fiery their hue, but the heat of fire was not there, although when night is shaken off the dews received from it are wont to have a semblance of sweat. Her bosom was girdled by a double band, and even the fold in her robe mocked the smallness of her breasts. The lower part of the dress extended its crimson folds down to her rosy knees.

Thus she sits, a queen on her throne, but instead of sceptre the shaft of a lamp fills her right hand. Night stands near the goddess, with her feet already turning to flee, and behind the dais Light scarce perceived is beginning to reveal the topmost peak. When from hence the goddess saw Rome drawing nigh through the cloudless air, she sprang up in haste and was the first to speak, thus beginning with kindly words: "O head of the world, why dost thou revisit my kingdom? What are thy commands?" The other was silent for a brief space, then thus began, mingling harsh and gentle phrase: "I come (cease to be thus perturbed, and be not grievously alarmed), not that Araxes, mastered by me, may have to flow beneath a bridge forced upon it, nor that in the ancient manner the Indian Ganges may be drunk from an Italian helmet, nor that a consul, ranging through the fields of tiger-haunted Niphates, home of archers, may triumphantly despoil Artaxata by the Caspian Sea. I do not now beg for the realm of Porus, nor that these arms may thrust a battering-ram to shatter Erythrae on the bank of the Hydaspes. I am not hurling myself against Bactra, nor are the gates of Semiramis' town laughing to hear our trumpets starting the fight. I crave not the palaces of Persian kings, nor is

word being passed in camp of mine to march on Ctesiphon. All this region we have yielded up to thee. Do I not even thus deserve that thou protect mine old age? All that lies between Euphrates and Tigris thou hast long possessed alone; yet that possession was bought by me with the blood of Crassus; at Carrhae I paid down the price; nor did I remain unavenged nor lose the land thus bought; if my word is not good, Sapor hath proved it, slain by Ventidius. Nor is this enough. I gave up the Armenias and Pontus — by what martial might assailed, let Sulla tell thee; perchance one man's word is not enough, then ask Lucullus. I keep silence now about all the Cyclades — but Crete, which my Metellus won, is thrall to thee. I made over to thee the Cilicians, yet Magnus had routed them long ago. To Syria I added the Isaurians, whom thou governest now, yet these likewise Servilius subdued beneath our arms. I yielded up to thee Aetolia's ancient race and the lands where Achelous flows; with ill-starred trustfulness I handed over to thee the bequest of Attalus. Thou dost hold Epirus, though thou knowest who won the title to it from Pyrrhus. I see thee extending thy rule to Illyricum and the land of the Macedonians, and yet descendants of Paulus still live. I gave thee the corn of Egypt, though Agrippa had conquered the land for me long since in the strait of Leucas. Judea is held beneath thy sway, as if it were thou that hadst sent there the glorious Titus and his sire. To thee is the revenue of Cyprus brought, while I in poverty belaud my warlike Catos. The Dorian land and Achaia's fields tremble before thee, and thou stretchest thy prosperous sovereignty to where Corinth lies between the two seas: pray tell me this — what Byzantine Mummius did this work for thee?

“But if haply it please thee to lay old grievances to rest, grant me Anthemius. In these lands let Leo be emperor, and long may he reign! But let my laws be in the hands of him whom I have asked of thee; and let the star of her deified father rejoice that Euphemia his daughter is robed in the purple of her ancestors! Add also a private compact to our public one: let a parent who is Emperor be blessed by having his daughter wedded to Ricimer. Both shine with the lustre of high rank; in her ye have a royal lady, in him I have a man of royal blood. If thou dost willingly agree to this, thou shalt permit me to hope for Libya anon. Survey the nuptials of olden time, and no union such as this event can offer itself to thy view. Here let Greece bring forward, unless she be ashamed, those marriages of her ancients which were won by peril. Let Pisa bring back her four-horse chariot and revive Oenomaus, who fell by a daughter's guile, when the waxen linch-pins betrayed him, unloosing the axles; let the maid of Colchis come forward, who was brought to her husband's knowledge by her crime before he knew her as a woman; let Atalanta gaze on her pale suitors from the starting-place in the circus and no longer gather the apples of the comely Hippomenes for their gold alone; let Achelous, with the oil of the wrestling-school upon him, glorify the nuptials of Deianira, and, clasped tightly by the panting Hercules, refresh his wearied adversary with spiteful spate: recall as I may the marriages of the olden time,

this man excels all the god-descended heroes, she the heroines. Valour hath this union in her charge; she demands it for thee, Ricimer, and thus the laurel of Mars bestows on thee the myrtle of Venus. Come then, deliver to me this man who neither cherishes lazy ease nor is numbed by indulgence, but who even now is harassed by the heaving deep, by the bay of Abydos and the shore of Sestos with the tempests of the Hellespont roaring all around. Not so firmly, methinks, was this narrow sea held even by him who burst through Athos and with his Median oarsmen made his swelling sails rush through wooded mountains; nor was this strait so hemmed by Lucullus' ships when before famed Cyzicus idly lingered that enemy who when hunger pressed him devoured the bodies of his kin and thus lived by the death of his own. But why do I delay the fulfilment of my prayer? Rather deliver him now to me!"

Then answered Tithonus' spouse in these few words: "Come, take him, reverend mother, although I have great need of a mighty and unconquerable leader, — provided that thou wilt now show thyself more kindly, and so we may better wield the reins in joint control. For if haply it please thee to remember the toils of olden days, I was before thee — to mention but this — in sending Memnon hence to fight for the native land of your lulus."

They had finished, and Concord united the two sides, for Rome at length gained the emperor of her choice. And now, Antiquity, thou who art ever jealous of the greatest men and greatest benefactors, prate if thou wilt of choices made by thee with like eagerness and affection! Bring Camillus forth from his exile to confront the arms of Brennus; give Cincinnatus the fasces once more after banishing Caeso, invite the weeping parent from the rake to the rostra, and in miserable discord drive men out, only to seek their help in thine hour of defeat! Should the Carthaginian have burst the Alps asunder, have recourse to men that have been broken and condemned; if the insatiate Metaurus is to be reddened by the defeat of Barca's son, let a consul thou hast fined do the work for thee, and as he routs Hasdrubal's thousands, let him who has fashioned a bloody sword for his use himself show an unkempt head. Far different is the graciousness of our choice; he has never been wronged, but knows that he is loved.

But now too strong are the breezes that drive my sails before them. Check, O Muse, my humble measures, and as I seek the harbour let the anchor of my song settle at last in a calm resting-place. Yet of the fleet and forces that thou, O prince, art handling and of the great deeds thou doest in little time I, if God further my prayers, shall tell in order due in the second consulship of thy daughter's husband, or in thy third; but now a festival doth call us, and thy presence at the Ulpian Forum is demanded by those citizens-to-be on whom thou wilt bestow liberty, whose cheeks receive their buffets with joy. Forward, then, Father of thy country, blest of fortune, and with happy omen release old captives, to bind new ones anon.

III. TO HIS LITTLE BOOK

What made the cornfields joyous, what season is dear to harvest-crops and flocks, to vines and bees, was once declared in a poem addressed to Maecenas; thereafter, Maro, thou didst dare to sing of “arms and the man.” But to me Petrus shall be the Maecenas of this time; for I glide over the sea of fame under his guiding star. If he approves my poems he lets them go forth, if he condemns them, he suppresses them, but he never censures me with the snorting snout of a rhinoceros. Go, then, my book; for believe me, he sustains my bashfulness; with him for censor it is a pleasure even to have displeased.

IV. PREFACE TO THE PANEGYRIC PRONOUNCED IN HONOUR OF THE LORD EMPEROR, IULIUS VALERIUS MAIORIANUS, CAESAR AUGUSTUS

That Tityrus of old under the canopy of a spreading beech might pour forth his warblings breathed into the reed, Caesar vouchsafed him in his hour of distress the right to live and possess his land, and the wrath of majesty endured not against an humble offender. But the rustic Muse, praising thus a bounteous prince for a farm restored, gave in return for that earthly boon a place in heaven; nor was such repayment with the gifts of Phoebus too poor a recompense, for whereas the one man had made the poet a master of lands, the poet made him a god. To Flaccus likewise, when he had followed the campaigns of Brutus and Cassius, he who was the source of his pardon was also the source of his song. So it is with me; laid prostrate not long since in the ranks of thy foe, I was bidden by thee, my conqueror, to keep an unconquered spirit. So let the tongue of a poet thus preserved yield its service to thee, and let my praises be the recompense for my life. I will not now fix a malignant tooth in Maro or carp at the citizen of the Sabine country. My work must needs be less than theirs in talent, but it is greater in its Caesar. Let them surpass me in the power of utterance, so long as I surpass them in my lord and master.

V. PANEGYRIC

Picture to your minds, O Roman people, all your past triumphs; now a consul holds the imperial power, one whom the hauberk clothes no less than the purple, whose brow is wreathed with the diadem not through vain parade but through lawful power, and to whom as reward of his toils doth come the palm-decked robe after the victor's palm. Now the fasces crown all the splendours of sovereignty, and the prince is magnified in the consul. Therefore jubilant Europe shouts a "bravo" for thee, echoing through sky and countryside and cities and waters, since-thou who wert a conqueror art now greeted as ruler. I confess it, the world trembled with alarm while thou wert loth that thy victories should benefit thee, and with overmuch modesty wert grieved that thou didst deserve the throne, and so with a woful refusal wouldst not undertake to rule that which thou hadst deemed worth defending.

Rome, the warrior-goddess, had taken her seat. Her breast was uncovered, on her plumed head was a crown of towers, and behind her, escaping from under her spacious helmet, her hair flowed over her back. She has a sternness ready to rebuke exultation, her modest mien but makes her more terrible, and her valour is loth to see her beauty triumph. Purple-hued is her robe, which a clasp pierces with the bite of its twisted tooth; that part of her mantle which her breast throws off is gathered up by a jewel under her ample bosom. Here a glowing shield of vast circumference supports her left side. Thereon can be seen, cast in thick metal, the cave of Rhea, and the mother-wolf, whose very caresses were fearsome with those open jaws — yet even in her pictured guise she is afraid to devour the sons of Mars. The near side figures Tiber, outstretched under a porous rock of scaly tuff and breathing forth his humid slumber through his grey-green throat. His breast is covered with a robe which his wife Ilia had spun, and she, close to that dripping couch, would fain stop the plashing and guard the sleep of her watery mate. Such are the pictures that sparkle on the shield. Her spear, set on an ivory shaft, towered up, drunk with the slaughter of men. Near by Bellona was building up a trophy and making an oak tree bend with the weight of captured spoils. The lofty throne was fashioned of the stones that are quarried and lowered from the ruddy Aethiopian mount, where the sun is nigh and thus a natural purple has tinged the seared crags, Here Synnadian, there Numidian marble, that counterfeits old ivory, was added; after these the grass-hued marble from Laconian scaur interposed a row of radiant green.

So when she had seated her on the throne in the midst, all lands flocked to her at once. The provinces display their several fruits; the Indian brings ivory, the Chaldaean nard, the Assyrian jewels, the Chinaman silk, the Sabaeen frankincense; Attica brings honey, Phoenicia palms, Sparta oil, Arcadia horses, Epirus mares, Gaul flocks and herds, the Chalybian arms, the Libyan corn, the Campanian wine, the Lydian gold, the Arab amber, Panchaia myrrh,

Pontus castory, Tyre purple, and Corinth bronzes; Sardinia offers silver, Spain ships and the thunder-stone — for there the flashing levin-bolt stains the rocks, and the fertilising wrath of the gods impregnates the heated flint: whensoever in that clime the sky stirs itself to fury, the earth there waxes stronger.

Of a sudden Africa flung herself down weeping, with her swarthy cheeks all torn. Bowing her forehead she broke the corn-ears that crowned her, ears whose fruitfulness was now her bane; and thus she began: “I come, a third part of the world, unfortunate because one man is fortunate. This man, son of a slave-woman, hath long been a robber; he hath blotted out our rightful lords, and for many a day hath wielded his barbarian sceptre in my land, and having driven our nobility utterly away this stranger loves nothing that is not mad. O slumbering energy of Latium! He makes scornful boast that thy walls yielded to his cunning. Wilt thou not then brandish the spear? Dost thou not grieve for me, even though thou too hast been captured? In sooth it is believed that thy fortunes are exalted by ills and that a fall makes thee rise all the higher; but now thy case is better, for the menace hath departed from thee; now victory awaits thee if thou but fight as thou art wont to fight after defeats. Once Porsenna, forcing Tarquin the Proud upon thee, filled Jani-culum with Tuscan soldiery; but as he made ready by siege to break through thy gates, he met in the one shield of Codes the whole of thee. Myriads bore hard upon that lone man while the passage across hung doubtful; and when the bridge was broken he fell, yet did not fall. The selfsame king at last took warning from his scribes death and learned that he was being warred against not only when war was raging; thereupon he sought peace and returned to his kingdom, driven back less by a man’s blow than by his burning. For Scaevola had stood with heart cool as ice and doomed his right hand to the fire near by (happier he in that his hand struck in error), while the retainer grew pale as he saw the offender’s courage, and the torturer fled from the prisoner’s tortures. Thou didst quake before Brennus, though later thou wast more than his match. It had come to such a pass that all the possessions and all the name thou now enjoyest were bound up in the Tarpeian mount alone; but then also one man drove back a whole host, when the cackling goose announced the Senones and thy destiny kept watch without warriors. Me also (forgive me that I warred with thee aforetime) thou didst crush after the Trebia and Cannae, yet my Hannibal viewed Rome’s roofs ere Scipio saw ours. What is my fault? I am compelled by some fate to stir up wars against thee, when I will it and when I will it not. It is a frightened foe that frights thee now, but he is guarded by the enclosing sea, as a shaggy boar lies low on the edge of the wild and, thus shut in, sharpens the white weapons wherewith his black jaws are loaded: around him barks a great pack of hounds, hoping he may choose to give them battle in the open plain, but he amid his barrier of briers swells with insolence, poor in dash but strong in situation, till the huntsman coming near shouts from the hill ‘Have at him’; then the master’s well-known voice revives the jaded fury

of the dogs to a blind frenzy that scorns to feel wounds. Why dost thou delay the fight? Why dost thou fear the sea, when even heaven is wont so oft to battle for thy victories? And hast thou not now a peerless prince, whom the prophetic ages proclaim as destined for Libya's destruction, and who shall be the third to get an added name from me? To thy toil, Majorian, fate owes this guerdon. And the reason why I desire, if thou shouldst so bid, that he embark with his fleet and sail into my harbours and enter my city — this I will briefly declare in due order.

“Tis recorded that, where stands in all its might the martial city of Acincus in Pannonia, his grandfather ruled the land of Illyricum together with the Danube-regions: for Theodosius, when he took the name of Augustus at Sirmium, before setting forth to the eastern parts of the realm, had a Majorian as his Master of Both Services. The exploits of this leader have been inscribed in Rome's public annals whensoever his troops were launched against the Scythian landsmen and marched over the Hypanis, and even the camp-followers mocked at frozen Peuce, bidding welcome to the frosts. This leader's daughter was married to our prince's father, a renowned man who was content to the end with a single high office in the imperial service, that he might follow one single friend and cling to him in times of jeopardy. Not once but oft the court strove with offers of the consulship to steal him from his Aëtius, but he stood firm, a greater man than those who received these dignities; and a loyalty which no price could tempt came to be held more precious. He was what of old the quaestor was to the consuls; he controlled the public funds by right of his office; and such moderation did he maintain that rumour declared he was thus early saving the future possessions of his son.

“But as it chanced, the wife of the leader, already jealous, had perceived that the youth's renown was thus waxing greater, and, filled with spleen, she had nursed the hidden venom in her barbarian heart. So now she searches the sky, casting up numbers and exhausting the astrologer's lore; she questions ghosts, explores the thunderbolts, and gazes at entrails, rejoicing to wrest God's secret purpose from every source. Even thus grimly had stood the Colchian woman on the stern of the Grecian ship in the presence of her terrified husband, ready to throw Absyrtus in pieces at his father and commit a horror worse than her brother's murder, as she used a corpse for battle and made missiles of her own kin: so too when, herself burning with a fiercer warmth, she quenched the fire of the bulls, and chilled was the flame that enwrapped her trembling lover, who, they say, through the protection of a magic drug, felt cold amid the blazing cattle.

“So after long chafing, when she heard that the sovereignty was ordained even from of old for that youth, she tore her arms and entered thus where her lord's couch stood, and broke forth into these frenzied cries: ‘Heedless thou liest there, sluggard, oblivious of thine own, and Majorian (for so the ages claim) is to be the world's chief; the stars proclaim this by signs and mankind

by their prayers. Why do I search for stars baneful to him for whom love has created another destiny? No power is stronger than love. And the youth is never covetous, but is moderate in his getting; though his wealth as yet is slender, he is already lavish with his means. Great plans he urges and follows. All his thoughts aspire high, and he pushes forward whatever his hopes conceive. Were I to recount his sport — one single day of his wipes out all that thou art reputed to have performed as bowman: three arrows laid trembling before him a snake, a stag and a boar. Not so surely was the shaft launched against the foe by him who, when his son was encircled by a serpent's body, felt a new dread in the act of succouring, as he dispensed both life and destruction with the same shot, keeping a steady hand with a quaking heart, and as hope drew closer his fear found relief in the full exercise of his skill, dealing death to one amid the entangled bodies of two. Or suppose he chooses to try the issue in boxing — Sicilian Eryx has now yielded up his glory, nor did Sparta bloom with such prowess when on the sand of Bebrycia the prostrate Amycus looked up at the boxer greasy with the oil of the Laconian gymnasium. And what power of foot is his! In vain does the son of Opheltus claim the palm won in Sicily: nor did the swift Arcadian so lift his proud feet as he sped over thirsty Nemea, he whose mother, as she flitted over the Aetolian dust, dismayed Hippomenes, contemptuously sent far ahead along the course, when that fleet man-like maid dashed forth from the mouth of the starting-pen before the breathless throng, never to plant her whole foot anywhere, while he with blanched cheeks looked back and saw the intervening space behind him grow ever less, and scanned the long distance to the goal; and now he felt her breath close upon him and he was running, sore distressed, upon his adversary's shadow, till at the turning-point he bade fair to be left behind; then he arrested those flying steps by thrice throwing her an apple. Whoso sees him on horseback scorns the child of Leda and Sthenoboea's loved one, whom ancient story dowers with a winged mount, telling also that he overcame the Lycian Chimaera, destroying three lives with one stroke. Had fate granted it to thee to live then, gallant Majorian, thou wouldst have taken from Castor, Pollux, and Alcon their title to mastery of the bridle, the boxing-glove and the arrow, and thou wouldst have made a mockery of Bellerophon's proud spoils. Should he take up his shield, he surpasses the offspring of Telamon, who among the Greek ships defended against Hector's fires even the fleet of the treacherous Ulysses. If you ask with what force he hurls the javelin — more feebly did Metabus fling his dart when alarmed for the bundle that held Camilla; with a less powerful swing did the ashen shaft of Peleus's son pass whirring through the body of Troilus; not with such strength did the man of Athens, son of Aegeus, crush with Marathonian oak Creon, who was hindering the burial of the heroes; nor was the thunderbolt sent hurtling so violently against the Greeks by the maiden avenger of Phoebus' wronged votary, when Greece suffered a night such as Troy's with like flaring of brands, and the son of Oileus, pinned on the cliffs

of Caphereus, vomited flame amid the waters.

“But these are trifles I speak of. There is more: whenever thou wagest war, he is near thee as a learner, not as a soldier, and while he professes himself thy pupil he looks on thee with a rival’s eye. He hates the thought that thou hast conquered, and them that thou conquerest he loves. Compared with him, Alexander the Great, to whom his father’s glory was torture, is an arrant sluggard. Unhappy me! What shall I do? What realm shall I win for my son, debarred as I am from a Gothic sceptre, if Rome ignores me and, to crown all, our little Gauden-tius is trodden underfoot by this youth’s destiny? Already Gaul and all Europe sound his praises. He bathes in the icy waters of Rhine, Arar, Rhone, Mosa, Matrona, Sequana, Ledus, Clitis, Elaris, Atax, Vacalis; the Liger he cleaves with an axe and drinks piece by piece. When he defended the Turoni, who feared the conflict, thou wast not there; but a little later ye fought together where Cloio the Frank had overrun the helpless lands of the Atrebatas. There was a narrow passage at the junction of two ways, and a road crossed both the village of Helena, which was within bowshot, and the river, where that long but narrow path was supported by girders. Thou wert posted at the cross-roads, while Majorian warred as a mounted man close to the bridge itself. As chance would have it, the echoing sound of a barbarian marriage-song rang forth from a hill near the river-bank, for amid Scythian dance and chorus a yellowhaired bridegroom was wedding a young bride of like colour. Well, these revellers, they say, he laid low. Time after time his helmet rang with blows, and his hauberk with its protecting scales kept off the thrust of spears, until the enemy was forced to turn and flee. Then might be seen the jumbled adornments of the barbarian nuptials gleaming red in the waggons, and captured salvers and viands flung together pell-mell, and servants crowned with perfumed garlands carrying wine-bowls on their oily top-knots. Straightway the spirit of Mars waxes fiercer and the nuptial torches are snapped asunder by the more fiery goddess of war; the victor snatches their chariots and carries off the bride in the hour of her bridal. Not so fiercely did Bacchus, Semele’s son, embroil Pholoe’s monsters and the Thracian Lapithae, when his revels inflamed the Thracian women, stirring up both love and war, and they used for the struggle first of all the bloody meats of the feast, and whirling the wine about deemed their cups weapons; while, as the affray grew fiercer, the blood of Centaurs defiled Emathian Othrys. And truly the quarrel of the cloud-born brothers deserves no more renown; for this youth likewise subdues monsters, on the crown of whose red pates lies the hair that has been drawn towards the front, while the neck, exposed by the loss of its covering, shows bright. Their eyes are faint and pale, with a glimmer of greyish blue. Their faces are shaven all round, and instead of beards they have thin moustaches which they run through with a comb. Close-fitting garments confine the tall limbs of the men; they are drawn up high so as to expose the knees, and a broad belt supports their narrow middle. It is their sport to send axes hurtling through the vast void and know beforehand where the blow will

fall, to whirl their shields, to outstrip with leaps and bounds the spears they have hurled and reach the enemy first. Even in boyhood's years the love of fighting is full-grown. Should they chance to be sore pressed by numbers or by the luck of the ground, death may overwhelm them, but not fear; unconquerable they stand their ground, and their courage well-nigh outlives their lives. Such men did he put to flight with thee to witness and to praise. Who could endure it? All thine exploits he shares, many more he performs without thee. All men fight for their emperor; I fear, alas! he now fights for himself. If he should win the sovereignty, then all the conquests thou makest are victories for him. Here the fates leave no middle course; if thou refuse to be his assassin, thou wilt be his slave. Certain is this: if the Chaldaean goes not astray in his star-gazing, if the Colchian has knowledge of herbs, the Tuscan of lightning, if the Thessalian tempts forth the ghosts of the dead, if the Lycian oracle hath discernment, if the birds can tell our destiny by their flight, if Hammon nigh to the Syrtes wails forth a hallowed rede with prescient bleatings, yes, if Phoebus, Themis, Dodona chant forth the truth, then when our day is over this man shall be Julius Augustus. Moreover, there is linked with him in bonds of affection one who is armed with the great spirit of a royal grandfather. Whither canst thou turn? To the worlds topmost pinnacle he directs his fate and both direct their thoughts. Arise and assail them at the same time unawares. Neither of them wilt thou be able to slay if thou shouldst order that both die; nay, rather weave crafty flatteries for the one, and let this man be attacked with the sword. But why do I speak vain words. 'Tis for naught that we seek to avert these fateful events. He will surely live that he may reign.'

"Aëtius, stirred to wrath, thus briefly answered: 'Curb the impious longings of thy frenzied spirit! Can I order the death of a man who is innocent, not to say our friend? Can anyone urge that where no crime is charged it be made a crime to be wellborn? Who can summon the fates to judgment? I will assail thy body with the sword, Majorian, — yes, if the sun shines by night and the moon by day, if the two Arcadian constellations have their wains refreshed in the sea, if Tanais looks on Atlas and Bagra on the Caucasus, if the boat compacted of timbers from the Hercynian forest cleaves the eastern Hydaspes instead of the Rhine, if the Spaniard drinks of the Ganges and the Indian comes from warm Erythrae to the Spanish Ebro to draw water, if Castor steeps himself in his brother's blood, if the hand of Pirithous laid Theseus low, or the hand of Orestes, frenzied as it was, struck Pylades down when the filial matricide was snatching the holy image from the Tauric shrine. Nevertheless, I would fain not be deemed to have slighted thy distress; so he shall live, indeed, but he shall be taken from his soldiering for a brief space. Alas! But for thy gloomy thoughts he might have owed his rise to me!

"So spake he, and ordered the fighter to exchange his wonted toil for his native fields; but fate's revolving wheel was here at work, to the end that he might learn what is in store for the possessor of land and likewise what

conduct the civil law creates, and so he might bring to the throne more than a soldier's skill. Straightway he had hung up his armour, this veteran young in years, and was making the leanness of a barren land fruitful with the plough. Even so in old times thou wert wont, O Rome, to upturn thy fields by the work of a stooping consul, when peace had intervened for a little and thou hadst relaxed thy campaigning; and his stout left hand would control the plough after he had ruled the legions, while near the lowly hearth a peasant-conqueror's palm-decked robe drank in the smoke.

"Meanwhile Aëtius had fulfilled his melancholy fate by the sword of the emperor; who, that he might with more safety win over the great hosts of his victim to join the Palatine bands, called on Majorian with prayers to come to him. But punishment for the blood that he had shed was not long in coming (so 'twas a mere mob he had rallied round him, not the hearts of the people); the sword's crime he expiated by the sword, and so he fell, O Rome, bringing thee lower than he himself was brought. Yet even then the kindly fates with their golden distaff were evolving the reign of our present chief; but the calamities of the people shrank from bringing enmity on such a man. All who had been chosen to bear the name of Augustus had held a throne left for them by the Caesars; but he, when thou wert captured and in sore trouble, created that which he now holds. Nerva called Trajan to power when his son was already a conqueror; in official title he was styled Germanicus, but his deeds had made him so already. The one thing leads to the other: whoever begins thus aims at the same glory. In olden days after Tiberius in Capri, after Gaius' base assumption of divinity, after the censorship of Claudius, after Nero with his lyre and his lechery, after the parade of that horrible mirror in which Otho, foul because he was fair, was wont to behold himself, after Vitellius' five millions of money condemned to the bottomless pit of his scandalous belly, Vespasian had been chosen emperor with the same titles won by the same toil as Trajan's and Majorian's.

"But lest haply thou think that I am securely hemmed in by the valour of the Robber, know that in him the vileness of his vices has sapped the vigour of his race. His Scythian savagery is governed not by his strength but by his desires; spoils immense he has won, but already by his profligacy he has lost all that made him strong when he was poor. Now he arms mine own flesh against me for his own ends, and after all these years of captivity I am being cruelly torn under his authority by the prowess of mine own; fertile in afflictions I bring forth sons to bring me suffering. Naught doth he perform with his own arms; Gaetulians, Numidians, Garamantians, Autololi, Arzuges, Marmaridae, Psylli, Nasamones — it is these that make him feared, but he is sunk in indolence and, thanks to untold gold, no longer knows aught of steel. His cheeks are bloodless; a drunkard's heaviness afflicts him, pallid flabbiness possesses him, and his stomach, loaded with continual gluttony, cannot rid itself of the sour wind. His followers live like him: — Hannibal of Barca's race was not so utterly undone in affluent Capua's land, when Baiæ enfeebled

amid all its allurements bodies that were strong for war, and the Massylian took to swimming and flourished his swarthy arms about where Gaurus stoops down to the Lucrine waters. So do thou, I pray thee, give me but this one lord after these many ages to be my avenger, that so Carthage may cease to war against Italy.”

So speaking, she groaned in her distress, and the starting tears gave support to her prayers. Rome answered: “Curb thy long plaint, my faithful one; Majorian shall be thine avenger commissioned by heaven. But a few things in few words I will recall. Ever since Theodosius restored a joint authority to his patron’s exiled brother, whose neck was broken by a hand destined to be turned against itself, my land of Gaul hath even till now been ignored by the lords of the world, and hath languished in slavery unheeded. Since that time much hath been destroyed, for with the emperor, whoe’er he might be, closely confined, it has been the constant lot of the distant parts of a wretched world to be laid waste. What manner of life could satisfy when the ruler required a controlling hand? For many a year the nobility have lain prostrate and-despised, and enmity has been the state’s reward for the valiant. Now our prince is amending all this, and he advances to your wars by way of other wars, adding fresh forces from divers peoples; for ’tis the going, not the fighting, that is hardest. But why do we waste time in words? He comes, he conquers.” With such speech the assembly was ended, and the fateful sisters harmoniously spun golden threads, whose metal humbly obeyed the words of the goddess.

These afflictions of Rome and Africa that I have sung the yearnings of mankind did teach me to proclaim; now it is time to advance to deeds which must needs be told, even were Apollo dumb. Thy Mars shall take the Muses’ place. The savage Alaman had scaled the Alps, and, led down by way of the Rhaetian ridge over its long silences, had emerged, plundering the Roman land; he had sent nine hundred foemen to scour for booty the plains named long ago after Canius. By this time thou wert Master of the Forces ; and thou didst send thither Burco with a band of followers, small indeed, but that suffices when *thou* bidst them fight; ’tis certain victory for our troops when they go under thine orders; Fortune brings about a triumph not through their numbers but through their love for thee. I crave no armies in a field to which thou sendest but a few men! — The happy issue of that campaign is due to thee, for thou didst fight with the authority of a Master, but with the destiny of an Emperor. Lately, when the throne had been bestowed on thee in due order by all orders — commons, senate, army, and thy colleague too — ! a savage foe was roaming at his ease over the unguarded sea. Under southerly breezes he invaded the Campanian soil and with his Moorish soldiery attacked the husbandmen when they dreamed not of danger; the fleshy Vandal sat on the thwarts waiting for the spoil, which he had bidden his captives to capture and bring thither. But of a sudden thy bands had thrown themselves between the two enemy hosts into the plains which sunder the sea from the hills and

fashion a harbour where the river makes a backward curve. First the multitude of plunderers flees in terror towards the mountains, and so, cut off from the ships they had left, they become the prey of their prey; then the pirates are aroused and mass their whole forces for the battle. Some land their well-trained steeds in hollow skiffs, some don the meshed mail of like hue to themselves, some get ready their shapely bows and the arrows made to carry poison on the iron point and to wound doubly with a single shot. Now the brodered dragon speeds hither and thither in both armies, his throat swelling as the zephyrs dash against it; that pictured form with wide-open jaw counterfeits a wrathful hunger, and the breeze puts a frenzy into the cloth as often as the lithe back is thickened by the blasts and the air is now too abundant for the belly to hold. Now the trumpet's deep note sounds with terrific blast; a responsive shout greets the clarions, and even the puny spirit of cowards suddenly bursts into frenzy. From everywhere a shower of steel comes down, but from our side it comes down on the throats of the foe; a hurtling javelin lays one man in the dust, scarce to exhaust its force with a second victim; another man is sent spinning by the thrust of a pike; one gashed by a harpoon, another by a lance, falls headlong from his horse; yet another, flung down by a flying shaft, lies there, the prey of a hand beyond his ken; some of them, with the thigh-sinews severed, live on to envy death; again, a warrior sweeps off part of a foeman's brain and part of his helmet together, cleaving the hapless skull with two-edged sword wielded by a strong arm. Soon as the Vandal began to turn and flee, carnage took the place of battle; all were laid low promiscuously throughout the plain, and even the coward did the most doughty deeds. In their panic flight the horsemen plunged pallid into the water and passed beyond the ships, then swam back in disgrace to their boats from the open sea. Like to this in olden days was the third fight of Pyrrhus: when Dentatus had slain thousands and pressed him sore, he scarce dragged some fragments of his shattered fleet to Epirus — he who had spread over thy shores bands of Chaonians and Molossians, Thracians and Macedonians, he at whose might Oenotria grew pale and luxurious Tarentum, that invited him, was herself dismayed. With the foe driven out there was freedom to survey the plain, which now stood up high. Here in that slaughtered pile could be discerned the spirit of each host: no man of thine but had been stricken in the breast, none of the foe who was not stabbed in the back. This truth is loudly proclaimed by the wounds of him who chanced on that day to be commander of the robbers, a man whom it is said the daughter of the greedy king had wedded; enveloped by the blindly flying dust and crushed under a mass of pikes he still carried the infamous marks of a shameful flight. Thus thy battalions hold the field with all its spoils and reap the reward of their prowess.

Meanwhile thou buildest on the two shores-fleets for the Upper and the Lower Sea. Down into the water falls every forest of the Apennines; for many a long day there is hewing on both slopes of those mountains so rich in ships'

timber, mountains that send down to the sea as great an abundance of wood as of waters. Gaul, though wearied by unceasing tribute, is now eager to gain approval by a new levy for this end, and feels not a burden wherein she beholds a benefit. The elder son of Atreus did not cover the Carpathian Sea with so many ships when the Dorian foe, bent on seizing the wealth of Sigeum, beleaguered Rhoeteian Pergamum; not so vast was the fleet that Xerxes had when he sought to link Sestos with Abydos and paved the swelling waters, setting a bridge over the breakers, and with haughty step burst in upon the outraged flood, and his multitudinous squadrons pranced over the Hellespontine deep. Not so fully did the Mareotic fleet in Leucas' harbour hide the waters of Actium, when a multitude that was a woman's dower came from Egyptian Canopus to fight her husband's battles, and proud Cleopatra, with her country's sistrum girded upon her and her yellow boats loaded with pitch-black warriors, weighted the wide sea with the treasure of the Ptolemies. Thou dost not fight in this array, but rather as our forerunners did, with wealth of steel, whereto the wealthy coward's gold submits. Yet scorn not such troublers of the peace, for these splendours, though they grace not the ranks of battle, grace the pageantry of a triumph. And truly I shall never grieve to have mentioned the house of Lagos as prototype of thy foe; for I forecast a like fate for these two kingdoms, since on their side the luxuriousness is equal, and on our side is a Caesar as good as there was then.

Straightway thou dost attempt what no emperor in our time has availed to do: thou dost carry off to war the frozen army of the seven-mouthed Danube. All the multitude that the sluggish quarter of the earth doth produce in the Sithonian region beneath the Arcadian bear fears thy standards; Bastarnian, Suebian, Pannonian, Neuran, Hun, Getan, Dacian, Alan, Bellonotan, Rugian, Burgundian, Visigoth, Alites, Bisalta, Ostrogoth, Procrustian, Sarmatian, Moschan have ranged themselves behind thine eagles; in thy service are the whole Caucasus and the drinker of the Don's Scythian waters. What shall such a hero's fortune accomplish? Every band wherewith he now threatens others has at some time caused Rome to tremble; but now under thy sovereignty she counts it almost a small thing to be free from fear, unless she also sees humbly at her service that which she feared when another reigned.

Now thou wert moving thy camp, and around thee thronged thousands under divers standards. Only one race denied thee obedience, a race who had lately, in a mood even more savage than their wont, withdrawn their untamed host from the Danube because they had lost their lords in warfare, and Tuldila stirred in that unruly multitude a mad lust of fighting for which they must needs pay dear. Hereupon, having scarce laid down thine arms, thou takest them up again; as when the Thracian women fill the frosty land of the Ciconians with Theban troops of revellers, and on the fields by the Strymon or over the slopes of Rhodope, or where cloudy Hismarus rolls Hebrus down amid the Hyperborean rocks to the sea, the roaming band give themselves up to sleep, and straightway the rout falls into wearied repose, and no longer does

the breath awake a resounding note in the double pipe; but scarce has rest begun, when... an inspired Bass arid once more whirls the thyrsus, and, bristling in her dappled garb of Erythraean fawn-skin, rouses the Odrysian votaries to beat the languid tabors. Yet thou didst put off the punishment of this offence; but in sparing thou didst cause greater bloodshed; for a band of thy men, more careful of thy weal, could bear this crime no longer, and for thy sake spurned thy mildness, and the rebels fell one and all, victims offered at the war's beginning. Thou didst divide the spoil among those whose hearts had been true; and these hearts, that trembled when they aided in the punishment, were cheered by their reward. Caesar, bound for the field of Pharsalia, stayed a mutinous outburst with the sword; yet as he thus cut off his own limbs, driven thereto by the compelling need of his cause, he wept for those he destroyed. But this rising was a benefit to thine arms; henceforth whatever thine orders might be, if a barbarian hearkened not he fell, that the soldiers might fear.

And now in winter thou didst thyself lead the way over the marble slopes of the Alps, over crags that rise to meet the sky, over rocks like glass and dry rain resting amid threatening scaurs; and with a lance thrust out before thee thou didst steady thy slipping feet. Half-way up the mountain the main part of thy force felt a chilling frost encrusting their very hearts, for confined in narrow paths on a hill-slope they could not clamber up the frozen face, but ever rolled back; then it came to pass that one of the column, a man whose wheels had in their time scoured the whitened Danube, exclaimed: "I would rather have a sword-thrust and that common coldness that comes from a quiet death: numbness ties my limbs with cramping stiffness, and my body is seared and consumed by the burning cold. We follow a young general that persists in toil without ceasing; but even the bravest, whether king or people, is now enclosed in camp or fort or lies down under tents of skin in sunny places, while we pervert the uses of the year. What he orders will be a law to all creation. He is never turned from his enterprises, and he thinks his character is lost if even his losses make him fear the violence of the season. Of what race must I pronounce him born, with whom I, a Scythian, cannot cope? What tigress gave suck to him in infancy under some Hyrcanian height? What land more severe than mine own clime reared him? Lo! on the very summit he musters his chilled squadrons, and laughs at the cold, for he alone has in his soul a warmth that is stronger. When I followed the standards of a northern king I heard that the emperor's arms and the house of the Caesars were sunk in unending luxury. It is no gain to me that my former lords are gone if, after all, there is here too a valiant king." He was ready to utter more violent words when thou, speaking from the crest, didst stir him with bitter taunts: "Whosoe'er thou art that fearest the slippery rise that confronts thee, break the skin of the hanging water, then dig into the flow and make the pool thy stepping-stone. Have done with thy base complaints; idleness is the cause of cold. Did nature give *me* the limbs of doublebodied Hylaeus? Did Pegasus

help me with wings over the ground I tread? Do I fly with plumage bestowed by Calais and Zethus — I, whom thou seest already trampling the snow-clad brow of this ridge? Art *thou* overcome by the cold, by the Alps? Then 'tis time I sought to compensate thee for the frosts; I will give thee a summer near the Syrtes." Thus dost thou brace thy troops with thy words and cheer them by thine example, ever the first to essay whatever tasks thou dost order; and the others willingly obey when the lawgiver makes himself the servant of his own laws.

And what a staff thou hadst, and what a Master of the Forces! He it was who pushed on the line of men behind thee — right willing men, 'tis true. To him, of all men, Sulla might well have given precedence in fighting, Fabius in talent, Metellus in filial loyalty, Appius in eloquence, Fulvius in energy, Camillus in skill. And if it should be asked how great is the man who wields the Prefect's office where Gaul extends her wide lands — he is a man scarce equalled in goodness by him to whom, with the senate as witness, Trajan entrusted a drawn sword to be used even against himself. Under thy judge he who now gives laws to the Goths — he, our skin-clad foe — doth respect the hoarse-voiced usher of the court. Why tell here of him who controls the Sacred Bureau, who, while he guides the reins of a civil office, supports also the cares of a man-at-arms; with whom as spokesman a wild race is won over to your terms? But why, my rash Muse, dost thou essay with thy puny strength to praise Petrus? Through his lips Caesar deigns to speak all over the world, although he hath also a tower of strength in his eloquent quaestor; nay, this man lately, O most gracious Emperor, took hostages and thrust off from the walls of our city the sword that had been driven into our hapless flesh. And since thou hast come hither as the only hope for our exhausted fortunes, we pray and beseech thee, save our ruins, and, as thou passest on, let thine eye survey thy Lugdunum in thine hour of victory; broken, she asks thee for rest after toils too great to bear. Give fresh heart to her to whom thou givest peace. When the steer's neck is wearied he will afterwards furrow the solid clods all the better if the plough is laid aside for a time. The town is drained of her oxen, her provender, her farmers, her citizens. In her days of strength her fortune was unnoticed, but in the hour of her capture, alas, how great it was! When joy has come, my Emperor, 'tis pleasant to remember the evil days. Prostrated though we are by devastation and by fire, thou by thy coming dost restore all things; and since we were the cause of thy triumph, our very fall is pleasing. When thou shalt step into the victor's chariot and after the manner of our forefathers the mural, castrensian and civic crowns shall entwine thy sacred hair, and the golden Capitol shall behold kings in chains; when thou shalt clothe Rome with spoils and shalt depict in costly wax the captured huts of some African Bocchus, then I myself will walk before thee amid the obstructing throngs and the clamour of hoarse shouts, and in my puny strain, as now, I will tell how thou hast subdued two Alpine ranges, the Syrtes, the Great Sea, the narrower waters, and the Libyan hordes; but first I will tell how

thou didst conquer for my benefit. I am fain to leap for joy that thou dost turn thine eyes and already regardest the unfortunate with brightened countenance. I remember well, when thou wert minded to be merciful, such was ever thy — look; a benign graciousness gives the sign. Grant my prayer: so may Byrsa draw breath again through thy victories; so may the Parthian flee in good earnest and the Moor go his way white with fear; so may Susa tremble and the Bactrians lay aside their quivers and stand disarmed around thy tribunal!

VI. PREFACE TO THE PANEGYRIC ADDRESSED TO THE EMPEROR AVITUS

While the Thracian lyre in the hands of the Ismarian bard celebrated in ringing song the glorious birth of Pallas with her clashing arms; while rivers that stood and earth that ran were thronging close in Mopsopian Marathon, and the quill twanged out its sweet notes on the strings, the goddess, 'tis said, commended with her praise these praises: "Hail, divine one, whom a birth full-armed sent forth from the opened head at the time of the giant-war, whom Latona bore not in the depths of the Delian cave, fain to fix the wandering Cyclad for her offspring's sake; no, nor she who in bringing forth Alcides in the land of Cadmus delayed her travail for three nights, nor she whose tower was steeped in the rain of metal, when the gold-begotten son began to cumber his mother; but while Phlegra beheld the Thunderer alarmed, the crown of his head burst open and thou wert shot forth from its summit; and as brute force and naught else was impelling the gods to battle, their might without thee had been sorely confounded; but after thy father's head had brought thee forth, O goddess of Wisdom, then the gods, with thee to aid, were victorious as ne'er before. Thanks to thee that great pile gave way which was built by those dread hands and at last well-nigh pierced the flaming firmament. Pindus, Othrys, and Pholoe fell from the grasp of the giants; down at last fell ponderous Ossa from Rhoetus' hand; Aegeon was laid low, and Briareus and Ephialtes and Mimas, who were wont to lick the northern Wain with their feet. Enceladus fell by thy father's hand, Typhoeus by thy brother's; and now the one supports an Euboean mountain, the other a Sicilian."

Then Orpheus changed his theme, making his mother the whole burden of his song, and teaching the strings to hymn Calliope. The Muses rose in homage at this praise of their sister, and the goddess was gladdened even more by a son's devotion than by his song. But if it is well pleasing tossing a *mother's* praises, and if I lack the power to match the ancient lyre, yet in Avitus, to whom I have vowed my song, we have here *the father* of his people, and though my muse be weaker, my theme is greater.

VII. PANEGYRIC

O Sun-god, now at last in the circle of thy wanderings thou canst see one that thou art able to brook as thine equal; so give thy rays to heaven, for he is sufficient to lighten the earth. Nor need the Zodiac, that is grazed by the head of Marmaric Atlas, make boast of its constellations; for this man also hath his stars, and as stars sink only to shine forth once more, so doth Rome's light flash forth out of her calamities; since from her very beginning it hath been her fixed destiny to grow greater by misfortunes. Now she begins to rise once more with an emperor for consul. Surely, O Senators, it delights you to see the fasces of two dignities combined and to think that ye have assigned a curule chair to bear the sceptre company! Believe me, ye shall yet give more — a triumphal chariot! Now bind, O two-headed Janus, the locks of thy twin brows, encircling them with a double wreath of laurel. Last year was illustrious as the emperor's, this year is glorious as the consul's; and the diadem that has served us so well is enhanced by the state robes of a magistrate. Now, O Muse, idle is the fear thou dost feel because the breeze hath driven out to sea the sails of my bark; as I have begun to speed over the ocean of fame — behold the star that is to protect me throughout the blue expanse!

It chanced that the father of the gods looked forth from heaven upon the earth. Lo! whatever he beholds is quickened; to view the world is to renew it; his mere nod revives all things. Thereupon, to bid the gods assemble, the winged god of Tegea speeds his flight now with his feet, now with his brow. Scarce has he descended the whole length of his grandfather and touched the fields when sea, earth, and air send their native divinities. First comes the Thunderer's own brother, who, accustomed as he is to cleave the sea with his green chariot, now quickly spreads calm over the amazed surface. Phorcus comes with the dripping nymphs, Glaucus too, green as his name; Proteus also, surest of seers, was there in sure presence. After them comes a long array of divine beings; Liber, lord of the vine, fierce Mars, the shaggy hero of Tiryns, naked Venus, fruitful Ceres, Diana with her quiver, staid Juno, Avise Pallas, tower-crowned Cybele, Saturn the exile, fair young Phoebus, pavid Pan, the uncouth Fauns, the wanton Satyrs. There also assembled those that inhabit heaven by virtue of their prowess — Castor by the steed, Pollux by the boxing-glove, Perseus by the scimitar, Vulcan by the thunderbolt, Tiphys by the ship, Quirinus by his people. Who could sing here below of heaven's great hall, whose floor the flaming stars themselves compose?

Now the great Father serenely sat him down on his golden throne; then the chiefest gods took their seats (and even to the rivers, such of them as are aged, the right to be seated in that place has been given, — Eridanus, mightiest in his torrent, the swelling Rhine, that the yellow-haired Sygambrian breaks to fill his cups, Danube, crossed on horseback by Scythia's nomad hordes, and

Nile, known all the better for his unknown source). Lo! afar, from a lofty tract of sky, came Rome, dragging her slow steps along, with neck bent and head bowed; her hair hung limply down, covered not with a helmet but with dust; at each feeble step her shield knocked against her, and in her spear there was no terror, but only heaviness. Flinging herself at the feet of gracious Jove she cried: "O holy Father, I call thee to witness — thee and that divinity of other days, all that I, Rome, have been: wholly overwhelmed by my exalted fortune, I envy the very outcast; a narrow house has not a spacious roof to support, and the lowly vales are not harassed by the lightning. What, pray, did the Tuscan seer foretell for me from the twelve vultures? Why is it that when but beginning to build walls for my infant people I was already raised on high by omens of greatness, when Romulus in his poverty dug foundations for me on the ridge of the Tuscan hill? Through my sword I knew greater safety than now, when in a massed hurricane Rutulian, Veientine, Aequian, Hernican, and Volscian bore down upon me. Mighty enough I seemed even to thee when the woman stabbed with the knife her sullied body, and her ravished honour returned with that chaste wound. Tarquin with his Etruscan ally shut me within my new-built rampart. Alas for the fire that Mucius, the water that Horatius braved! Woe is me! Where is there here a Gurgus — the man who brought the Samnite under my sway? Where the Marcius who cut down the flying Volscian, or he who routed the Senones, a dictator and an exile? Would that I had Fabricius as he lived, the Decii as they died, victory such as his or defeat like theirs: give me back my beginnings! Alas! Where now are those pageants, those triumphs rich of a consul poor? My spears affrighted Libya's clime, and I laid the yoke even a third time upon the faithless Carthaginian. Ganges of the Indian, Phasis of the Colchian, Araxes of Armenia, Ger of the Ethiopians, Tanais of the Getae, all trembled before my Tiber. I bethink me too of the Cimbrian and the leagued Teuton shattered of old, when I ordered hands till then loaded with the sword to carry naught but chains. Alas for what I was when at my bidding Sulla, Asiaticus, Curius, Paulus, Pompeius demanded of Tigranes, Antiochus, Pyrrhus, Perseus, and Mithridates peace and realms, banishment, tribute, chains, and poison! I say naught of the Sauromatians or of the Moschans or of the Getae, whose wont it is to drink bloody milk and stain their cups with severed veins; or of the Persians, most to be shunned when they shun the foe. Nor is it enough to speak of the land alone, for with thee to guide me I have entered many a sea and nations far away under the setting sun. Caesar took his victorious legions over even to the Caledonian Britons, and although he routed the Scot, the Pict and the Saxon, he still looked for foes where nature forbade him to look any more for men. Leucas saw the fierce Augustus shatter Egypt, when the warriors of the fleet shook the waters of Actium and the tippler Antonius by the rout of his arms ousted the unclean daughter of the house of Ptolemy from her ancestral kingdom. And I, who complained aforetime that the world's limits were too narrow, am now not even a boundary to myself. O chiefest of the gods, I

seemed to thee more powerful than is meet, inasmuch as the Parthian Sapor freely restored my standards and, laying aside his royal tiara, wept for the deaths of the Crassi as he made atonement therefor. And hence now, woe is me! I have fallen upon the fate I feared, after wresting their rights from senate and people; I am merged in the Emperor, wholly the Emperor's property, and through Caesar I who was once a queen am becoming a mangled realm. Tiberius with his Capri and Gaius with his soldier's boots were followed by Claudius with his censorship and Nero, who in death played the man; Galba, to whom the stern Piso gave a claim to reverence, was laid low by Otho, who, while he sought by his mirror to seem beautiful, made me ugly. Then Vitellius, with his loathsome gluttony, thrust his paunch upon me, and though he reigned but a short time he perished all too late. Thus sore wearied was I when Vespasian, famed man of war, possessed me, and after him Titus, after Titus his brother; and after him the tranquil Nerva scarce began to make me myself again, — Nerva, who made himself greater by the Caesar he adopted. Then came Trajan, by whose doing Agrippina became a terror to the Sygambrians, an emperor gallant, faithful, righteous and vigorous. In my captivity I pray for such another. I know not if anyone can match Trajan — unless perchance Gaul should once more send forth a man who should even surpass him." Tears choked the suppliant's voice, and her grief served for what remained of her petition. On all sides the chiefs of heaven rise in her honour, Mars, Venus, Romulus and the gods that made Rome great; even Saturn's daughter is moved to greater gentleness and forgoes her ancient wrath.

Then answered Jupiter:— "Fate, whereby all things — yea, I myself — are governed, might not be violated. Whatever has reached its highest bourne must needs be afflicted, and Fortune hath grudged to aid a power that hath been exalted by *my* bounty. But broken though thou art, be of right good cheer. If Porsenna feared thee more than ever when he raged indignant at the severing of the bridge, if the walls that Brennus captured soon saw his flight, if, last of all, we drove back Hannibal with a wild outburst from earth and sky alike (his camp already stood nigh to thy walls when in front of the Colline tower a thunderbolt rushed down, and Nature feared that there once again, as in Phlegra's combat, Jove was fighting in terror), raise thy drooping eyes, let the dark mist be wiped away and vanish from thy soul. 'Tis a marvel that thou shouldst be conquered, but when thou beginnest to conquer, 'twill be no marvel. And now, that it may be plain to thee how thou mayest rise again, worn out as thou art, hearken and I will declare it in few words.

"I have a land which carries its head high as sprung from Latin blood, a land famed for its men, a land to which Nature, the blessed creator of all things, vouchsafed no peer in days gone by.

From the city extend rich and fruitful fields; scarce are they cloven with the early ploughing when they thirst for the tardy seeds, and while the ox enjoys luxurious ease they display clods made black by some fatness mysteriously at

work. To this soil the tilth of Nile and Libya, baked by the scorching south wind, hath yielded pride of place, and Gargarus, compared with such land, hath always been condemned by Phrygian sickles as withered; the Apulian and the Calabrian have likewise owned defeat. O Arvernian, who dwellest therein, sole hope for the world, thou yieldest to none when thou fightest on foot, and on thy steed thou art a match for any man! Let Fortune, Caesar's attendant goddess, be my witness, who was sore dismayed in this land when his warriors were forced back from Gergovia's hill and scarce halted their flight at their very camp. I ordained that these men should be thus gallant, but all the time I was making ready, O Rome, to present to thee Avitus, whose natal tree, rich in noble branches, hath long shone illustrious, whose forefathers have time after time been adorned with the palmdecked robe, and whose race, as Philagrius bears witness, is irradiated by a Patrician's dignity. But how small a part of his meed of praise is such praise of his forefathers, who manifestly owe their curule rank and prefectures to their descendant! There may be others of whom the later scions of their race will make boast; another may recount the ancient honours of his line; but thou alone, Avitus, dost ennoble thy forefathers. Fain am I to relate the deeds of this great man and in few words to run through his earliest years.

"His noble mother had been released from her chaste travail; anon I gave plain tokens of the emperor that was to be, and filled with happy augury the whole palace of the anxious father. He, 'tis true, murmured at his son's high destiny, already seeing his boy a sovereign; nevertheless, discerning in this great pledge the whole world's trust committed to his keeping, he seconded fortune's bounty by his own diligence, lest thou, O Rome, shouldst suffer loss. First he surrendered the suckling's limbs to the snows; he compelled him while a little child to break the ice with his feet and to laugh at the frost as he trod it down. His growing mind was moulded by the Muses and by the Cicero that bestows on thee tones of thunder; he learned also the deeds of thy leaders of former days; he learned of battles and read in the written page what he should perform in the field. Scarce had he changed infancy for boyhood when, seeing a she-wolf ravening with bloody jaws agape as with hungry mouth she sought food, chiefly for her cubs, he snatched a stone (for there were pieces of rock hard by) and laid her low. Shattered by the boulder her head split open, and the stone sank down in the wound. Even so my Hercules, as he roamed the glens of Nemea, faced the monster empty-handed, carrying neither club nor quiver; in raging wrath he took his stand, and with the enemy nigh that brave spirit, taken unawares, looked for aid to naught but his own strong arms.

"Small things, yet worthy to be told are these: — Who was quicker than he to lower to the scent the taut necks of the leashed Molossians, to learn by the guidance of their nostrils that wild beasts he could not see were lurking in the den, and to seek for tracks in the air? Again, if haply the irrepressible Umbrian hound frightened a boar by his barking, it was sport to this lad to smash the white crescents under the monster's black throat and with straining

arm to drive a huge spear through the confronting quarry. What a beautiful sight when, returning home from the chase, he would appear all the more resplendent for the boar's bristling hideousness, and his gallantry in its own despite baulked his shrinking modesty by this evidence of brave deeds! Thus in the Pandionian fields of chaste Tritonis was Hippolytus wont to diffuse a sunny radiance from his glowing countenance — though it was then that the Cretan woman, fired by a double frenzy, overpassed a mother's love and a stepmother's guile.

“What of his devotion to the birds that nature creates to prey upon the common throng of creatures almost their kin? Who more skilfully trains them to clash in divers contests amid the clouds? With a bird he vanquishes birds; with a swift whirring through the upper air the warrior claw fights for none more gallantly than for him.

“And amid these sports he followed the law none the less, and, young though he was, he was chosen first and alone to bind up the wounds of his shattered homeland and to make claim for the abolishment of a hideous tax. It chanced that Constantius was chief lord in those parts — he who anon was emperor; and he granted all that was asked, marvelling at such great talent and astonished at such full-grown virtue in those boyish years, at such elderly speech on the lips of the suppliant youth.

“And now, O Rome, I would fain relate the battles wherein he commanded and the compacts he made with kings. Thy land of Gaul, buffeted by divers tempests of war, was bidden to give to the Gothic king sureties of peace, and among them, a noble hostage, went Theodorus. Avitus, in loving duty to his kin, sought him out in the midst of the skin-clad monarch's court, and his loyalty won him safety. Theodoric soon looked with favour on this sublime devotion. Marvellous indeed is it and worthy to be recorded that by thy gentle winsomeness, Avitus, thou didst find grace with a fierce king. Little by little he began to know thee in his inmost soul, and he desired exceedingly to have thee as one of his own; but thou didst scorn to act the friend rather than the Roman. The king marvelled at this rebuff, but esteemed thee all the more for it. Even thus did Pyrrhus see Fabricius immovable, when that poor man with rich soul shunned the riches thrust upon him, despising the king in that he made his wealth play the suppliant and begged with paltry gold for a bond of friendship.

“Anon thou didst follow Aëtius, because he had learnt many a lesson from the Scythian warfare; and he, glorious in arms though he was, did no deed without thee, though thou didst many without him. For when he had finished with the Iuthungi and the war in Noricum, and had subdued the Vindelicians, thereafter in partnership with thee did he deliver the Belgians, whom the fierce Burgundian had harassed. There the Herulian found in thee his match in fleetness, the Hun in javelinthrowing, the Frank in swimming, the Sauromatian in use of shield, the Salian in marching, the Gelonian in wielding the scimitar; and in bearing of wounds thou didst surpass any mourning

barbarian to whom wailing means self-wounding and tearing the cheeks with steel and gouging the red traces of scars on his threatening face.

“Even thus early this hero was glorified by bestowal of the title of Illustrious. Wearing his scale-armour, his face still bearing the mark of the burnished helmet, scarce had he brought home his stained arms from the field when there came fresh wars and a battle this time under the very walls of his own city, stirred up by a faithless foe. Litorius, elated by the conquest of the Aremoricians, was hurrying his Scythian horsemen against the Gothic host through the land of the Arvernian, and they with raid and fire and sword and barbarity and pillage were destroying all things near them, betraying and making void the name of peace. A servant of Avitus was wounded by one of these, more savage than his fellows, soon to be wounded in turn; the victim fell, and falling commended his woeful fate to the vengeance of his absent master, and as he died he carried with him to the Stygian stream a hopeful foretaste of the revenge that was to come. Now Rumour brought knowledge of the dastard deed to our leader as he kept his ward of towers and gates, regardful of the scared populace. He starts, halts, grows pale, grows red, grows cold and hot; his anger in its changing phases takes many forms in that one countenance, and, as is oft the mourner’s way, he loves the lost one more than ever. At length he dashes forward, shouting again and again for his arms, and they bring him his corselet, still clotted with gore, his lance blunted by wounds dealt upon the barbarians, and his sword notched by unceasing slaughter. He cases his legs in greaves and puts upon his head a gleaming helmet, whereon a golden crest-base rises aloft, darting an angry flash from on high. Next he mounts his charger, and tearing the gates from their hinges rushes forth; Valour and Grief and Honour range themselves with their ally; eagerly he charges with his pike the armed ranks, seeking a fight by fighting, and amid the fear-stricken throng he makes the death of many pay for the absence of the one that lurks concealed. Even so did the scion of Aeacus, ranging with his spear in search of the Phrygian victor, hold back his mourning when his friend was slain, content to rush in a tide of death-dealing among Troy’s host (for in themselves he counted those hordes as naught), and to wield the drawn sword through multitudinous throngs; the ground was submerged and swam in blood, and as the falling ranks blunted his heavy weapon he saw already in every wound he dealt the absent Hector fall. When at last he who was the cause of that great havoc stood revealed, then said Avitus: ‘Ho! thou fellow reared ‘neath the Scythian Bear, who ragest like a madman and hast such boldness from slaying the unarmed, come, meet one who is armed! Already my wrath has allowed thee a great boon; I have granted thee a fight, and I bid thee stand thy ground; I choose to slaughter a resisting foe.’ Thus he spake, and bounded forth into the midst of the plain; and the barbarous foe likewise came. When first they approached, breast to breast and face to face, the one shook with anger, the other with fear. Now the general throng stands in sore suspense, with prayers on this side or on that,

and as blow follows blow they hang on the issue. But when the first bout, the second, the third have been fought, lo! the upraised spear comes and pierces the man of blood; his breast was transfixed and his corselet twice split, giving way even where it covered the back; and as the blood came throbbing through the two gaps the separate wounds took away the life that each of them might claim.

“After these valiant deeds (I call even thee, dark Styx, to witness) he was my prefect, administering the laws without corruption. Gaul when she received him as her head was worn out with the familiar devastation and pale with affright at the Gothic wrath. Aëtius was broken; naught could he do by prayer or bribe or with his soldiers; and when Litorius was captured the destitution of the land stood revealed. Theodoric was resolved to advance his own boundaries to the Rhone, and the Goths needed not to fight, but only to migrate. The fierce victor whetted his raging wrath; he counted it a sin against him that he had known the presence of the Scythian foe before his walls, and naught is more grievous than a frightened man if he ever chance to be victorious. When there was no support anywhere and no resource, O Rome, was left to thy leaders, Avitus renewed the treaty; the reading of his scroll subdued the king; Avitus had but to order that which the world begged for. Will future races and peoples ever believe this? — a Roman’s letter annulled a barbarian’s conquests. So he administered the laws; for this also was fitting, that at that time he should become the champion of the laws who will now be their maker, lest he who was to be given to the peoples as prince, head, emperor, Caesar, and Augustus should have no knowledge save of savage battles.

“Now he had discharged the prefect’s majestic office, and he had devoted himself to country life (though never with him was there idleness or unwarlike sloth, but even in those peaceful days arms were ever his study and his care) — when suddenly the barbarian world, rent by a mighty upheaval, poured the whole north into Gaul. After the warlike Rugian comes the fierce Gepid, with the Gelonian close by; the Burgundian urges on the Scirian; forward rush the Hun, the Bellonotian, the Neurian, the Bastarnian, the Thuringian, the Bructeran, and the Frank, he whose land is washed by the sedgy waters of Nicer. Straightway falls the Hercynian forest, hewn to make boats, and overlays the Rhine with a network of its timber; and now Attila with his fearsome squadrons has spread himself in raids upon the plains of the Belgian. Aëtius had scarce left the Alps, leading a thin, meagre force of auxiliaries without legionaries, vainly with ill-starred confidence expecting that the Gothic host would join his camp. But tidings came that struck the leader with dismay; in their own land were the Goths awaiting the Huns, a foe they now almost despised. Perplexed, he turned over every plan, and his mind was beset with surging cares. At length in his wavering heart was formed the fixed resolve to make appeal to a man of high estate; and before an assemblage of all the nobles he thus began to plead: ‘Avitus, saviour of the world, to whom

it is no new glory to be besought by Aëtius, thou didst wish it, and the enemy no longer does harm; thou wishest it, and he does good. All those thousands thou dost keep within bounds by thy nod; thine influence alone is a barrier-wall to the Gothic peoples; ever hostile to us, they grant peace to thee. Go, display the victorious eagles; bring it to pass, O noble hero, that the Huns, whose flight aforetime shook us, shall by a second defeat be made to do me service.' Thus he spake, and Avitus consenting changed his prayer into hope. Straightway he flies thence and rouses up the Gothic fury that was his willing slave. Rushing to enroll their names, the skin-clad warriors began to march behind the Roman trumpets; those barbarians feared the name of 'pay-docked soldiers,' dreading the disgrace, not the loss. These men Avitus swept off to war, Avitus even thus early the world's hope, though now (or still) a plain citizen. Even so the bird of Phoebus, when bearing the cinnamon to his pyre on the Erythraean hill, rouses all the common multitude of birds; the obedient throng hies to him, and the air is too narrow to give their wings free play.

"Now destiny was well-nigh bringing to fulfilment the sign of the twelve flying vultures (Thou knowest, O Rome, thou knowest all thy troubles). Placidus, the mad eunuch, slaughtered Aëtius. Scarce was the diadem set on the head of Petronius when all at once came a barbarian flood, and the Goths had visions of Rome captured by them and of the whole earth ready to surrender to their frenzy; as ravening wolves, whose keen scent has caught a whiff of fatlings wafted from a fenced sheepcote, goad and sharpen their hunger, and carry in their eyes a vision of their spoil, beguiling their famishment with jaws opened wide; every moment their expectant hope sees a young lamb mangled, and the prey beyond their reach is already crunched in their greedy mouths. The Aremorian region too expected the Saxon pirate, who deems it but sport to furrow the British waters with hides, cleaving the blue sea in a stitched boat. The Frank began to lay low the First German and the Second Belgian; the bold Alaman was drinking the Rhine from the Roman bank and proudly lording it on both sides, a citizen or a conqueror. But Maximus, now emperor, seeing such loss of widespread lands, took the sole availing course in such distress and chose for himself Avitus as Master of Horse and Foot. The tidings of the rank bestowed found him farming, plying the bent mattock's tooth or stooping over the curved plough as he turned up the unsunned clods in his fertile acres. Thus aforetime Cincinnatus came, a poor ploughman, to heal his country's broken fortunes, when his wife put the old robe upon him, standing before the oxen, and his doors of willow-wood now opened for a dictator, who bore back to his dwelling what he had not sowed, and thus the triumphal purple, weighted with a mean load, carried common seed.

"No sooner had he taken up the burden of the office thrust upon him than the Alaman sent envoys to crave pardon for their frenzy, the Saxon's raiding abated and the marshy water of Albis confined the Chattian; and scarce had the moon viewed all this throughout three monthly courses, when he set

himself on the march to the peoples and lands possessed by the bold Goth, where the ocean driven onwards by the tide spreads the retreating Garonne over the fields — for as the sea invades the river the salt water climbs over the sweet flow, and the briny flood, driven along the river-bed, rides on deeps that are strange to it. Here the chiefs of the Visigoths were letting loose the war they had planned, when suddenly their fury was checked by tidings that Avitus, armed with an imperial writ, was already entering the home of the Goths and, having laid aside for a little the pomp of the Master's office, had taken upon himself the authority of an ambassador.

“The Scythian leaders and senate alike were thunderstruck, and feared lest he should deny their peaceful intent. Even thus, when the flaming chariot was pulling the light Phaethon this way and that and the daylight was already dim, when the harmony of the elements was stirred to fury by a blazing world, when the hot breath came close and ranged madly over the drying pools, and the parched mud thirsted on the dusty bottom of the sea, then Phoebus' gentle fire alone quenched that unwonted heat.

“Hereupon, as it chanced, one of the Goths, who had re-forged his pruning-hook and was shaping a sword with blows on the anvil and sharpening it with a stone, a man already prepared to rouse himself to fury at the sound of the trumpet and looking at any moment with manifold slaughter to bury the ground under unburied foes, cried out, as soon as the name of the approaching Avitus was clearly proclaimed: ‘War is no more! Give me the plough again! If I recall the familiar old days of idle peace, he hath time and again taken the sword from me. O shame! O ye gods above! To think that faithful friendship should have such power! Why dost thou threaten me with tedious treaties, dealing loyally with me to my loss? Thou dost bid us both give to thee and owe to thee the advantages of peace. Who could have believed it? Lo! the Gothic kings are fain to yield obedience, and deem their royal power of less account than that. Nor can I even say that thou dost shun battle to screen a craven spirit; brave art thou, albeit thou lovest peace. Avitus is already ending the strife of parties, and Messianus too, sent on before, is curbing the Gothic wrath. Thou hast as yet but sent thine orders, Avitus, and we are laying down our arms. What further power canst thou desire? I count it a small thing that we are not thine enemies; nay, if I have gained a right knowledge of thee in action aforetime, thine auxiliary will I be; thus at least I shall have leave to fight.’

“While the Visigoth revolved these thoughts in his stern heart they had come into view. The king and the Master took their stand near together, the Master with confident look, while the other blushed with joy and by his blush sued for clemency. Then Avitus kept on one side of him the king, on the other side the king's brother, and with joined hands they entered Tolosa, city of Pallas. Even thus with hand clasped in hand beside the couches of the gods did Romulus and Tatius establish their treaty, when Hersilia on the hill of Pallas thrust the Sabine women between their father's weapons and the

husbands who were furiously battling against their kindred.

“Meanwhile, when thou wert off thy guard, the Vandal with stealthy arms captured thee, and the Burgundian with his traitorous leadership extorted from thee the panic-fury that led to an emperor’s slaughter. Alas for the deed! Once more for war and for a fourth season of trouble the faithless war-trumpets of Dido’s Byrsa blare forth. O Destiny, what ill hast thou been fostering? A Massylian band had climbed Evander’s height, Marmarican feet trampled Quirinus’ hills, and Barce carried back the tribute that once she paid in her days of captivity. Rumour brought to Gothic ears the exile of the senate, the ills of the common folk, the Emperor’s murder and the captivity of the Empire. At dawn of day a meeting of Gothic elders was assembled in the wonted fashion; there stand they, old in years but hale in counsel; their dress is unkempt, tarnished and greasy are the linen garments on their lean backs; their coats of skin are drawn up high and cannot reach the calf; their knees are bare and their boots of horse-hide are held up by a common knot.

“When this company of elders, venerable for all their poverty, entered the council, and the king called for the proposals of peace, the general said: ‘I confess that I would fain have cherished evermore in tranquillity among my paternal acres the rest that my toil has earned, now that after holding three commands I have reached a fourth glory and held the supreme honour of the Prefecture. But as Maximus, late sovereign of our western world, after a thousand refusals from our chieftest men, summoned me, all unsuspecting and far away, to serve amid the clarions of war after controlling the laws, and ordained that I should now hear the blaring trumpets instead of the court-usher’s voice, then did I right readily embrace the duty, that I might go as ambassador to you. I crave of you the old treaty, which even now that aged man, my one-time friend, for whom to follow Avitus was always to grow greater, would be maintaining if only I had bidden him. In former days I was wont to guide the doings of the Goths; thou knowest that my counsel was often acted on before thou wert aware of it. But fate hath taken away from me my guardian-spirit of former days, and all my services have faded from sight along with thy father. He had surrounded Narbo, and it was enfeebled with wasting famine (thou wert then a child): hemming in those panic-stricken thousands he had all but driven them to eat of loathsome things, and already he had begun gloomily to think that some of his due spoil would be lost if haply the besieged perished within, when he gave ear to my advice, and withdrawing his arms relieved the walls from war. And thee thyself (See! there are old men to witness it), these hands of mine have held weeping close to this breast, when perchance thy nurse was taking thee away from me to give thee suck and thou wert loth to go. Behold! I come and seek now a fresh pledge of our old love. If thou hast no loyalty, no reverence for thy father, then go thy harsh way and refuse peace.’

“From all the council arose murmurs and shouting; the insurgent crowd, condemning war, raised a friendly uproar. Then out spake the king: ‘O leader

renowned, I have long been blaming thee for begging peace from us when thou hast power to enforce bondage and draw willing peoples to war in thy train. I beseech thee, brand me not with obloquy by bringing up my father's name. What blame can be mine if thou give me no orders? What thou mightest have advised in his day thou needst now but desire; the only hindrance is that the Goths have not learnt what thou wouldst have. Thanks to thee the laws of Rome have long been pleasing to me; when I was a child my father bade me learn lines by heart at thine instruction, that those strains of Virgil's ancient page, taught to thy willing pupil, might soften my Scythian ways; even then thou didst teach me to desire peace. But hear now the terms of my obedience, and perhaps thou wilt be pleased to sanction a compact. I swear, O Rome, by thy name, revered by me, and by our common descent from Mars (for among all things that have been since the beginning of time the world hath naught greater than thee and thou hast naught greater than the senate): I desire to keep the peace with thee and to wipe out the transgressions of my grandsire, whose one blot is that he captured thee; but if the gods bless my prayer, the guilt of that ancient destruction can be atoned for by avenging that -of to-day — if only thou, renowned leader, shouldst take upon thee the name of Augustus. Why dost thou avert thine eyes? Thine unwillingness becomes thee all the more. We do not force this on thee, but we adjure thee: with thee as leader I am a friend of Rome, with thee as Emperor I am her soldier. Thou art not stealing the sovereignty from any man; no Augustus holds the Latian hills, a palace without a master is thine. I protest, it is not enough that I do thee no harm; I would that thine imperial diadem might bring me the means to do thee service. My part is but to urge thee; but if Gaul should compel thee, as she has the right to do, the world would cherish thy sway, lest it perish.' He spake, and straightway with his brother gave his solemn pledge in the form of words desired. But thou, Avitus, didst depart in sadness, knowing it could not be hidden from the Gauls that the Goths could be at their service if thou wert Emperor. Yea, when it was revealed to the anxious citizens that thou wert carrying back with thee a treaty, they eagerly rushed to meet thee, and without thy knowing it they spread a tribunal for thee beforehand, and when the crowds of nobles deemed they were assembled in sufficient multitude — those on whom the snowy rocks of the Cottian Alps look down, those around whom in their sundry regions wind the waters of the Tuscan sea or the Rhine, and those whom the long ridges of the Pyrenees shut off from Spanish rule — then did that throng approach with joy that man oppressed by a crushing load of care. Thereupon the oldest of all those lords, one right worthy to be his country's spokesman, thus began: 'Of the cruel fortune that hath long harassed us with divers hardships under a boy-emperor, tearing our prosperity to shreds, it would belike be tedious to make plaint, O mighty leader, since verily thou wert the chiefest figure among the mourners, lamenting ever thy country's wounds and tortured by uncontrollable anxieties. Amid those calamities, that universal destruction, to live was death. But as

we, taught by our fathers' words, paid homage to idle laws and deemed it a hallowed duty to cling to the old order even through disasters, we endured that shadow of Empire, content to bear even the vices of an ancient stock and to tolerate, more from custom than by reason of just claim, a house that had been wont to be invested with the purple. Of late a golden opportunity shone forth, whereby Gaul might make her own strength felt, while Maximus was possessing himself of the panic-stricken capital; and she might well have possessed herself of the world if with thee as Master she had restored to herself all her rightful lands. 'Tis no secret who of us it was that stirred up the Belgian land, the Aremoric shore and the Gothic fury. In this dread warfare we yielded pride of place to thee, renowned one. Now the supreme office calls for thee; in time of peril a realm cannot be ruled by a poltroon. All ambitious rivalry gives place when extremity calls for men of renown. After the losses of Ticinum and Trebia the trembling republic came in haste to Fabius. By the election of Livius the disaster of Cannae, famous for Varro's rout, was undone; undone too was the Carthaginian, still exulting over the deaths of the Scipios. The world, they say, lies captive in the captive city; the Emperor has perished, and now the Empire has its head here. Ascend the tribunal, we beseech thee, and raise up the fainting; this time of peril asks not that some other should love Rome more. Nor do thou by any chance deem thyself unequal to sovereignty. When Brennus' host beset the Tarpeian rock, then, thou knowest, Camillus was himself the whole of our state, and he, the destined avenger of his country, covered the smoking embers of the city with the slaughtered enemy. No gold scattered among the people hath secured for thee the verdict of the centuries; this time no venal tribes bought with plenteous coin rush to give their votes; the suffrages of the world no one can buy. Though a poor man, thou art being chosen; rich art thou in thy deserts, and that suffices in itself. Why dost thou hinder the desires of thy country, when she orders thee to give orders to her? This is the judgment of all: "if thou becomest the master I shall be free."

"Then a great clamour filled the hall of Viernum (for it was in this place, as it chanced, that the senate's devoted throng had brought before him the force of its authority, its desires, and its prayers). Place, hour, and day are declared auspicious for the assumption of empire, and straightway those resourceful nobles joyously order a guard to be set there.

"The third day had spread the sun's light over the retreating stars: the lords of the land assemble in haste and with soldiers all around set him on a mound-platform; there they crown their sorrowing chief with a military collar and present him with the outward emblems of sovereignty (hitherto the only attribute of an Emperor he had assumed was his cares). With such a look did the Tiryinthian hero of old take upon him the burden alike of the sky and of his stepmother when the giant withdrew himself from the Libyan mount and the firmament had sunk with greater safety upon the back of Hercules.

"This man I have given thee, Rome, while Gaul throughout her wide plains

thunders with plaudits for Augustus, and the north, now stronger, carries the auspicious clamour to the pale-cheeked south. He shall restore Libya to thee a fourth time in chains — and when a man has recovered the lost Pannonias after so many generations by a mere march, 'tis easy to feel sure even now of what he can do by waging war. How he shall, time and again, bring nations under thy yoke, dashing his eagles against them! — that man who as a subject shrank from the glorious omens of sovereignty, when it chanced that as he journeyed a startled bird struck from his shoulders the common cloak he wore. But now be of good cheer with such a man for Emperor, O Rome, ancient mother of gods; lift up thine eyes and cast off thine unseemly gloom. Lo! a prince of riper years shall bring back youth to thee, whom child-princes have made old.”

The great Father had scarce ended his utterance when the gods clapped their hands and a shout of applause rang through the council. The fateful Sisters spun out a happy time for thy rule, Augustus, and for thy consular year they drew out with their whirling spindles a golden age.

VIII. TO PRISCUS VALERIANUS, OF PREFECTORIAN RANK

Priscus, my unceasing pride, whose race is by right of kinship linked with the majestic purple, now that Avitus is Emperor: as my trifling effusions are hurrying off to encounter your judgment, I say, "Halt, flighty creatures! Whither are you hastening? He loves me, and he who loves ever shows himself an unsparing judge; gentle friendship reads with harsh brow. It boots me not that there is added to the tale of my merits all the glory of my form in bronze gleaming red in the Ulpian portico and the huzzas for me that still re-echo from the recesses of Rome's hills, while senate and people alike sound my praises." Then they reply: "*We will* hasten, we *will* go, and you shall not hold us back. With such a man to judge us even censure is sweet. There is no better critic than he; skilfully does he weigh poems, and though quick of judgment he is slow to scorn." And so, as I could not keep my reckless verses from going, hesitate not, when you have read them, to let the fire prey on them, I pray you.

IX. TO FELIX

TO THE LORD FELIX,

HIS LOVING BROTHER,

SOLLIUS APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS HEREBY GIVES HEARTIEST
GREETING.

Come tell me, tell me what I want to know, tell me, Magnus, please, Magnus Felix, felicitous in your name, in your intellect, in your eminence, your person, your children, wife, brothers, parents, your father's and mother's brothers, and that chiefest of all cousins, Camillus — why do you demand that the thoughtless scribblings of your friend, broadcast in the frolicsome spirit of early youth, should be put into book-form, and thus a great bundle of enmity should suddenly be produced and paper wasted at the same time? I bow to your commands, but first I declare to you what jolts you are going to suffer here as you read.

I am not speeding over the old road; you shall find here no place where my muse treads in the antique ruts of my predecessors. I shall not here sing of Antipodes or Red Sea or Memnon's Indians burnt by Aurora's torch blazing in her homeland. I shall not trumpet forth Artaxata, Susa, Bactra, Carrhae or brick-built Babylon, which opens out afar to receive the stream that nourishes it and so drinks the Tigris on both banks within the walls. I shall not here proclaim the earlier Ninus of the Assyrians nor Arbaces, head of the Medes, nor the richness of the pyre on which Sardanapallus burned when he sought refuge from the foe. I shall not tell of Astyages' grandson, Cyrus, who they say was suckled at a bitch's breast, a man whose greed not even the treasure of Lydian Croesus could sate, whose fierceness was not subdued even when, having slain two hundred thousand, he was hemmed within a narrow Scythian valley and drew nigh to the bag of the bereaved Tomyris.

You shall not read here of Athenian triumphs or of any war that may have dyed Marathon red, or how Xerxes, stirring up a thousand thousand men, was puffed up by their multitudinousness, or how, when rivers of great depth had been drunk up in a trice, he still thirsted, or the tale of Thermopylae, or how, scorning the barriers of land and sea, he rode with his mad hordes over the waters that Helle named and, letting into Athos waves that rose well-nigh to the summit of that leafy Alp, he passed on shipboard through the deep channel he had cut.

I shall not relate how the offspring of the Garamantian Thunder-god, lording it over lords and kingdoms, was sped on by his father's thunderbolt and swept through Asia's widespread lands; how he first laid low in confusion the governors and satraps of Darius and then the king himself, a monarch that proudly exulted in the throne of his father and prated of his kin the gods, but

now, with wife, children and mother captured, was forced to relapse into a mere mortal's lot, and who, 'tis said, when he had stirred up a mighty war and had set in one plain the whole armed force of Persia gathered from every part, won thereby this one thing only — that his enemy was disposed to sleep the better for it.

Nor shall I tell how the Minyae were carried over the sea by the talking timber and halted in the harbour of the Phasis, what time the man-like maid, smitten by the beauty of the Grecian leader, soothed the raging bulls and knew no terror even when he whom she had made a tiller of the soil had sown the teeth of the vanquished serpent and stood trembling amid the armed shoots, aghast to see a foe burst into crop and the spikes take sides and fight with one another, while over the war-breeding clods the stalky brothers dripped with green blood.

I shall not here speak of the earth-born band made more live by the venom in their veins, who, besides a form that had outgrown all limits, had likewise snakes with coiling bodies, extending their scaly legs on high and ending in mouths that served as feet. Thus that arrogant young band of triple-formed monsters, trampling the earth with ravenous feet, would run in marvellous wise with stepping heads; and when the war-trumps of the gods sounded they thereupon dared to challenge the denizens of heaven with foot hissing in reply to the thunder's roar. Nor do you read here of Phlegra's plains enlarged when hurtling mountains flew about among the stars, Pindus, Pelion, Ossa, Olympus, Othrys, with their woods, herds, beasts, frosts, rocks, springs, and towns, all uplifted by the hurlers' right hands that were broader than they.

I shall not here embellish the labours of Hercules, to whom boar, deer, lion, giant, Amazon, host, bull, Eryx, birds, Lycus, thief, Nessus, Libyan, hills, apples, maid, serpent, Oeta, Thracian steeds, Spanish cows, wrestling river, tri-formed dog and the carrying of heaven gave heaven as a reward.

I shall not here celebrate in verse Elis renowned for the four-horse chariots nor her who is so famed for a river's love, telling how Alpheus flows through the lowest deeps of the sea and the water on the other side falls into the connubial waves.

I shall not here recall the house of Tantalus, wherein Pelopea by union with a father became the sister of her children and her father by an unheard-of deed of horror begat an infamous grandson. Nothing doleful is here sung; I do not relate the weeping of Thyestes at the gluttonous feast, who by his brother's crime, unhappy one, was a living tomb for the children he devoured, while the sun, after that horrible banquet, suddenly turning his car, set toward the east, and fleeing from the feaster put the day to flight.

Nor shall you have to read of the Phrygian shepherd for whom, 'tis said, Dindymon grew smaller and with her lopped crest formed a fleet, when by order of Venus his abettor that ravisher despoiled the land of Oebalia and hospitable Amyclae, seeking across the sea a prey that willingly followed him. Nay, I shall not go over the tale of Troy and the ten years' war and the

fierce battalions of Agamemnon and the treachery of Sinon whereby the citadel dedicated to the image of Pallas was laid open through the work of a wily betrayer and admitted the horse that carried foot-soldiers.

I do not here relate with the pen of the Maeonian muse the wisdom of the Dulichian and the valour of the Thessalian ; of whom the second is deemed to have been trained in a cave of Pelion under an aged son of Saturn in hunting, in the music of the lyre, in wrestling and in the use of simples; and the boy, as he scoured the wild beasts' haunts, would sometimes repose on any part of snowy Pholoe, at other times he would recline in the wellloved stall, sleeping more comfortably on his tutor's mane; then, says the story, he was given to the father of the Scyrian maids, enduring the false name of

Pyrrha, and amid the band of stern Minerva's votaries he honoured Venus in secret revels: lastly, when the noise of the Phrygian spoiling reached his ears, he was dragged away by the glories of that Hector who would himself one day be dragged. But as for the other hero, whose hap it was to return to Ithaca, the land of his father, after four lustres had passed, even Smyrna's scroll does not unfold the whole tale. Nay, who could relate the whole succession of toils that he endured on land and sea — the seizing of the Palladium, the finding of Achilles, the capture of swift-footed Dolon, and the four snow-white chariot-horses of Rhesus taken away before they could drink of Xanthus' stream; likewise the snatching of the quiver given to Philoctetes by his patron god and the madness of Ajax son of Telamon because when he stood before the ships and pled his cause the man of words won the prize of the man of arms; then the escape from Polyphemus, from Circe, and from the hunger of the Laestrygonian king, and thereafter the rich man's orchard, and Calypso and the Sirens who charmed men to their doom; his escape likewise from the darkness and the torch of Nauplius and the raging groin of ravening Scylla and the rocks that Charybdis of Tauromenium hollows out by the belching of the deep?

I sing not of the divinities that show favour to special lands, cities, and islands; Saturn to Latium, Jove to Crete, Juno to Samos, the Sun-god to Rhodes, Proserpine to Henna, Minerva to Hymettus, Vulcan to Lipara, Dione to Paphos, Perseus to Argos, Priapus to Lampsacus, Bacchus to Thebes, Vesta to Ilium, the Delian god to Thymbra, the Arcadian to Lycaeus, Mars to Thrace, Diana to Scythia, who have all been made gods by the dedication of temples to them, by incense, salt, spelt, meal, and the hallowing of vain rites.

I shall not trumpet forth the worshipful Eleusis and Triptolemus, givers of the first corn to folks wont to find their food in the Chaonian oak-forest; nor Egyptian Apis aroused by the sounds of the Memphitic sistrum. I shall not tell how Sparta's young manhood dedicated the oily wrestling-bout to the sons of Tyndarus, at whose prowess, learned in their native Therapnae, the athletes of the Bebrycian arena trembled. Nor shall my theme be Lycian or Caerite oracles or the earlier responses of Themis at Delphi or the divinities that the Tuscan, when he expiates the lightning, seeks at the fenced bidental, or the

gods whom on Antenor's mount the seer who drank the waters of Euganean Timavus saw stirring up the Thessalian battle; nor of those whom Amphiaras and Melampus... (nor of) the gods that Metellus snatched even from the midst of the burning, when the flames surged ruinously through the temple, and he rejoiced in the loss of his sight. Here no Cinyphian Hammon shall be sung, who raises his snooded head among the desert sands and even after auspicious sacrifice of a hecatomb will scarce show himself from the depths of the Syrtes; nor shall I picture Dindyma or the Curetes sounding on murmuring box-pipe the praises of the Berecynthian Mother; nor Bacchus, as he brings forth his triennial festival and invades the Bassarids quivering with the frenzy of the feast and whirls his fillet-crowned votaries beside the incense-burning altar.

Not here shall you behold the Hesiodic strains of sluggish Ascula or Pindar's lyre; nor the jests of Menander, wearer of comedy's sock; nor the savage lampoons of the injured Archilochus; nor the graver muse of Stesichorus or the song fashioned by the Lesbian maid; nor that which Mantua, defying Homer's supremacy, added to Latin utterance — Mantua, soon jealous that Parthenope matched her by possessing Virgil's tomb; nor the notes that Horace was fain to sound when he penned the praises of Phoebus and roaming Diana after the medleys of the Epistles, the witty sallies of the Satires, the new-fangled Epodes, the books of Odes and the Art of Poetry; nor what Papinius, dear to you and to me, utters amid the frenzy of the house of Labdacus, or when in shorter-footed measure he portrays the begemmed meads of his little "Silvae."

Nor must you expect to read here the eloquence called forth by Corduba, great in her sons, of whom one is devoted to the unkempt Plato and vainly admonishes his pupil Nero, another rouses again the stage of Euripides and also follows Aeschylus, who painted his face with wine-lees, and Thespis, who was wont to give utterance from waggons, bards who after treading the stage with their buskins used to lead away the mate of a fetid she-goat: third of Corduba's sons was he who sang the fight of Caesar the Gallic conqueror, how a father and his daughters husband drove Rome into a war of kinsfolk; and so bitterly does he weep for his Philippi that he deems the disaster of Cremera a trifle, he avers that Allia and the ransom of Jupiter in the scales of Brennus are less to be lamented, he holds Trebia and dire Cannae of less moment, he has naught to say of Trasimene's slaughter, he thinks those Scipios not worth a word whom the region of Tartessus holds, he takes no account of the ruinous attempt on the Euphrates and of Carrhae drenched with the blood of the Crassi, or of the consuls whose swords Spartacus was wont to rout with victorious dagger; nay, he does not bewail more bitterly that war which the man of Arpinum, wild with arrogance after his Cimbric trophies and the enchainment of Nasamonian Jugurtha, and seeking next a Mithridatic triumph, was fain to stir up against Sulla.

Here you shall read no Gaetulicus, Marsus, Pedo, Silius, or Tibullus, nor

the winsome words which Sulpicias sprightly muse wrote to her Calenus, nor the sternness of Persius nor the liveliness of Propertius, nor yet Terentianus of the hundred metres. Here is no Lucilius, no Lucretius, Turnus, Memor, Ennius, Catullus, Stella, Septimius, or Petronius, no Martial with his constant bite, nor he who in the days of the second Caesar dwelt at Tomi, a prisoner never absolved; nor he who later by a like misfortune, on the stirring of a breath of vulgar gossip, became the exiled victim of an angry actor; nor that son of Egyptian Canopus who of the dusky bridegroom's marriage and of the denizens of hell doth sing with his heavenly muse; nor those who even in their earliest days were the greatest of our fathers' comrades, of whom one, following Boniface and the headstrong Sebastian, abhorred in boyhood his native Cadurcans, loving Pandion's Athens more: were you to read his varied poems, then would you think that Phoebus was giving utterance, and the Boeotian maids, their lips all moist with draughts of Hippocrene, and Amphion too and the son of Maia and the bard of Rhodope, all contributing their melody.

Nor does the reader now find thee here, Quintianus, the second of the three, with thy thunderbolt, who spurning thy Ligurian soil and home didst change thine abode and give Gaul thy love, and didst sing the praises of Aëtius amid trumpet-calls, standards, spears, and troops, sparing time for the pen as for the sword, a bard ivy-crowned in a belauelled camp. Nor shall the reader here find that other, the third of the band, who leaving once for all his native Baetis betook himself to that place of thirst, well-watered Ravenna, and to whom the acclaiming citizens of Rome and the Emperor so beloved for his graciousness set up a gleaming statue in Trajan's Forum.

And try not, gentle reader, to compare me with those whom I, vastly their inferior, worship all the more, Paulinus, Ampelius, and Symmachus, Messala of genius so profound, Martius, second to none in these times, Petrus, equal of the ancients in the modern style of eloquence and a marvel to all when he speaks, or that steward whom the senate rightly prefers to the poets of the towns; or those men of gifted utterance whom our soil possesses, charming Anthedius, my master Hoënius whose muse commands my deepest reverence, spirited Lampridius, shrewd Leo, and Severianus, who excels in trumpet-tones and is no less apt in such writing as Marcus Quintilianus used to pen.

As for these measures of my sadly barren muse, I rarely commit them to a papyrus-sheet, and then only to a short one, which would rightly be used for carrying mackerel or pepper — for what god will ever grant to my scorned sheet even the small boon of sniffing pleasant scents and being used for wrapping nard and oily alabaster flasks fragrant with Nicerotian essences, and cinnamon got from the Indian pyre where the Phoenix renews his youth by dying, and costum and malobathrum and roses and amomum and incense and opobalsamum? Therefore defend my audacious deed and vindicate, I pray you, in its rash escapade the modesty of a schoolfellow who is but obeying your orders. But remember first to call in that pillar of learning, your brother

Probus, who is able, with all his kindness, to attach a stern obelus to this scribbling. But I know it well, I am not clearing myself of guilt, and a shameless poet does not please the well-instructed. And yet I shall not dread excessively the pompous mouthing of an abusive reader, should he, with an air of superior gravity and sternness, like a third Cato, spurn the jesting of my Terpsichore, purse his lips and threaten me with the contemptuous nose of a rhinoceros. Let not this too consummate pundit frighten you. If you would get at the real truth, believe me, nobody knows as many things as he doesn't know.

X. PREFACE TO THE EPITHALAMIUM OF RURICIUS AND HIBERIA

When Pelion displayed the marriage-feast of the sea-maiden in a Pagasæan cave beneath an Emathian crag, the stately pageantry of the gods taxed the ground to hold it; on this side the sky, on that the sea vied one with the other in their treasures, and the song and dance were led by the bride's father almost hidden in his green robe and himself of the same hue as his sea-coloured mantle. The nymph also, coming naked from the waves to her marriage, was seized with fear of the bridegroom's draped form. Then every god that was present laid aside his dreadfulness and exhibited a playful version of his special power. Jupiter hurled a thunderbolt that had heither heat nor force, and said, "At this time it is more fitting for our lady of Cythera to show warmth." Pollux then won praise with the boxing-glove, Castor with reins, Pallas with her plumed helm, the Delian goddess with her arrows; Hercules frolicked with his club, Mars with his spear, the Arcadian god with his wand, Bromius with the fawn-skin. At this moment the Muses also had been introduced by the incomparable Orpheus with strings, voice, hand, songs, and reeds. Hymen, eager to show off, mustered there all arts, and he who did not give pleasure by his merit gave pleasure belike by his spirit. But Fescennine jests were not admitted until our Apollo had made his song ring forth on the familiar lyre.

XI. EPITHALAMIUM

[Between the Dark-blue Rocks, Ephyra's peaks, where the summit of a sea-worn mountain raises Orithyion above Idalium to the sky, in which place, as it chanced, the wandering Symplegades were fixed fast by the trembling Tiphys even as he fled from them...] there emerges into the sea of the Isthmus a bay enclosed by wings of piled rocks jutting from the cliff; in which retreat, just as if the whole radiance of the sky were concentrated there, the daylight is gathered together into a narrow space, and penetrating the quivering waters it searches out the secluded depths, and so the ripples pass on, bathed in deep-shining brightness, and, wondrous to tell, the water drinks in the sun and the light, pushed into the limpid stream, bores unwetted through the wet with arid ray.

This site favoured a labour of love; for there the Lemnian god amused himself by building a mimic temple for Venus, and swarthy Pyragmon, abandoning the thunderbolt, raised his smoke in the place many a time. Here is stone from five regions, giving forth five hues, Aethiopian, Phrygian, Parian, Punic, Spartan — purple, green, mottled, ivory, white. The yellow glow of topaz flashes through the doorpost; porcelain, sardonyx, Caucasian amethyst, Indian jasper, Chalcidian and Scythian stones, beryl and agate, form the double doors that rise upon silver pivots, and through these doors the shadowy recess beyond pours out the sheen of the emeralds that are within. Onyx thickly encrusts the threshold, and hard by the blue colour of amethyst casts upon the lagoon a harmonious hue. Outside is no dressed stone, but towering walls of rock that has been roughened by the constant lashing of the waters. In the inner part Mulciber mimicked in gold the crags that rise up far and wide, and with his skill to guide him counterfeited with mighty art the artless creations of Nature, plying his work diligently — for not yet did he know of that deception which afterwards he punished with his Lemnian chains. Hither scaly Triton with heart aflame bore amid the waters Venus, seated where the boundaries of his double back meet above the windings of his writhing belly. But Galatea has brought up close to him her weighty, glittering shell, and presses his side, which she pinches with inserted thumb, promising by that stealthy touch connubial bliss; whereupon the lover, rejoicing in that torturing jest, smiles at the wound and anon lashes his beloved with a gentle stroke of his fishy tail. Behind them comes a column of Loves in ardent squadrons; one controls a dolphin with reins of roses, another rides on a green sea-calf, despising bridle's aid and clinging to the horns; others are on The nether half of this merman is fishy, the fore part human; the former is in perpetual motion as he propels himself by lashing the water. Venus is seated on his back, just clear of the agitated fishy half. foot, swaying with the motion, slipping on their dripping soles and steadying their steps with their wings.

Venus had let her soft cheek rest upon her bended arm; the violets about

her grew languid and her neck had begun to sink, ever heavier with slumber as the flowers pressed against her. Of all the troop of brothers one alone was missing, the Love-god, the fairest of them all; for he was contriving a glorious marriage-feast for the Gauls, a feast that the bride's father Ommatius, scion of a patrician race and the greatest of his great line, was gracing with splendour for his daughter and her bridegroom amid happy auguries. But when in due course the great day dawned, then the god with swift flight sought his mother, with torch, bow, and quiver slung upon him. Stooping down and resting on the edge of his left hand, with his wings he lashed his feet, as they hung poised in the air, and thus he snatched kisses from his mother; and as she floated back into wakefulness he began to graze her half-slumbering eyes with the light touch of a feather. Then before she could speak he briskly addressed her thus: "I bring you a new joy, Mother, the joy of a happy capture. That proud Ruricius is set aflame by our torch; he has caught the sweet poison and heaves sighs of welcome pain. If those olden times were now, the maid of Lemnos would have lavished on him her sovereignty, the Cretan maid the thread for the labyrinth, Alcestis her life, Circe her magic herbs, Calypso her apples, Scylla the fatal hair, Atalanta her swift feet, Medea her mad passions, Hippodame her wax, Jupiter's swan-daughter her crown; for him Dido would have rushed upon the sword, Phyllis to the halter, Evadne into the flames, the maid of Sestos into the waves."

His mother answered: "I rejoice, my son, that thou dost both vanquish and praise that stubborn resister. But the maid's beauty is such that if the hero whom Sthenoboea loved in bygone days had beheld her he would not have had to overcome the dread Chimaera through slighting her charms; he who, arrogantly proud of his Amazon mother, spurned the reckless prayers of his Cretan stepmother, would, if he had seen the maid, have been doomed indeed, but on a true charge; nay, if she had chanced to contend with me as a fourth competitor in the trial of beauty, then the shepherd on Rhoetean Ida would have given his verdict even against me. 'Lose the contest,' he would have said to me, 'or, if thou choosest (and this I prefer), give the girl to me;' and I should have given him all that beauty in return for the prize of beauty. Such are the charm and comeliness of her cheeks that compared with their radiance the purple pales into nothingness, and the gleam of the pearls that encircle her neck is dimmed to darkness by the light of her countenance. Her also would men have wooed by all manner of exploits, Pelops attesting his prowess by his chariot, Hippomenes by running, Achelous by wrestling, Aeneas by wars, Perseus by the Gorgon. Yea, hers is the beauty for whose sake Jupiter would so oft have become the Delian goddess, a bull, a swan, a satyr, a serpent, thunder or gold. So let them be straightway united, for they are alike in wealth and beauty and lineage; there is naught that is ill-matched in these victims of thy shaft. But why am I thus delaying their marriage?" Thus she spake and called for her chariot. Its yoke was of crystal, which in early winter, when the ice of the young world began to increase the bulk of Caucasus, was

compacted of a piece of the Tanais by dint of the northern frosts, assuming the nature of a gem because it lost the nature of water. The car was pierced by a pole of the yellow metal, metal which had been sent by the river beneath whose waters the nymphs fondled Mygdonian Midas, who, poor in the midst of gold, enriched Pactolus' stream when his prayers had been turned against him. Brightly gleamed the wheels, encircling the spokes with translucent rims; they were got from the jaws of the Libyan beast, while the monster bewailed the disarming of his mouth with the tusks wrenched away. This also was a gift, sent by the Indian, a man like the Ethiopian in hue and with the grease of unguent on his hair, who troubles warm Erythrae as he roams about naked in his fragrant hunting. Her swans, wont to feed in Cyprus, Venus held firmly with reins of be-ribboned myrtle; the rest of their bodies was tense and taut, but their milk-white necks were bent by a circlet of red coral.

So they begin their journey: the poised wheel cleaves the empty air, leaving in the clear expanse. no rut to be smoothed out. Here the three Graces attend her, linked in a single embrace; here Plenty casts fragrance from Fortune's open horn; here Flora scatters flowers from baskets, flowers ever blooming; here Egyptian Osiris accompanies Sicilian Ceres; here Pomona carries the folds of her robe loaded with the fruits of the season; here Pallas comes with oil-mills that are oozing between the presses; here the Bacchanal, her side mottled with a dappled fawn-skin, plies the whirling Indian revelry of Bromius with the Theban thyrsus; here the Corybant too, who represents the rites of Dindyma in the caves of Sigeum, unmanned though he now is, feels the old glow return, and from that hoarse throat the hollowed box-wood groans out through its double pipe the fire that is within him.

Thus they come to the bridal; incense, nard, balm, and myrrh are here; here Phoenix presents the cinnamon of his living pyre. Nay, even the winter so near at hand has felt the warm breath of the festival and has grown less cold, and the wedding preserves a suggestion of spring and gives to that spot a boon which the seasons do not give to the world. Then the goddess of Paphos, clasping the right hands of man and maid, chanted the hallowed blessing in but few words, unwilling that even words should bring delay: "Pass your lives in happiness and concord; may ye have children and grandchildren; and may your great-grandchildren see in their great-grandparents the bliss which they themselves would fain enjoy!"

XII. TO CATULLINUS, SENATOR

Why — even supposing I had the skill — do you bid me compose a song dedicated to Venus the lover of Fescennine mirth, placed as I am among long-haired hordes, having to endure German speech, praising oft with wry face the song of the gluttonous Burgundian who spreads rancid butter on his hair? Do you want me to tell you what wrecks all poetry? Driven away by barbarian thrumming the Muse has spurned the six-footed exercise ever since she beheld these patrons seven feet high. I am fain to call your eyes and ears happy, happy too your nose, for you don't have a reek of garlic and foul onions discharged upon you at early morn from ten breakfasts, and you are not invaded even before dawn, like an old grandfather or a foster-father, by a crowd of giants so many and so big that not even the kitchen of Alcinous could support them.

But already my Muse is silent and draws rein after only a few jesting hendecasyllables, lest anyone should call even these lines satire.

XIII. TO MAJORIAN XIII TO THE EMPEROR MAJORIAN

Hallowed antiquity records that the son of Amphytrion by succouring earth earned heaven as his reward. But although with grim look he crushed within his bare arms the tawny throat of the monster of Cleonae; although with his fiery sword he just availed to lay the hydra low, as one death ever brought forth two lives from the wound; although he carried the captured monster from the Erymanthian forest, laughing at the wild boar's disarmed mouth; and although, bursting open the smoking neck of the fire-born thief, he compelled the cows at last to go frontwise; although the bull, the deer, the giant, the host, the wrestler, the Amazon, the Cretan beast, the dog, and the Hesperides are memorials of the hero's prowess — yet none of his fights takes rank before the overthrow of Geryon, from whose one body he took three heads. Thus Alcides of old; but do thou, as a second Hercules, and our sovereign to boot, and our great God's greatest care — thou, whose arrows made snake, stag, and boar alike to feel thy prowess, when tooth, poison, and flight availed them not — deem us to be Eurystheus and the tax to be the monster, and favour me by taking from it three heads, that I may be able to live.

This petition thy suppliant servant has offered, waiting for a kind and life-giving answer. That thou mayest give him back his native town and his life withal, releasing Lugdunum from its fallen estate — this thy Sidonius craves of thee: so may the purple, redipped in Sidonian dye, clothe thee for many a year; so, when thou hast completed a lustre of thine everlasting reign, may a quinquennial festival be consecrated to thy rule; so may the Sygambrian, when the commotion on both banks has been quelled, drink the waters of Vachalis with head, shorn in humiliation. If thou grant this to thy poet, I will commit to history's undying records, to be read of mankind, all the exploits of thy glorious triumphs. For now my talkative muse is silenced by the tax, and culls instead of Virgil's and Terence's lines the pence and halfpence owed to the Exchequer, and fears the hand and rope of Marsyas who from his old-time hatred of Phoebus now threatens bards with hanging.

XIV. SIDONIUS TO HIS FRIEND POLEMIUS, GREETING

1. My devoted brother Polemius, After your departure I considered carefully how far I was entitled to sing a Fescennine strain in celebrating the wedding of a philosopher like you, The subject of the poem then crept into my mind, and now that it is completed it is easily seen that I have taken more notice of your learning than of the happy occasion. Thus I have abandoned the melting tones of the nuptial song and trailed my pen over the roughest and most stony teachings of philosophy, which are so constituted that even a trifling effort like this could not have been accomplished without a large number of the new words which (with apologies to all other stylists) are known in a special degree to you and your fellow-Platonists. 2. You shall judge whether certain persons' ears, owing to inexperience, imagine too hastily that the mention of "centrum," "proportio," "diastemata," "climata," "myrae." is unsuited to a marriage-poem. This at least I confidently affirm, following the lead of Magnus, a consular and a man as great as his name, Domnulus, of quaestorian rank, and the Eminent Leo, that music and astronomy, the branches of philosophy which come next in importance to arithmetic, cannot in the least be made intelligible without these terms; and if anyone look down on them, as being Greek and foreign expressions (which they are), let him be assured that he must for ever renounce all mention of this sort of science or else that he cannot treat the subject at all, or at least that he cannot treat it completely, in the Latin tongue. 3. Should some people maintain that the facts are not as I declare them to be, I surrender to those cavillers whom I cannot meet face to face; nevertheless, I would have all who differ from me know that my opinion cannot be condemned without condemning Marcus Varro, Serenus (Sammonicus, not Septimius), and Censorinus, the author of a fine book "On the natal Day." 4. Here also you are going to read a novel word, *essentia*; but you must note that Cicero himself has used that word; for he introduced the two terms *essentia* and *indoloria*, adding: "for it is allowable to apply new names to new notions." And he was quite right, for just as we form, for example, the nouns *sapientia* and *intellegentia* from *sapere* and *intellegere*, so quite legitimately we do not refrain from using *essentia* from *esse*. Therefore, since my interest in your love-affair has led me, a man of Gaul, to introduce such matter as belongs to the philosophical lecture-room, I claim you in a special degree as intercessor on my behalf. Let Venus and all the fictitious gallery of love-gods be bestowed on one who cannot be eulogised in the manner of this poem. Farewell.

PREFACE TO THE EPITHALAMIUM ADDRESSED TO POLEMIOUS AND ARANEOLA

Auspicious for the marriage gleams the day, a day for a kindly Clotho to distinguish with snow-white thread, a day to be marked by the white stone of the black Indian and by the olive ever fresh and green, tree at once of peace and of youth. Ho, Calliope! With thy radiant hand deliver to me the eloquence of the sacred spring which Pegasus dug out with his flying foot when his mane was wet with his mother's poison. Here there is no unnatural enmity; this girl is not being bestowed through the deaths of rival suitors. Here no Pelops listens to the bloody terms of Oenomaus in the racing-ground; no Hippomenes pale with dread at the lower turning-point of the course retards the maid of Schoenus with thrice-falling apple; not here does Calydon behold in amazement from her Aetolian height the wrestling of Hercules, when he forced down the horn of the arrogant river, refreshing his breast ever and anon from his watery foe. Nay, a learned young scholar and a comely maid, holding by right of birth the most exalted eminence in Gaul, are being united. Quick, goddess, string the lyre, nor compel my poor talent to keep silence because a greater Muse hath sent forth thundering strains. At the marriage of Thetis, with Apollo's approval, even Chiron made music with lesser quill, nor did the kindly company laugh at his rustic style, although oft the aged double-formed creature broke his song with a whinnying note.

XV. EPITHALAMIUM

It chanced that Pallas was returning from the peak of storm-swept Caphereus; she had avenged to the full the ravished honour of Apollo's Trojan votary, and now she was abandoning Xanthus for Athenian Hymettus. Her head sparkles with gilded bronze, and she begins to show a more serene aspect after her frightfulness; for she has laid aside the thunderbolt, though she has not yet gladdened her fierce limbs with the waters of African Tritonis. The Gorgon covers the middle of her breast, with power still to make the beholder motionless, though the head be severed. Proudly shines that guileful form, and its beauty still lives though life is ebbing. The dark head bristles with a towering swarm of twisting vipers; those fanged tresses tangle their spotted coils, those angry locks utter horrible hisses. The corselet of scale-armour worn by the goddess reaches not to the waist; where the steel ceases her robe hangs down; the end of her cloak covers her feet with its circling hem, and when they move under her raiment there is a rustling of the stiff folds in the crimped trailing mantle. Her left hand is covered by a shield filled with a likeness of the Phlegræan fray. In one part Enceladus brandishes Pindus, torn from its base, and sends it whirling to the stars, while Ossa is the missile of frenzied Typhoeus; Porphyryion snatches up Pangæus, Damastor lifts up Rhodope along with Strymon's spring, and when the glowing thunderbolt comes down he hurls the river at it and quenches it. In another part Pallas assails Pallas, but he has seen the Gorgon, and her spear is already too late, and encounters a solid corpse. Elsewhere is seen Mimas flinging Lemnos against the aegis in a brother's defence, while the island-missile shakes heaven with its impact. In yet another part is the multiple Briareus with his much-peopled body joining in the fray, carrying in his person a whole host all akin; you could see his hands on branching arms sprouting from a single source. To these monsters Vulcan had given by his skill not only forms but frenzy, so that he trembled at the very wrath which his art had counterfeited. The right hand of Pallas held a spear, which she herself had lately plucked in the vale of Aracynthus from an olive she had planted. Arrayed in all this glory she had now alighted, and where the feet of the goddess rested there arose the Marathonian berry to take possession of the gliding mills. Here two temples gleam forth, both in the same region, a region exalted alike in situation and in achievements, for it contains the men who by thought profound inquire what the fabric of the sky, the earth, the sunken sea, the tempestuous air, the alternations of day and night, and the monthly waxing of the moon bring to pass, and why the waxing is ever followed by the waning. Here, then, are enthroned the Seven Sages, the sources of numberless philosophers. Thales of Miletus condemns the giving of sureties; Cleobulus of Lindus bids moderation be our ideal; Periander glorifies Corinth as he practises everything; then Solon of Athens approves above all the saying, "Nothing to excess"; Bias of Priene says that the evil-

hearted are the majority; Pittacus, that son of Mitylene, taught this lesson — to mark the opportune time, and Spartan Chilo to know oneself. Here the Samian Pythagoras declares, after a philosophic silence of five years, that music is the prime regulator of the universe and gives it a harmony from the unvarying movement of the stars, and that the thrice four signs that the Zodiac-belt holds in high heaven run not on with their own separate motion, but are placed at equal intervals one from another and, being fixed in the signbearing belt, are borne with it in descending movement; also that the seven wandering stars give forth the finest music because in planets and notes alike a perfect number is present. He says that by this number the universe is whirled round, and in this arrangement: — the circle of the old Sickle-bearer traverses the highest regions of the firmament; next, save that Jupiter comes between, the star of Mars wends its way; after these the Sun winds along the fourth path; in like manner the gentle goddess of Paphos retains the fifth zone, the Arcadian the sixth; and the moon in the last circle runs on through nearly thirty degrees within the clime of the tropics. Thus all the tones that have been given forth by harp and lyre and flute and voice follow, he declares, the intervals of the seven planets, the pitch of the sounds being assigned after this pattern according to the dictates of proportion. He also calls by the name of harmony the arrangement of the four elements, which are so placed that those of great weight have the lowest place in the earth at the centre (It is clear that in a round shape what is absolutely the middle must be the lowest part); hence it comes about that water, which is lighter, springs up above the land, and higher than both is air, which is purer and thus soars over them, while sky, with its extreme lightness, encloses all these, and at the same time this whole universe takes its poise from the centre. In this temple also Thales inquires by calculations concerning the heavenly bodies how to announce beforehand the eclipse of the sun and the travail of the moon; but he assigns to things a vain first principle, believing that the universe is evolved from water. His pupil takes a contrary view; he says that everything is always created from its own peculiar first-beginnings, and he holds that individual entities have, as it were, springs ever flowing and full of the seeds of things.

He is followed by one who thought that our air produces all things, and who declares that the gods also have a like origin. Fourth in the line is Anaxagoras, who upholds the dogmas of Thales but feels the presence of a divine mind, creator of the world. Next to him sits a younger colleague, but he, believing air to be the substance from which all creatures come, judges that thence God derived the wherewithal to create everything. After them Arcesilas guesses that this great world-mass is produced by a divine mind but is made up of those particles which he himself calls light atoms. After him shines forth the Socratic school, which passed from nature's massive fabric and transferred its practice to enhancing the moral life of mankind. This school they say the peerless Plato adorned, but he moulded it after a triple pattern, being an unmatched pioneer in his joining of physics to logic and

logic to ethics. He is the first to discover how great is the distance between the first essence and the sixth and highest good. For stones, he says, do but exist, and are clearly proved to do naught but exist; next come those things which manifestly both exist and live, but to which you could ascribe no further attribute, trees and plants; the third kind of being is found in the beasts, in whom existing and living are accompanied by motion and sensation; next the fourth creation favours his own fellow-mortals, to whom are given the gifts of existence, movement, life, and sensation, whereto is added the crowning gift of discernment and power to distinguish false from true; the fifth class reveals the created beings that dwell on high, whom some have called gods, because they assume bodies that man can view but soon abandon them and return to their own form, a form of the most ethereal fineness: thus he says it comes to pass that the highest being is shown to be the creator; he is, then, the sixth, and there is naught above him, but all else is beneath him. In this school Philosophy ennobles the life of Polemius and herself fosters him close to her own son Plato; and although the Academy opposes all sects by denying that truth exists, that sect extols him with praises that are true. After them, but now in harmony one with the other, Chrysippus and Zeno teach adherence to the Stoic doctrines. The Cynics are by this time almost shut out, but they linger on the threshold; as for the Epicureans, Virtue ejects them from every part.

On the other side is Minerva's weaving-hall. Here the robe of Jupiter first shows its ruddy gleam; Sidonian purple twice boiled in the cauldron coloured the silken threads, and the deep-dyed red showed not only the sheen of purple, for the gleam of lightning was intermingled, and a blaze came from the stiff threads where the purple was weighted with a broken levin-shaft. Here also hung a likeness of green Glaucus in a spreading mantle; here art had fashioned his billowing robe, and an inwoven storm with mimic swelling was submerging curved ships. The third garment that rose before the eyes was dedicated to Amphitryon's son. Here the infant, encircled by the two serpents sent by his stepdame, smiles in all innocence upon the monsters and, taking the guileful menace as a game, loves them in his ignorance, and with a countenance of grief bewails the dying of the snakes he himself slays. Moreover, there are added in scattered figures these likenesses — the boar, the lion, the deer, the giant, the bull, the yoke, Cerberus, the hydra, the host, Nessus, Eryx, the birds, the Thracian, Cacus, the Amazon, the Cretan beast, the river, the Libyan, the apples, the Lycian, the maid, the sky, and Oeta. This work and all other vestures fit for gods have been set up in that place by maidens' hands. But amid the whole multitude, among all the damsels of Athens and of Corinth, Araneola shines out. Minerva herself strives to match her own hands with hers, but retires beaten from the work-baskets, and when Araneola holds the web she herself prefers to hold weapons. So here this maid copies the stiff-broidered consular vestment of her great-grandfather, making with her own hands a palm-decked robe for her father, wherewith he, a consul likewise, shall match his grandfather Agricola and teach his grandchildren to

link up in their chain of consulships their grandsire as well as their grandsire's grandsire. She had also woven the mantles in which he as Master shone before all eyes in the cities of Spain and in which conspicuous, when the prefecture was thrust upon him, he dispensed the hallowed laws from the president's seat. But on a high strip of broidery upon the consular robe she had playfully fashioned all the famous tales of old-time marriages. First the story of Ithaca and the Dulichian home were figured, and she wove in Penelope herself unweaving the slow-growing web. There also is the Thracian, whose wife has twice been snatched from him; vainly he beats upon the portal of Taenarus with the throbs of his lyre, after breaking the ordinance of Avernus, and he looks not back a second time upon the shade, deeming that this is in his favour. Then there is Alcestis, who puts her husband before herself and vows to cut short her life, which you could see there in the very wool of the Fateful Sisters, not yet spun to the end, for by her destiny life still remains to her. There also shines forth in gold the night of the Danaids; their impious father girds upon them fifty swords, and the discord forced upon them stirs a concordant frenzy. Lynceus alone escapes, saved by the grace of Hypermestra; you could see her there, fearing little for herself and pale only with anxiety for the husband she has suffered to depart. The broiderer likewise changes Jove into the shapes in which he was wont to embrace Mnemosyne, Europa, Semele, Leda, Cynosura, becoming serpent, bull, lightning, swan, and Dictynna. Then the work passed into Danae's tower and the rain of metal; and here Jupiter was dripping with another kind of gold when the maid, looking at Tritonis, saw that the eyes of the goddess were averted and that she was gazing with more pleasure at the arts that give forth learned utterance. Then the maiden's hand was moved to motive new, and with cunning thumb she began to portray Laius, the philosopher's vanquisher, who all over the chin and wrinkled neck of the boorish Cynic severed the odorous beard with fragrant scissors. Pallas smiled, and opened her virgin lips to add these words: "No more shall you laugh at our dogmas — you maid that are bride-to-be of my philosopher; rather now put on the bridal veil and let a matron do this piece of broidery. Rise, Polemius, bright jewel among our sages; now at last put away the Stoic frown, and imitating the Cynic lovers you shall begin to bring me a second little Plato." As he hesitated, the Master addressed him thus: "Proceed with willing heart, and do not haply condemn marriage, which the old teacher enjoins who promptly drained the poison with his eyes fixed on the gods, while Anytus' cheek grew pale."

When these words are spoken he arises and with modest mien commends the austere cloak to the keeping of the knotted cudgel. Then the goddess binds the hair of each with green olive, the emblem of peace, joins their hands, and ordains the contract which the grandfather Nymphidius is to ratify. Atropos approves the omen and the sister Fates with one accord unite the golden life-threads of the two.

XVI. THANKSGIVING TO BISHOP FAUSTUS

Thrust far from thee, O lyre of mine, Phoebus and the nine Muses together with Pallas as tenth, Orpheus and the fabled water of the horse's spring, and the Theban lute that with its music moved the stones to follow it and raised by its strains the eagerly listening walls. Rather do thou come, O great Spirit, I pray, to speak of thy pontiff — thou who didst enter into the heart of Miriam in olden times, when Israel seizing their timbrels marched dry-shod through the trough of the suspended sea, walled in by ramparts of water, and thy people, dust-covered as they passed through the midst of the waves, acclaimed thy triumph:

11 Who didst aid the hand of Judith as it smote the neck of Holophernes, when the trunk was laid prostrate with the throat cut through and the strong blow gloriously disguised the weak sex:

14 Who, filling the basin from the wrung fleece and then bedewing the earth without touching the fleece, didst hearten Gideon; thou Spirit that wert infused into the sounding trumpets, so that victory came from their blast alone:

18 Who didst also inspire the king that was called from amid the sheep of Jesse, the possessor of rich flocks, when the enemy set the Ark of the Covenant on a wain with no drover to guide it and betrayed the loathsome disease by the swelling of the secret parts:

22 Who didst once sound in the mouths of the three youths who when put in the Chaldean tyrant's furnace were but wetted with a dew-like flame when the oven itself was consumed:

25 Who didst fill Jonah, as he traversed the rolling tracts of the whale's belly, while the inward parts of the monster resounded with the psalms sung by the swallowed food, and a hunger that was clogged within belched forth the load of a full but fasting stomach without hurting the prophet, whom the beast, ravenous yet holding off his bite, disgorged from his retching entrails:

31 Who aforetime didst pass in a double portion into the breast of Elisha, when the time came for the fiery chariot to bear aloft the Tishbite in his old age, and the rough-clad charioteer, leaving as a gift his torn coat of skin, entered the flaming car:

35 Who also, when minded to send to earth the second Elias, didst in thy mercy bind the tongue of righteous Zacharias, till such time as a mother in wrinkled eld should make him a father in his old age; and who in bidding the prophet to be silent about thy message didst give token that with the dawn of Grace the Law must know that silence was coming upon it:

40 Who also, born of a pure virgin, before all time God and in time Christ, didst create thyself, as touching the body; who wert wont to give to the blind sight, to the lame the power to walk, to the deaf hearing, and to loosen the tongue of the mute, and didst come that dead bodies might be able to rise from

bed bier, and tomb; who didst in thine adopted flesh suffer torments, enduring buffets, scoffs, stripes, thorns, casting of lots, chains, the cross, the nails, the gall, the spear, the vinegar, and finally didst meet death, though only to rise again, delivering whatsoever had passed into the dominion of the old Enemy through our transgression, when the first woman broke the commandment and so fettered us with abiding guilt (But the Enemy, when he sought thy destruction nor found in thee aught that he could prove to be his own, lost all that Eve gave him by her fall; and this recompense of thine dissolved the bond by which man became a robber's possession. Free from sin thou didst become an ample ransom for sinners, and thou, the new Adam, didst by dying pay the price and snatch the old Adam from death. Thus Death is dead, caught in the very trap himself had made; for attacking without distinction innocent and guilty, he brought it to pass that even those enslaved by sin received the power to be absolved):

64 Who didst likewise bid the ashes of the just to rise with thee at the appointed time, when salvation of a sudden burst upon them who had long been covered up, and a flood of life poured into them and swept their re-knit ashes from the tomb —

68 Do thou grant that I may praise thy servant Faustus, that I may pay my debt of gratitude, which even after this payment I am glad to owe. Thee, great priest, this lyre of mine doth hymn, albeit with a quill unequal to the task.

The first cause and burden of my praises is that when my brother was at an age that is prone to slip his virtue was preserved with thy help through the grace of our Lord, and stands approved — yea, and with no wavering in his good report. This blessing in all its immensity is to be ascribed to thee; the reward will be due to him, but he will be due to thee. If he has of his own free will refused to stumble, let the praise be his; but that he could not have stumbled even if he would redounds by right entirely to thy credit. I praise thee too because when I came aforetime to Reii, while Procyon was raging and the sun's parching fire was marking the thirsty fields with winding cracks, thy hospitality straightway greeted my hot discomfort with peace, home, shade, water, benediction, bed, and board. But a far greater boon than all these was that thou wert willing for me to approach also the hallowed threshold of the hallowed mother. I stood stockstill, I confess, as I felt my unworthiness, and all at once fearful awe coloured my face as it thrilled with adoration; yea, I trembled as if Israel were bringing me to Rebecca or long-haired Samuel to Hannah.

Wherefore I honour thee without ceasing even in my prayers, and now I acknowledge in paltry verse my great affection.

Whether thou dost tarry roughly garbed in a cheerless wilderness by the sun-fired Syrtes or choosest rather a marsh full of green slime or the dark recesses of rocks where deep sunless caves maintain an age-long gloom; or whether the Alps, stretching afar with their long line of precipitous crags, tremble before thee, great anchorite, as thou snatchest brief slumber on the

chill ground (and with all their cold they never overcome the warm glow that Christ hath set in thy heart); for this is the way that thou art urged to go, now by Elias, now by John, now by the two Macarii, now by the great Paphnutius, now by Or, now by Ammon, now by Sarmata, now by Hilarion; and another time the call comes from Antonius, clad only in that tunic which the kindly hand of his master made of palm-leaves:

104 Or whether Lirinus hath welcomed thee, its erstwhile father, whither thou, instead of resting long when thy strength is exhausted, dost often come to serve thy disciples, and thou wilt scarce repose thyself in sleep or take cooked food, but livest a life of self-denial and makest thy fasts rich with intervals of psalmody, meanwhile instilling lessons into the brethren, telling how many great eminences that flat island hath sent soaring to the skies, of what kind was the holy life of old Caprasius and young Lupus, what favour was destined for Honoratus their founder, and who was that Maximus over whose city and monks thou, twice his successor, wert set as bishop and abbot; and thou dost also acclaim in these praises the coming of Eucherius and the return of Hilarius:

116 Or whether the people committed to thy charge now have thee among them, and the lesser folk, with thee in their midst, dare to despise the proud ways of the great; or whether thou dost anxiously take heed what food the sick or the stranger has and how even he is fed whose legs the prison wastes until they slide loosely beneath the fetters; or whether the burial of the dead has all thy thoughts, and loathing not the body of one of the poor although a green hue be spreading over the livid remains, thou with thine own hands dost bear it to the tomb; or whether thou art about to preach from the conspicuous steps of the holy altar, and the eager crowd take their stand around thee that their ears may drink in the healing medicine of the Law's exposition — whatever thou doest, wherever thou art, I wish thee for evermore the blessings of thy three names, Fortunate, Honoured, Greatest.

XVII. TO OMMATIUS, SENATOR

Four days before the first dawn of August raises above the earth its corn-wreathed head there will be celebrated by my family a sixteenth birthday, which craves to be made lucky by your coming. You shall not have a meal set for you on jewelled tables, nor shall Assyrian purple provide your dining-couch. I shall not bury in the manifold recesses of a glittering side-board masses of dark old silver-plate; nor shall there be offered here a cup whose twisted handles clasp sides overlaid with ruddy gold. Our salvers are of moderate size, and not so made that their artistry atones for their lack of bulk. The rustic table of your Gallic friend will not receive loaves that were wont to make the fields yellow by the Libyan Syrtes. As for wines, I have none of Gaza, no Chian or Falernian, none sent by the vines of Sarepta for you to drink. There are here no cups distinguished by the name of that canton which the triumvir himself established in our land. Nevertheless, we beg you to come; Christ will provide all things, by whose grace this has been made a real homeland for me through your love.

XVIII. ON THE BATHS OF HIS COUNTRY HOUSE

Whoe'er you be, if you deign to visit our Avitacum, let it not dissatisfy you: so may what *you* possess satisfy *you*. Here a roof rises that rivals the cone of Baiae, and no whit inferior shines the peaked top with its proud crest. There the chattering water that falls from the brow of the neighbouring hill babbles more busily than the streams that flow from Gaurus. Rich Campania would be ill-pleased with the Lucrine mere if she beheld the waters of our lake. That other shore is adorned by red sea-urchins, but in our fish, O stranger, you see both characters. If you are willing, and if you share our joys with contented heart, gentle visitor, whoever you be, you can create a Baiae here in your fancy.

XIX. ON HIS SWIMMING-BATH

Enter ye the chill waves after the steaming baths, that the water by its coldness may brace your heated skin; and though you plunge your limbs in this liquid alone, our pond makes your eyes swim.

XX. TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW ECDICIUS

The genius of my birth reminds me that the Nones of November are at hand. I do not invite you, I order you to come to me. Bring your wife with you; hasten — a couple this time, but next year I hope there will be three of you.

XXI. FISH CAUGHT AT NIGHT

This night for the first time fixed four fishes on my hooks. Of these I have kept two; do you also take two. Those I am sending are the largest; the arrangement is perfectly just, for you are the larger portion of my heart.

XXII. SIDONIUS TO HIS FRIEND PONTIUS LEONTIUS, GREETING

1. As I was trying to spin out the days at Narbo — which was named of old and has in recent times become in reality the town of Mars — it occurred to me to put together some hexameters after your own heart. I hoped that when you read them you might feel well assured that, although our respective household gods are set in places a bit farther from one another than they ought to be, it does not follow that our souls are as far apart as our homes. 2. Here, then, you can find Dionysus bemused amid the delights of his Indian triumph, and Phoebus also, who, as is well known, is for you a god no longer but rather, through a poet's privilege, an inmate of your house — that same Phoebus who is a great crony of my friend Anthedius, head of the Apolline college, a man who surpasses in the art of lecturing not only all musicians but all geometers, arithmeticians, and astrologers; for I should think no one knows more perfectly the special influences of the various heavenly bodies — the slanting signs of the zodiac, the roaming planets, or the scattered stars of the extra-zodiacal region. 3. He is indeed so eminent in these members (if I may so term them) of philosophy that he seems to me to have mastered without an interpreter, solely by dint of his own genius, the greatest savants among writers on astrology, Iulius Firmicus, Iulianus Vertacus, and Fullonius Saturninus. Following reverently the footsteps of such learning, I pretend to no higher title than a hoarse gander in the presence of a tuneful swan. But why delay you further? I have made your home, "The Castle," my own, using a friend's proper privilege, knowing full well that my subject-matter will please you even though the poem should be entirely displeasing.

THE CASTLE OF PONTIUS LEONTIUS

Stranger, whoever you may be, that have visited the Castle and yet are fain to keep silence about it, may you visit the stalls of the Bistonian king, the altars of Busiris, the table of Antiphates, the Tauric realm of Thoas, and the Cyclops who was robbed of his sight by the cunning of the man of Ithaca and bears on the wide expanse of his forehead, as he ranges through his mountain-cave, a gloomy cavern well-nigh as vast, the socket of his pierced eye: and although Phoebus suffers not all and sundry to give free rein to song and does not here spread out fully the sails of eloquence for every man, yet whoever you are who, with no praise on your lips, view that splendid home, you are thereby put on view yourself; your inclination loudly heralds itself though without voice, for your silence proclaims you dumb with jealousy.

Come then, Erato, strike the Pierian strings for me. Let the Satyrs accompany the strain, playing their part with movement of finger and of foot,

but not interrupting the melody with jerky leaps. All the festive dances that Dryads or Hamadryads hand in hand with the nymphs of the glen have ever danced may they now bestow on thee alone, great Castle! Kindly choir of Nereids, teach the Naiads there at the season when the Garonne flows back thither and ye come, cleaving the sea in the midst of the river. Reveal then, O Erato, the origin of the house, and declare what protecting spirit watches that home; for so great an edifice cannot lack a divine guardian.

It chanced that Bacchus, having laid waste Erythrae, the famed haunt of bowmen, was subjecting vine-bridled tigers to his chariot where a pole that bore clustering grapes entered the double arch. In the car sat the god himself, all languorous; his proud neck sweated with exuded wine; from his head sprang golden horns, which hurled forth his native levin-fire (this he had first received at his birth long before, when he passed from his mother into his father's thigh). Both his temples were covered with the bounties of springtime, and the vintage crop fastened the red flowers in their place; his right hand carried a goblet and his left a thyrsus, and his arms were bare, the cloak just touching without hiding them. There was charm in his swimming eyes, and if he chanced to turn them upon the enemy he dazed those Indians by his mere look and made them drunken. Whenever the wheel jolted, forced upward by rough places, the track was soaked all over with a falling shower of new wine. Bassarids, Satyrs, Pans and Fauns were being taught to frolic by Silenus; he was now filled with the divinity that he had reared, but his head was in orderly array; for on his bare pate he took pains to palliate the loss of hair with a garland.

The next show in this new triumph is horned Ganges. With hanging head he has taken his place; his face is unkempt and his cheeks bedewed, and with his glassy tears he has helped to replenish his parched stream. His hands have been cast into chains, and a vine-branch has fastened them behind his back; and gradually the water thus held prisoner has caused fresh growth, and of its own accord the vine-shoot sends forth new leafage all over those dewy arms.

There also walks in chains the wife of a stolen husband, Aurora. Her saffron-hued countenance is downcast, but her lamp may not be hidden, and she is flushed with the glow of the sun's rays.

Here also appears the Phoenix, who has lost his cinnamon and fears that after this no second death can be his. Then comes a company of prisoners bearing trays laden with their treasures; here are carried ivory and ebony and gold and snow-white gems snatched from pitch-black bosoms. Whoever does not support a load is consigned to fragrant bonds, and it is plain that their very punishment is pleasing, for the verdant chains breathe forth the odour of violets.

Last of the spoil, the dusky elephants advance, a troop of unshapely shape. On their backs is a skin rough and stiff, that will scarce let steel pass through it; for even ruthless javelins fail to pierce that natural barrier, and the hide crackles as it stretches and contracts in turn and with practised defence repels

the smiting missile by shaking out its -wrinkles.

Now the conqueror was speeding his way to Thebes through the vast air and had taken up his revelling rout to the clouds, when he saw the god of Delos approaching from the Aonian height. This god likewise wields the rein, but his steeds are gryphons; curbs of leafy laurel bind their hooked beaks; the hanging reins are green with ivy intertwined. Slowly and steadily do those winged beasts fly along their paths in air and over land, lest haply by a violent flapping of their wings they break the woody reins. The countenance of the god shines with an eternal radiance; clusters of ivy-berries stand out upon his brow and his gilded car is swept by tresses of like hue. On his left he holds a sonorous lyre of ineffable sweetness, with Python graven upon it; on his right are arrows and strings that echo with a different twang. With him advance the Muses, all gathered around him and casting on the midst of his chariot the shadow of their ninefold robes. The serpent of Epidaurus hangs loosely coiled about the shapely tripod, with a hallowed essence diffused throughout his health-giving neck. Joined to them also is Pegasus with his hairy wings, carrying on his back Croton, whose skilled foot brings forth eloquent utterance.

When the two bands came together each god arose to give a brotherly embrace, but Bacchus a little more slowly than the other, for he was shy of betraying his unsteady feet by rising. Then Phoebus said, "Whither away? Can it be, Bacchus, that thou art seeking guilty Thebes? True, Echion's descendant denies thy godhead: nevertheless, leave the city to them, I pray thee; yea, do so, and rather make thy wheels go my way. Agaue scorned thy worship and Niobe mine; hence was Niobe turned to stone in her pride, herself suffering a wound for every wound that she saw her offspring suffer; and as she longed for death my mercy gave her that rigid form, a boon worse than death; 'tis oft an ill service to spare and to inflict on pain longer suffering. So shall not even Pentheus' mother, having slain her son, regain her senses only to become more frenzied still? Nay, can we dwell on the Aonian heights when in time to come an adulterer shall possess himself of his murdered father's bride, to be reckoned brother of his sons, husband of his mother, and stepfather to himself? If thou art fain to go with me, I will tell thee in what land we should make our joint habitation.

"There is a place where two rivers, the Garunna, sped whirling down from a dripping mountain-crag, and the mossy Duranius, which rushes with like swoop to the plain and at last flows out from a bend in its sandy channel, gradually commingle their slowing streams. Here the sea rushes up against the current and with constant coming and going repels or courts the waters that the rivers roll down. But when the Garunna, repulsed by the waxing of the moon, once more gathers its own tidal flood upon its back, then it returns, speeding in headlong billows, and now seems to flow, not backwards, but downwards to its source. Then even the Duranius, though as the lesser it receives from its flooding brother but a lesser share of the water, is likewise

swollen by the ocean, and its banks become sea-shores. Between these rivers, but nearer to one than to the other, there is a mountain piercing the sky, conspicuous in its towering height but destined to have owners still more elevated and to be the birthplace of senators. Some day, when his land shall be under Latin sway, Paulinus Pontius, the founder of the family, shall surround that hill with walls, and the towers shall soar beyond earth's atmosphere; thus on their summits shall rest, shining with a common radiance, the two lights of Stateliness and Succour. Those walls no engine, no battering-ram, no high-piled structure or nearbuilt mound, no catapult hurling the hissing stones, no tortoise-roof, no mantlet, no wheel rushing onwards with ladders already in position shall ever have power to shake. Methinks I see the future that is in store for thee, O Castle (for so thou shalt be called). The house rises from the river's brim and gleaming baths are set within the circuit of the battlements: here when the surging waters are troubled by the murky north-wind, the eaten, jagged rock sends forth a roar from the scarred bank; then from a cleft in the crags a torrent leaps forth and is shot aloft, showering spray on to the very roofs; it lifts up men in boats and often mocks them with a sportive shipwreck; for when the storm is over the flood retreats and strands whole fleets that have been forced up into the baths. But the columns that support the baths, of what manner and size are they? Before them must bow the costly dark hue in the purple quarry of Synnada and the Numidian hill that bears stones like ivory and the marble that burgeons with grass-like veins; henceforth I spurn gleaming Paros and Carystos; poorer now seems the purple suspended in the blushing rock.

"Lest posterity should be uncertain whom the building boasts as its stablisher, a stone is set in the ground at the entrance with the names of the founders clearly graven upon it; and there is water near at hand which clears away all footprints and wipes off all mud with its flooding stream. The house-wall is faced with slabs of cut marble up to the gilded ceiling, which is right fitly concealed by the yellow metal, for the rich prosperity of the house, brooking no secrecy, reveals its wealth when thus it hides its roof. Behind this part there soars, passing high above a double floor, a colonnade likewise double, unknown to the double Wain. This again diverges gently backward, and finally these curving wings turn their horns inward for a little way, and so look back upon it. Its right bend sees the dawn, its front the noonday light, its left the fading day. It loses none of these three quarters of the heavens, but preserves the whole of the sun in the crescent hall. There can be seen the father of Pharnaces plunging into the deep the horses sacrificed to the trident-bearing Jove; you would think the bodies of the steeds had in very truth been smitten by the axe and that real gashes were reddening with spurts of blood; each ghastly wound seems true, and that slain team makes the picture live. Next is seen on one side the ruler of Pontus beleaguering Cyzicus with multitudinous host; but on the other side Lucullus brings aid, and the warriors of Mithridates, forced to undergo the direst straits of hunger, envy their

besieged foe. Here a bold Roman soldier is swimming to land, carrying across the water a scroll all dry despite his dripping body.

“Higher up the granaries multiply with their long stretch of buildings and with produce within so abundant that even their vast space is cramped. Hither shall come as great a harvest as is reaped in Africa’s warm fields or cultivated by the Calabrian or the brisk Apulian, as rich a crop as swells for the stacks of Leontini, or as Gargarus commits to its Lydian furrow, or as Attic Eleusis, that worshipped Ceres with mystic dances, used to garner for her citizen Triptolemus, when long ago the tribes of mankind renounced the acorn and the golden age was perishing now that the golden grain was given. Then there is a summer portico exposed on one side to the chill north: at the other end a harmless warmth comes out from the winter baths and tempers the air of the place when the season requires; so this end is best suited to the cold weather; for the part that fights shy of the Lion’s mouth is thereby unfitted to endure the rage of Lycaon’s Bear. Into the warm baths of the mansion comes a stream from far above, which falls into the mountain, being forced through open channels till at last it circulates its waters under cover through divergent tunnels. Behind the shaded granaries there rises toward the west a structure that is the winter home of the master and mistress; here a goodly fire crackles, which devours the great logs that are piled near at hand; the glowing cloud that comes forth in billows curls upward from the stove, then fades away, and with its blast now broken it spreads a mitigated heat all over the roof. Joined to the room may be seen the weaving-chambers, which the founder dared to build in a style that vied with the temples of Pallas. Some day it shall be blazoned forth by fame that in this sanctuary the worshipful lady of the great Leontius, than whom no other wife of the Pontian house ever rejoiced more in her husband’s illustrious rank, stripped the Syrian distaff and twisted the silken strands along the light reeds and spun the pliant metal, making the spindle swell with thread of gold. Next to this, with wall abutting, there stands a resplendent structure, which shows depicted the beginnings of the circumcised Jews. The brightness of the picture is everlasting: time brings no degeneration in the colours to mar the painted forms.

“You turn left, and a spacious colonnade receives you, its shape curved but its passages straight. To the extreme edge clings a crowded forest of close-set columns. Here is built a lofty dining-room with folding-doors. A conduit of cast metal is near; there is a suspended tank in front of the door: into it the water falls from above, and fishes, advancing with the flow, find the end of their swimming in an upper room — but a watery one. Close at hand rises the first, or, if it please you better, the last of the towers. There the masters of the house will be wont to set their dining-couch in winter. Often-times on its far-seen roof will I sit and view that mountain beloved by my Muses and by the goats; I will walk amid those laurel boughs, and there I shall believe that the timorous Daphne believes in me. Then if you chance to turn your steps towards the two Bears to reach the temple of that God who is greatest of all,

you find the wine-store and the larder fragrant with mingled delights. This place will see much of you, my brother.

“Now agree upon a division of haunts: you shall leave to me my spring, which flows from the mountain, shadowed by an arched covering of ample circuit, much pitted. This needs no embellishment, for Nature has given it beauty. It seems good to me that there no counterfeiting should seem good; no artificial splendour there; no hammer with reechoing blow shall dress those stones, no marble workmanship take the place of the weather-worn tuff. That spring contents me instead of Castalia’s fountain. All else you may have to enrich you: the hills may tremble before your power; here set your captives free, and may their loosened bonds become joyous vineyards all over the Castles hilly slopes!”

Silenus, now all but sober, confirmed this utterance, and the bands of revellers likewise sang their approval: “Nysa, Bromius bids thee farewell; twin-crested Parnassus, Phoebus bids farewell to thee. Let Naxos no longer seek the one or Cirrha the other, but rather let the Castle be our goal, to give delight for evermore.”

5. See, I have sent you something to read amid your bumpers and wassailings whenever you choose to cheer the feast with extra-large cups. You will save my blushes if these lines do not find their way to sober ears. This is not an unlawful or an inequitable demand on my part, since the treatment I deprecate amounts to setting up a premature tribunal for my Bacchus, where he would be subjected to a judgment of decemviral severity.

6. Again, should anyone consider that such a lengthy poem deserves censure for going beyond the brevity of an epigram, it is perfectly clear that he has not been in the habit of reading the “Baths of Etruscus” or the “Hercules of Surrentum” or the “Locks of Flavius Earinus” or the “Tiburtine Home of Vopiscus,” or indeed anything from the little “Silvae” of our Statius; for that man of most assured reputation does not cramp any of these descriptions within the narrow limits of two-lined or four-lined poems, but rather does what the lyric poet Horace enjoins in the “Art of Poetry”: once he has introduced his subject, he appropriately enlarges it by the repeated use of stock “purple patches.” Let this suffice as a specimen of my self-defence, lest this justification of length should itself seem too long. Farewell.

XXIII. TO CONSENTIUS

Consentius, pillar and ornament of manners, I was already preparing to devote the strains of my poor reed to the praises of your hospitality, as you well deserve, when you forestalled me and, reversing the order of things, brought out your trumpet and in verses challenged your old crony, who is more used to that kind of pastime, to produce a poem. Well, the Muse answers your call, but she will move her shameless pen much more cautiously on this account; for in making such an eloquent demand for a song you urge one to write but constrain one to be silent. Lately, when on galloping steed you were travelling to Phocis and the Sestian Baiae, cities conspicuous in the records of the great and famed for battles through the trophies won by two consuls (for the first of these towns bore the brunt of Caesar's armed might and the frenzy of a navy under Brutus' command, the other, bathed in blood, endured the Teuton fray, with Marius proudly standing as the Cimbrian fell), you sent me a manifold poem, skilful, striking, powerful, exquisite. Hexameters marched in their pride, and elegiacs advanced beside them, but with lesser steps that covered but five feet. You sent also graceful hendecasyllables, where spondee and dactyl accompany three trochees, and you have put your Sollius in a charming debt. Now I am asked for interest, and pay it; what I am now disbursing in consideration of your poem is one per cent, of the praises due to you.

To what must I first pay reverence and worship on account of you? To your fatherland, methinks, and after that to your father. He might indeed justly claim the first place for himself, but the parent of parents must needs have precedence. Hail, Narbo, surpassing in thy healthiness, gladdening the eye with thy town and thy countryside alike, with thy walls, citizens, circuit, shops, gates, porticoes, forum, theatre, shrines, capitol, mint, baths, arches, granaries, markets, meadows, fountains, islands, salt-mines, ponds, river, merchandise, bridge and brine; thou who hast the best title of all to worship as thy gods Bacchus, Ceres, Pales and Minerva in virtue of thy corn, thy vines, thy pastures, and thine olive-mills! Thou hast put thy trust in thy men alone, and seeking no aid from Nature thou dost soar to heights that leave mountains far behind. No gaping fosse, no mound with its barrier of bristling stakes surrounds thee; no marble workmanship, no gilding or glass, no shining Indian tortoiseshell, no bars of ivory broken off from the mouths of Marmaric elephants dost thou fix upon thy walls; thou adornest no golden gates with mosaic; but proud among thy half-demolished strongholds thou dost display thy glory won in the old war, and though thy great stones have been battered down thou art prized more highly for those glorious ruins. Let other cities menace by their sites — cities built on high by lowly powers; let walls set on precipitous ridges boast that they have never been felled; as for thee, shattered as thou art thou dost win favour; the widespread fame of that assault hath made thy staunch loyalty renowned.

Hence that martial ruler, the superior even of his great sire, glorious ornament of the Goths, pillar and saviour of the Roman race, Theodoric, loves thee, and from thy fierce resistance of yore he gains assurance of thy present loyalty. And thou canst not be considered unsightly because many an engine of war hath pierced thee, for on the body of the brave the greater the scar, the greater the honour. In the campaign of Marathon it was a sore disgrace for a soldier to have had no wound. Amid the Publicolae with their bold hands Mucius with his maimed arm shone conspicuous. When Magnus was overwhelming Caesar's rampart, then amid a multitude of faces unharmed by the enemy Scaeva with one eye lost was comelier than all. Hard to win is the glory of enduring adversity; it is the indolent, the coward and the dastard that are wont to feign prowess without toil.

Nor is this all. Fruitful mother of Caesars and blest in an offspring of heroes, thou didst give us at one time father and sons holding imperial sway together. Who shall leave unmentioned the campaign against Persia or the victorious warfare of Cams our prince and the marching of Roman legions over Niphates at that time when the Emperor was overwhelmed by lightning and a life that was itself like lightning met its end?

Strong in such citizens and in thy city and thy countryside, thou didst graciously bless me by bringing to life the father of Consentius, a man in whom sparkling wit and Roman sternness were set amid Attic elegance. Hearing him Milesian Thales might well have been amazed, and Cleobulus too, renowned among the eminences of Lindus, and Periander of Corinth, and Bias, whom Priene gave to the world, and Pittacus, the Lesbian master of wisdom, and Solon, who ruled grave Athens and surpassed the school of Socrates, and Chilon, scion of Tyndarean Therapnae, a man to be esteemed before Lycurgus the law-giver. This sage of ours, when in times of leisure he chose to mark the courses of the stars, did not stray from the paths that Aratus trod. When he set his mind on the lore of geometry, Euclid, who knew the measure of the heavens, could not have followed him. When he chose to build rhythmical periods, Chrysippus could not have treated them like the Sorites and hindered him from completing each scheme. When he devoted himself to the art of Amphion with quill, thumb, voice and flute, the Thracian bard, the Arcadian god and Phoebus lagged behind him in every kind of song, and the very Muses might be deemed less musical. If clad in long cloak and buskin he had once entered the Athenian theatre, Sophocles and Euripides would have given way before him; if again he had chosen to write comedies and make the stage resound with the sock, Menander would have lifted an appealing finger and yielded him the palm. When he skilfully embellished the six-footed style after the manner of Smyrna's school, or when he devoted himself to austere history, Homer with his thunder and Herodotus with his rushing flow were scarcely able to keep the first place. Not above him would that stormy orator have been ranked who in olden times was wont to sway the theatre in Pandion's town by his art, whether he launched himself against the one-eyed

Philip or pled insistently the cause of Ctesiphon, — a man ever advancing in favour and justly placed on the topmost pinnacle of oratory, a smith's son who preferred to sharpen his tongue to a fine edge. Why should I sing of the masters of Latin utterance, the man of Arpinum, the man of Padua, the bard of Mantua, Terence, producer of comedies, Plautus, who though born in a serious age surpasses by his brightness the wit of the Greeks; Varro, too, right worshipful for the manysided multitudinousness of his books, Crispus, master of brevity, Cornelius Tacitus, whom by reason of his fertile genius no tongue must tacitly ignore, Arbiter, whose *Gardens of Massilia* make him the peer of the dweller of the Hellespont as worshipper of the sacred tree-stock, Priapus; and languishing Ovid, famed for his lascivious poems and banished to Tomi, too much erstwhile the slave of Caesar's daughter, whom he called by the feigned name of Corinna? Why cite the great Senecas, or Martial, given to the world by lofty Bilbilis — all natives of Spanish lands? Why speak of the poets whom Argentaria Polla, twice yoked in wedlock, presents to us? Why rehearse the names of many masters of divers styles? Tuneful, melting, grave or witty, if Consentius appeared they shrank into obscurity.

To this man supreme alike in genius, nobility, and comeliness, was linked a lady who brought to her husbands home the trappings of honour worn by Jovinus of old and filled the dwelling of a scholar with robes of state. Thus within your walls, Consentius, proud glory of your country, your grandfather still lives on by the lustre of his dignities and your father by his books.

Mighty as you are through this lineage, and yet mightier by your lofty character, I could not sound your praises worthily even if the great father of bards, singing in Odrysian cave where Hebrus with his bustling waters re-echoes among the rocks of the Ciconians, had taught me, while the sweet strings by the power of their music drew the animated stones adown the slopes of Rhodope and, reversing the order of things, bound rivers fast and forced the land to rush panting along, and Mount Ismarus was laid bare to the sun, as the trees, all ears, hied them towards the lyre, and the snows that no heat could melt fell headlong down from bowing Ossa, and the Bistones saw Strymon standing still, its rushing waters athirst for song; nay, not if I had been given in charge to the twy-formed denizen of Pelion and had taken my place by the Centaur's lyre, dreading the neigh of my double-bodied teacher; nor if I had been taught to give utterance by him who was commanded to feed the flock of his servant by the river Amphrysus, a god turned herdsman because with his bow he laid prostrate the grimy Cyclopes down among the furnaces of Lipara, launching in his arrow a bolt more crushing than theirs.

The moment that your warm infant form saw the light, the nine Sisters welcomed you to their arms, and they took you, a wailing babe, from your mother and dipped you in the crystal pool of Hippocrene. At that moment, when they steeped you in the fount, it was no mere flow of prattling water that you drank, but rather the lore of letters. Hence when you had grown to boyhood and were more fitted for a teacher's care you devoured all the course

of rhetoric and of the grammarian's school even as you imbibed it in infancy. Next the Court claimed you and the good Emperor straightway set you among the honourable tribunes of his Consistory ; and the wearer of the purple himself in the citadel of the Empire was wont to preside over your boards — an honour which your noble virtue well deserved. This great eminence and wondrous glory stands recorded in the yearly roll of public dignities. Thereupon you undertook a duty of wide power, and although you might well have enlarged your service-pay by the lawful bestowal of your good offices, you held aloof from that common pursuit of paltry gain, and you returned home made richer in reputation by deeming as yours only what you had given away. At that time if there chanced to be aught that the Emperor wished to be brought to the ears of the Empress's father in the East through an interpreter both honest and skilled, he would straightway choose you as one well-instructed to hold intercourse in the two tongues. O how often — let me say it — how often did the Byzantine realm give you a "bravo!" as you spoke! How often did the dwellers by the Bosphorus applaud and marvel at you, both when you uttered the Latin speech like one born in the Roman Subura and when you poured forth the finished elegance of the Greek tongue like a son of Marathon, so that they admired the natives of Athens less! Thus if the world's treaties had been dissolved, your mediation would have made fierce peoples, the Hun, the Sarmatian, the Goth, the Gelonian, offer peace; safe in the midst of arms through your sheer goodness you would have penetrated even to the Tungrian and the Vachalis, the Visurgis, the Albis, and the remotest fens of the Franks, and the Sygambrians would have done you reverence; the Maeotid mere and the Caspian gates and Bactra, where the roving Parthians ride, you would have approached so resolute and fearless that the tyrant who sits enthroned above his satraps mouthing boasts of his kinship with demigods would have laid aside the arrogance of his pompous court and bowed his crescent tiara before you. Had the fortunes of Rome allowed you to seek Byrsa and the rebel from the Tanais in Africs land, the frenzy of war would straightway have been laid aside, and the trader, after all his losses at the hands of pirates, would have begun to dispatch ships laden with merchandise; and thus, peace being firmly restored through you, I should no longer have been troubled with wars afloat on the seas.

And when you chanced to put aside serious concerns and were attracted by the shows of the theatre, the whole company of actors would grow pale, as if the god of the bow and the nine Muses were sitting as judges beside the stage. In your presence a Caramallus or a Phabaton, with his closed lips and his action that speaks through nod, leg, knee, hand, and spin, will for once be unnoticed all through his piece, whether the daughter of Aeëtes and her Jason are being shown, with the barbarous Phasis, that was affrighted at the teeth thrown upon the Colchian field, when a martial host sprouted up amid a surging mass of corn-spikes and spear-heads commingled: or whether the feast of Thyestes is represented or the lamentations of the wild-eyed

Philomela or the dismembered boy given as food to the husband who thus at the last became the more innocent of the two: or whether it is the Tyrian ravishment and Jove turned bull, with his chief menace in his brow, for he has flung the thunderbolt aside: or whether the scene is the tower of Danae, when it was drenched with a shower of riches and conferred secret joys more golden than the metal: or whether one plays Leda, or by setting the Phrygian youth to serve the wine-cups makes him sweeter to Jove than the nectar-juice: or whether one counterfeits Mars put in Lemnian chains or again invests him, a lover rejected, with a wild boar's form, roughening his head and back with bristles, curving the smooth ivory upward from his shaggy jaws, and the hairy-backed monster is shown sharpening his up-bent weapons by diligent rubbing: or whether Perseus' maid rescued by her lover's falchion is represented, or such song and story as the ten years' war at beleaguered Pergamum affords. Why should I tell how the harpists, flute-players, mimes, rope-walkers and clowns quail as they display before you their reeds, quills, jests, bouts, and ropes? Nay, it was rather the duty of my Muse to record with joy your own great exploits when you were conqueror at the circensian games amid the thunderous plaudits of Home.

Phoebus was beginning a new yearly circle, and two-faced Janus was bringing back his Calends, the day when the new magistrates take their seats. It is Caesar's custom to provide games (called "private") twice in that one day. Then a company of young men, all of the Court, goes through a grim mimicry of the field of Elis with four-horse chariots racing over the course. Now the urn demanded you and the whistling cheers of the hoarse onlookers summoned you. Thereupon, in the part where the door is and the seat of the consuls, round which there runs a wall with six vaulted chambers on each side, wherein are the starting-pens, you chose one of the four chariots by lot and mounted it, laying a tight grip on the hanging reins. Your partner did the same, so did the opposing side. Brightly gleam the colours, white and blue, green and red, your several badges. Servants' hands hold mouth and reins and with knotted cords force the twisted manes to hide themselves, and all the while they incite the steeds, eagerly cheering them with encouraging pats and instilling a rapturous frenzy. There behind the barriers chafe those beasts, pressing against the fastenings, while a vapoury blast comes forth between the wooden bars and even before the race the field they have not yet entered is filled with their panting breath. They push, they bustle, they drag, they struggle, they rage, they jump, they fear and are feared; never are their feet still, but restlessly they lash the hardened timber. At last the herald with loud blare of trumpet calls forth the impatient teams and launches the fleet chariots into the field. The swoop of forked lightning, the arrow sped by Scythian string, the trail of the swiftly-falling star, the leaden hurricane of bullets whirled from Balearic slings has never so rapidly split the airy paths of the sky. The ground gives way under the wheels and the air is smirched with the dust that rises in their track. The drivers, while they wield the reins, ply the

lash; now they stretch forward over the chariots with stooping breasts, and so they sweep along, striking the horses' withers and leaving their backs untouched. With charioteers so prone it would puzzle you to pronounce whether they were more supported by the pole or by the wheels. Now as if flying out of sight on wings, you had traversed the more open part, and you were hemmed in by the space that is cramped by craft, amid which the central barrier has extended its long low double-walled structure. When the farther turning-post freed you all from restraint once more, your partner went ahead of the two others, who had passed you; so then, according to the law of the circling course, you had to take the fourth track. The drivers in the middle were intent that if haply the first man, embarrassed by a dash of his steeds too much to the right, should leave a space open on the left by heading for the surrounding seats, he should be passed by a chariot driven in on the near side. As for you, bending double with the very force of the effort you keep a tight rein on your team and with consummate skill wisely reserve them for the seventh lap. The others are busy with hand and voice, and everywhere the sweat of drivers and flying steeds falls in drops on to the field. The hoarse roar from applauding partisans stirs the heart, and the contestants, both horses and men, are warmed by the race and chilled by fear. Thus they go once round, then a second time; thus goes the third lap, thus the fourth; but in the fifth turn the foremost man, unable to bear the pressure of his pursuers, swerved his car aside, for he had found, as he gave command to his fleet team, that their strength was exhausted. Now the return half of the sixth course was completed and the crowd was already clamouring for the award of the prizes; your adversaries, with no fear of any effort from you, were scouring the track in front with never a care, when suddenly you tautened the curbs all together, tautened your chest, planted your feet firmly in front, and chafed the mouths of your swift steeds as fiercely as was the wont of that famed charioteer of old when he swept Oenomaus along with him and all Pisa trembled. Hereupon one of the others, clinging to the shortest route round the turning-post, was hustled by you, and his team, carried away beyond control by their onward rush, could no more be wheeled round in a harmonious course. As you saw him pass before you in disorder, you got ahead of him by remaining where you were, cunningly reining up. The other adversary, exulting in the public plaudits, ran too far to the right, close to the spectators; then as he turned aslant and all too late after long indifference urged his horses with the whip, you sped straight past your swerving rival. Then the enemy in reckless haste overtook you and fondly thinking that the first man had already gone ahead, shamelessly made for your wheel with a sidelong dash. His horses were brought down, a multitude of intruding legs entered the wheels, and the twelve spokes were crowded, until a crackle came from those crammed spaces and the revolving rim shattered the entangled feet; then he, a fifth victim, flung from his chariot, which fell upon him, caused a mountain of manifold havoc, and blood disfigured his prostrate brow. Thereupon arose a riot of

renewed shouting such as neither Lycæus with its cypresses ever raises, nor the forests of Ossa, troubled though they be by many a hurricane; such echoing roar as not even the Sicilian sea, rolled onward in billows by the south wind, gives forth, nor Propontis, whose wild deeps are a rampart to the Bosphorus. Next the just emperor ordered silken ribands to be added to the victors' palms and crowns to the necklets of gold, and true merit to have its reward; while to the vanquished in their sore disgrace he bade rugs of many-coloured hair to be awarded.

As for your conduct in after-time, when the days of youth were over, when you were welcomed to the Court of my wife's father and were charged with the oversight of the Palace — of this I will tell in a later writing if the future allows me more free time; but now let my obedient Muse proclaim in a few ringing words the hospitality of which I have made mention.

O charming home, O holy hearth, graced by that double glory, so hard to win, so hard to make one — free speech and modesty! O feasts and talks and books, laughter, seriousness, and witty saws, happy meetings, and fellowship ever the same, whether God's temple was to be reverently honoured by us or the glorious house of Livius was to be visited or our way led to the Bishop or to the towering house of Martius Myro or to the house of the eloquent Leo!(If Leo had been expounding the Twelve Tables of the Law, Appius Claudius would have lain low of his own accord, and in that decemvirate so illustrious he would have been a meaner figure; if, again, Leo should sound an epic strain, guiding the metre in brief measured clauses to the thundering note of the lyre, he would force the carping Flaccus to silence, even though that bard after his Satires and his Odes should strive to soar to the heights of the Pindaric swan.) It was the same when we were entertained by the kindness of Magnus, one who is endowed with many a manly grace, with comeliness, birth, intellect, and wealth; truly, were I to go through the list of his diverse achievements, he would wear out a hundred tongues, even tongues of iron, with the telling of his praise — that man so staunch, so talented, so efficient, wise mediator, best of kinsmen, stinting neither himself nor others of enjoyment, regardful as he ever is of persons, places and seasons. It was the same when we found ourselves in the hall of my own Marcellinus, learned in the law, who being immeasurably truthful and strict is deemed harsh by the ignorant; but if anyone has proved him well, then he knows that our friend's judgment is what he would like his own to be; for Marcellinus is never afraid to utter what is right — nor would he be were Sulla or savage Carbo or gloomy Marii or ferocious Cinna threatening him, or if the swords of the triumvirs flashed about his head and side. It was the same when the home of Limpidius welcomed us; a splendid patriot he and a great man, who follows well his brother's pattern; or it might be that the excellent Marinus with his engaging courtesy was likewise entertaining us, a man whose attentiveness and sociableness have earned my everlasting praise. It was just the same if we both took a fancy to visit any other of the brethren, to spare time for whom I

deem a glorious occupation; but though my affection would fain record their names in verse, metre forbids.

Afterwards you would bid us to your own home, when the early morning had passed and the sun with its gathering warmth was bringing the second hour to second our wishes. Then you would bring out the shapely balls and hoops or the dice which with rattling box marshal us for the hurtling throw, and like Nauplius' son, inventor of the art, you would exult in the raising of a merry quarrel. Hence to the baths; they were not those of Nero or those given by Agrippa or by him whose tomb Dalmatian Salonae view's, but we were pleased to go to baths fittingly provided for privacy and modesty. After the bath your cups and a couch in the midst of your Muses would claim us: no statues or likenesses to compare with these were ever fashioned in bronze or marble or colours by Mentor, Praxiteles, or Scopas: Polycletus himself did not mould any so great, nor did Phidias with his chisel.

But now five hundred hendecasyllables crave your pardon for their wordiness. A poem of this size, even if it should please, is too long. Now at last I've had enough of it; and you yourself are finding it an encumbrance to read through such a long hit of your friend in verse, a friend who is more of an idler than a man in a doze.

XXIV. L'ENVOI

When you pass out by my door, little book, pray remember to keep this route; it leads conveniently to some comrades of mine whose names I have carefully put down. Do not tread the old road, through whose whole length the name of Caesar shows bright on very old pillars; go by easy stages: by such slow progress you can call forth prompt affection from our friends.

First of all you shall enter the home of the strict Domitius where our Muse will be very nervous; for even the man who, they say, laughed only once in his life was not as critical as he. Yet you may take pleasure in his sage severity, for if he approve of you, you will satisfy everybody. Next you shall be taken in hand by kindly Brivas, which cherishes the bones of the holy Julian; those bones are deemed dead by the dead, but a living power flashes forth from that tomb. From here you wind through fields more to the right, and having traversed a hill-ridge on the same day, on the morrow you behold the yellow Triober. Next you shall see the land of the Gabales, where the snow lies deep, and, according to what the natives would have us believe, you will view a towering city in a well. Next you shall hasten to those two Spartans of my time, Iustinus and his brother, whose love is the theme of every tongue in the world, thrusting into nothingness Pirithous and Theseus and the faithful comrade of mad Orestes. After they have received you with open arms you shall go to Trevidos and to the hill which is, alas! only too near to those slanderers, the Ruteni. Here you will find the father of the learned Tonantius, the governor and pillar of the Gallic lands, Ferreolus, peer of old Syagrius, to whom Papianilla gives all the help a good wife can, sharing his cares — a woman surpassing Tanaquil and the daughter of Tricipitinus and that votary of Phrygian Vesta who against the fiercely swelling waters of Tiber dragged the ship by her virtuous hair. Next Laesora, which overtops the Scythian Caucasus, shall behold you; so shall the rapid Tarnis, which carries in its translucent waters a fish that haunts the mud, loaded with solid savouriness. Here put on the wings of Zetus and Calais and take flight from that cloudy mountain-ridge, for it is rife with constant gales. But however speedily you are rushing along, Vorocingus shall harbour your wearied frame. Here you will find my dear Apollinaris. He may be clothing his home in a cold wrapping of marble against the heat of the raging Lion; or he may be walking in his secluded gardens, which are like those that bloom on honey-bearing Hybla or those others, the joy of the old man of Corycus, which the waters of black Galaesus darkened; or there among his violets, thyme, privet, serpyllum, casia, saffron, marigolds, narcissus, and blooms of hyacinth he may be rejecting the earthy lump that the Sabaeen carrier of frankincense brings from afar, seeking a great price; or he may have chosen to rest in his mimic grotto on the edge of the hill, where the trees take a backward sweep, striving to make a natural portico, and thereby create not a

grove but rather a cavern. In that place who would now bring into comparison the ancient orchards of the Indian king and the golden vines with their tendrils of verdant electrum in the days when Porus made a metal vineyard with treasure rustling on the yellow branches and clusters of gems swaying about?

Thence you shall go to Cottion and say to my Avitus "Good-day" and then "Good-bye." To that man you owe eternal duty, for (may my near and dear ones forgive me for this!) I put not even a parent before a friend. Next Fidulus, glory of all good men and no humble second even to Tetradius in gifts of character or in steadfast rectitude, shall receive you with pious hospitality. Thence wend your way and at Three Manors visit Thaumastus — either of the two Wonders: the younger is my bosom-friend and also my colleague and in standing my brother; but if you chance to find the elder, bow low and salute him as almost my uncle. Hence pass on to the spacious abode of the consul Magnus and to your friend Felix, O book of mine, and where their father's library stands, a library such as not even the austere Philagrius had, Probus, having given you approbation, will cause you to be admitted. Here you will often be read by my kinswoman Eulalia, of whose character, worthy of Athenian Minerva, strict greybeards and even her husband's father in the days when he wore the purple used to stand in awe.

But enough! Away with you, put out from the harbour, and, lest I weight you further with a load of sandy ballast, up with the anchor even while these verses sound!

LETTERS



Translated by O. M. Dalton

There are nine books of *Letters* by Sidonius, which provide an invaluable source of information on many aspects of life and culture in fifth century Rome. The one hundred and forty-nine letters are addressed to one hundred and nine correspondents, including ex-prefects and patricians, a minister, an admiral of the Visigothic king, a Breton commander and twenty-eight bishops; while among the recipients of letters who did not hold ecclesiastical or secular office are to be found a student, a poet, a young noble, a country gentleman, a schoolmaster and a rhetor. This varied list proves that the writer was a man whose wide acquaintance gave him the right to be heard and respected as a valued representative of his time and country. Though they have been judged by modern scholars as stilted in diction, the *Letters* reveal Sidonius as a man of genial temper, fond of good living and pleasure. One notable letter is addressed to Riothamus, “King of the Brittones” (c. 470), providing evidence that a king or military leader with ties to Britain lived around the time frame of the mythical King Arthur.

CAII SOLLII

APOLLINARIS SIDONII
ARVERNORVM

EPISCOPI OPERA.

IO. SAVARONIS STUDIO

& diligentia castigatus
recognita.



PARISIIS,

In Officina PLANTINIANA,
Apud HADRIANVM PERIER, via Iacobæ.

M. D. XCVIII.

Cum gratia & Privilegio Regiæ.

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PREFACE

IT is somewhat remarkable that the complete letters of Sidonius have never been translated into English. Though their style is often tiresome, though many of them seem at first sight to add little of moment to the sum of existing knowledge, yet the nine books, regarded as a whole, are still in many ways the richest source of information on Roman provincial life during the last years of the Empire in the West. And as a whole they should be read. Even the best selection is liable to omit what is really necessary for a full comprehension of the author and his view of life; omissions which singly appear unimportant have a cumulative power in creating false ideas; they distort the perspective, confuse the values, and invert the relative significance of parts. Where a writer's work does not crush by bulk, or enervate by dullness, it is generally best to let the whole produce its due organic effect, unmarred by the subtractions of an editor. In the present case, the bulk is not excessive, for there are not much more than a hundred letters; and the dull places are easily escaped by every *bonus arbiter et artifex lector*, experienced in the process of winnowing grain from chaff.

If the question of rendering the whole or part were the only trouble with which he had to contend, the translator of Sidonius might rid himself of all anxiety. But he must always be haunted by doubts as to his success in conveying in every case the sense of a confessedly difficult writer, often ambiguous in phrase, and sometimes recalling to the tired mind that creature of the sea which conceals itself at will in a cloud of its own ink. I cannot hope to have avoided error where scholars of eminence have admitted their uncertainties; and there are yet many passages the true sense of which lies beyond my divination.

It would have been possible indefinitely to expand the notes at the end of volume ii; but they have been purposely abridged, that Sidonius may speak for himself with as little interruption as possible. A general knowledge in the reader of Roman history and mythology has been assumed; for instance, notes are not inserted to explain who Sulla or Julius Caesar were; Aganippe and Hippocrene are not defined; nor is the legend of Triptolemus related at length. Philological discussions have been omitted, and explanations confined to points essential to the comprehension of the text; it seemed more convenient that the Introduction should give in a consecutive form many facts which notes could only have given in isolation; and I have endeavoured in this part of the book to supply an abstract of the conditions obtaining in southern Gaul as they are revealed to us in the Letters. Biographical matter is also for the most part removed from the notes; an alphabetic list of correspondents, friends and contemporaries, whose names occur in the Letters, will be found on p. clx, with such cardinal facts in their history as have been ascertained. Names of places have been rendered, as a rule, by their modern equivalents,

which seem to make the geography more immediately intelligible, especially to those acquainted with central and southern France. Where an ancient form is consecrated by general use, or seems demanded by the nature of the context, it has been purposely retained.

Like every other writer on Sidonius, I must express deep obligations to the earlier scholars who have edited the Letters, or described the period with which they are concerned, from Savaron and Sirmond, to Chaix, Fertig, and Mommsen, to Germain, Baret, Hodgkin, and Dill. To the learned Jesuit Sirmond, who edited Sidonius with an erudition worthy of the century of Ducange, and to the Abbé Chaix, whose long and careful study is indispensable to every student, the debt is greatest of all. The edition of Grégoire and Collombet has sometimes received adverse criticism; but though compelled to differ from many of their renderings, I have often found their volumes useful, and consulted them with advantage. For the literary and local history of Gaul in the fifth century, the monumental *Histoire littéraire de la France* of the Benedictines remains indispensable; the same may be said of Tillemont's sixteenth volume. Nor should any writer occupied with the Gaul of Sidonius' day forget the work of Fauriel, of Amédée Thierry and Ampère. Sir W. Dill's sketch of Roman life in the fifth century has constantly rendered invaluable service. Though frequently consulting the text of Lütjohann in the great edition in Vol. VII of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, I have mainly used that of Mohr in the Teubner Series; thanks are due to Messrs. B. G. Teubner & Co. for courteously permitting the use of their edition.

Something has been said in the Introduction on the style of Sidonius (p. cxxi), enough perhaps to indicate the problems which it presents to the interpreter. I have endeavoured to keep in mind the sane view of Dryden, that the translator's first duty is to grasp the sense as thoroughly as possible, in order that it may flow naturally into a new expression, and escape 'tedious transfusion' by copying word for word. A literal transfusion of Sidonius at his worst would be tedious indeed; it would defeat its own end, since we read him for his meaning, and no longer for his Latinity. I have felt it necessary to render his antitheses, and reproduce his puns wherever translation is reasonably possible; but where there is no obvious English equivalent for a gratuitous and pointless contrast, I have often spared my readers, not going out of the way to accentuate what may be fairly called his *curiosa infelicitas*, his love of puerile dexterity. Fortunately, however, he does not always go on stilts, and many letters, especially those written later in life, move simply, from starting-point to goal. His 'style' is not always with him; it is indeed somewhat of a theatrical costume, and separable from his real self. When a busy life compelled him to be direct, he wrote without pretence, and can be translated in the same unpretentious manner. To all admirers of his character, the use of this *stylus rusticans* is a real relief; were he always tricked out in his finery, he would inspire in the world of letters the same amused contempt which the elderly fop Germanicus aroused among his less affected neighbours

at Chantelle (IV. xiii).

I am indebted to my colleague Mr. G. F. Hill for very kindly reading through the proofs.

British Museum, 1914.

INTRODUCTION

(CAIUS) SOLLIUS APOLLINARIS (MODESTUS) SIDONIUS was born at Lyons, about the year 431, and died at Clermont perhaps in A.D. 489, at the age of nearly sixty years. The exceptional interest of the period covered by his life is apparent from these dates; he saw the last sickness and the death of the Roman Empire in the West, and is our principal authority for some of the events which attended its extinction. He was a younger contemporary of Attila and Gaiseric. The campaigns of Aëtius took place in his boyhood; he was a youth of about twenty when the Huns were defeated on the Catalaunian plains, and for the first time in history the Roman and the Teuton fought side by side against a common enemy. He was about twenty-four when the house of Theodosius became extinct with Valentinian III, and the Vandals plundered the city of the Caesars (A.D. 455). He was still alive when Romulus Augustulus laid down his diadem at the bidding of Odovakar. More than once his path crossed that of the last emperors who ruled in Italy; as the son-in-law of Avitus, and a high officer of state under Anthemius, he saw Rome in the final phases of her imperial existence. In his own country he met or corresponded with every person of importance. He had dined with Majorian, he had played backgammon with the Visigoth Theodoric II; he lived to become first the prisoner and then the subject of that monarch's fierce successor, Euric. He exchanged letters with Lupus, Remigius, Faustus, and all the leaders of the Church in Gaul. There was hardly a single distinguished name with which in some way or another his own was not associated. Like Cassiodorus, he enjoyed an outlook over two worlds, the old Roman civilization in its decay, and mediaeval society in its beginnings. To paraphrase a sentence of Sir Thomas Browne, he stands like Janus in the field of history.

Sidonius came of a senatorial family long settled in Gallia Lugdunensis, a family to which, as he himself says, the holding of high office seemed almost a hereditary right: both his father and his grandfather had been prefects in Gaul. His mother belonged to the gens of the Aviti, which was connected with other noble provincial families, the Ferreoli, the Ommatii, and the Agroecii; when therefore he married Papianilla, daughter of the Avitus who became emperor, he may only have added a new tie to an old alliance. He had a brother, who may not have lived to mature age, as no letter is addressed to him; he had aunts or sisters and a mother-in-law, mentioned as taking care of one of his children (V. xvi. 5). A nephew Secundus (III. xii), and a cousin Apollinaris complete the list of his own relations, with the possible addition of Simplicius, who is so often mentioned with Apollinaris that he may have been his brother. He had two brothers-in-law, Ecdicius and Agricola, of the latter of whom we hear little, of the former, much. For Ecdicius was the hero of his native country of Auvergne. He distinguished himself by great gallantry in the last struggle for independence (III. iii), and seems to have had in him much of

the spirit of mediaeval chivalry. Nor was he deficient in other gifts; he must have possessed some talent for diplomacy, since he was instrumental in rallying the Burgundians to the cause of Auvergne at a very critical moment. Sidonius and Papianilla had one son, Apollinaris, and three daughters, Alcima, Roscia, and Severiana. The boy, whose early promise is mentioned in one of the most pleasing passages of the Letters (IV. xii. 1), was destined to disappoint his parents, first in his failure to maintain the intellectual promise of his youth, and later by more serious deficiencies, recorded by other hands than those of his own father. Of the girls, only Roscia and Severiana are mentioned in the Letters, and both in an incidental manner; for Sidonius was not communicative on his family affairs. The name of Alcima does not occur at all: we learn more of her from other sources than Sidonius himself tells us of her sisters. She became noted for her devotion to the saints, and for her munificence to the Church, and is said to have joined her sister-in-law Placidina in a successful effort to obtain the see of Clermont for her brother some years after her father's death (see below, p. li, note 2).

Sidonius was educated in his native city, where the schools, if less famous than those of Bordeaux, were yet of high repute. He passed through the regular course of academic training, the essential parts of which consisted of grammar and rhetoric; and in both Letters and Poems preserves kindly memories of his teachers and fellow students. As might be expected from the fortunate circumstances of his birth, and his father's rank as prefect, his youth was probably a happy one, passed alternately between the city and the country estate, where he enjoyed games and all the pleasures of the chase. His love of eloquence began early; he refers to the delight with which, as a youth of eighteen, he listened to the speech of Nicetius when Astyrius assumed the consulship at Aries in 449 (VIII. vi. 5). After his marriage, which must have been an early one, he probably divided his time between Lyons and Auvergne; in the latter region was situated his father-in-law's estate of Avitacum, which was ultimately to come to him through Papianilla, and of which he has left a description (II. ii; *Carm.* xviii). It was probably during the first years of his married life that he frequented the Visigothic Court at Toulouse, from which he wrote home the very interesting letter descriptive of Theodoric II to his brother-in-law Agricola (I. ii). Avitus, to whose exertions the coalition of Roman and Visigoth against Attila had been largely due, had long favoured an understanding between the two peoples. He had been a familiar figure at the Court of Theodoric I, whose sons he had endeavoured to imbue with Roman civilization; it was therefore natural that he should encourage the visits of his son-in-law to the more important of these pupils. He may not have clearly foreseen the part which he was destined personally to play in the near future; but it must have appeared a possible contingency that the Goths and their Gallo-Roman neighbours might once more be called upon to take decisive action together. With Tonantius Ferreolus and many others, he may well have shared the belief that the Roman understanding with the

most civilized of the barbaric peoples might save an Empire which Italy was too enfeebled to lead. He had seen the Visigoths and the Burgundians in their homes, and learned to appreciate the rude virtues and the manly strength which redeemed the coarser elements in their nature. He dreamed perhaps of a Teutonic aristocracy more and more refined by Latin influences, which should impart to the Romans the qualities of a less sophisticated race and to their own countrymen a wider acceptance of Italian culture. He knew that for more than a century Gaul had been the most vigorous and enlightened portion of the Empire in the West, and as Italy became year by year more helpless, he may well have believed that the leadership of the decaying state might pass into the control of his own country. But throughout he probably gave Theodoric II credit for a greater disinterestedness than he possessed; for in all likelihood the Visigothic king intended to exploit the Roman connexion in the interest of himself and his own people. Be that as it may, when, in 455, the line of Theodosius became extinct with Valentinian III, the murderer of Aëtius, Avitus was sent as *magister militum* to secure the recognition of Petronius Maximus in Gaul. But while he was at Toulouse, news came of that emperor's murder, whereupon Theodoric urged him to assume the diadem himself. After a meeting either of representative magnates or of the Council of the Seven Provinces at Ugernum (Beaucaire), Avitus, then some sixty years of age, was formally invested with the purple.

The event was the first turning-point in the career of Sidonius: it opened before him the brightest prospects of advancement, and awakened in him that ardent desire of political distinction which was for many years to exert so strong an influence on his life. He accompanied his father-in-law to Rome, and there, following the precedent of a Claudian or an Ausonius, delivered the Panegyric of Avitus which earned him the honour of a statue in the Forum of Trajan. But the hopes which the young aspirant might legitimately base upon his relationship to the head of the state were soon dashed to the ground: Avitus did not fulfil the expectations of his friends. His personal courage availed him little in Rome. On the other hand, his character revealed unsuspected weakness, and his position as a provincial nobleman among the critical aristocracy of the capital became each day more difficult. His every action was watched with unfriendly eyes; his bodyguard of Visigoths aroused resentment; and when, to provide their payment, he was reduced to melting statues and stripping the bronze tiles from temple roofs, it needed but a pretext to ensure his speedy ruin. The immediate cause of his downfall lay in the hostility of Ricimer, now only at the beginning of his career as king-maker. The formidable Suëve had achieved a notable triumph over the Vandal fleet near Corsica (456), and, flushed with victory, determined to remove an emperor over whose election he had exerted no control. The unfortunate Avitus, who found his position in Rome untenable, fled to Gaul with the object of obtaining military support, but returning with an insufficient force, was defeated by Ricimer at Placentia. The conqueror, establishing a precedent

destined to be followed more than once in the immediate future, compelled him to exchange the diadem for the mitre, but the transformation did not long preserve the victim's life. Apprehensive that his fate was only postponed, Avitus seems to have sought safety in renewed flight; it is certain that he met his death within a few months of his deposition.

The fall of Avitus was a crushing blow to Sidonius. He returned home, where he found many spirits troubled like his own, and a party among the nobility still indisposed to acquiesce in the rule of Ricimer, or to see Gaul robbed of the leadership which she had fairly assumed. Feeling ran so high that a regular conspiracy was formed with both Visigothic and Burgundian support, in the hope of placing upon the throne a second emperor approved by Gaul. The candidate is conjectured to have been the gallant Marcellinus; but it seems unlikely that such a scheme can have had the consent of the person principally involved, for Marcellinus, actually commander in Dalmatia, had been the comrade of Majorian, now raised by Ricimer to the principate (April 457), and during the new reign played a part of conspicuous loyalty. Majorian had almost all the gifts which make a ruler — courage, prudence, tact, love of justice, and magnanimity. A puppet-emperor might have been defied, but not a man like this. As soon as events permitted, he entered Gaul, and in 458 and 459 reduced the rebels to submission. The focus of the rising was Lyons, which had actually received a Burgundian garrison. Whether these barbaric auxiliaries remained in the city, or whether they were persuaded to withdraw by Petrus, Majorian's Secretary of State, there could only be one end to the adventure; the city, after suffering great hardships, was compelled to unconditional surrender. The emperor felt it necessary to exercise severity; in addition to the ruin of its walls and buildings, Lyons was punished by severe taxation. In this rising and its consequent disasters Sidonius took a prominent part; he seems to imply that he and his friend Catullinus actually bore arms, and he was certainly one of those who had to smart under the lash of a 'tribute' described in one of his poems as triple-headed, like the monster Geryon. After the capture of Lyons, the movement collapsed: perhaps by the secret activity among the rebels of men like Paeonius, the upstart, who during the interregnum had usurped positions to which he had no claim, and who now sowed dissension in the hope of securing favour at the victor's hands. Theodoric, who had attacked Aries, abandoned open hostility, and renewed his previous relations to the empire; the Burgundians, returning to their old position as loyal *foederati*, were confirmed in possession of all Lugdunensis Prima except the capital itself.

From the embarrassment into which his active participation in rebellion had thrown him, Sidonius extricated himself, perhaps with the assistance of the literary Petrus, by the exercise of his poetic talents. His short appeal against the triple impost was successful; he made a further bid for the emperor's favour by writing a *pane-eyrie*. It is difficult to exonerate our author from the charge of a certain moral pliancy in this matter. Not twenty months

had elapsed since he had sung the praises of Avitus before the Senate at Rome, and now he stood forth in the town of his birth to laud the nominee of Avitus' murderer. This second panegyric is in some ways superior to the first; if the heart of the writer was less glad, his pen was no less ready; and the poem contains passages of no small brilliance and great descriptive power. Majorian loved letters, and had a generous nature; he accepted the tribute, and admitted the panegyrist to the circle of his friends. Sidonius received the title of count, and became a *persona grata* at the court; the extent of his influence became apparent during the second visit of Majorian to Gaul in the year 461. At that time there appeared an anonymous satire which created a great stir at Arles; the writer severely lashed some of the personages most prominent under the new régime, among others the parvenu Paeonius, who was naturally consumed with the desire to unmask the hidden assailant. He thought he had succeeded in tracing the lampoon to Sidonius, whom he would have gladly humiliated. Instead of this, he was himself subjected to new and conspicuous discomfiture in the presence of the emperor, who at a banquet endorsed the conduct of his new friend by publicly resenting an unproved insinuation (X. xi). Once more the star of Sidonius seemed in the ascendant; for the second time it was eclipsed. Majorian's career, which promised so much for the empire, was suddenly arrested, and the last real emperor of Rome fell a victim to the jealousy of Ricimer (461). The king-maker availed himself of the disappointment caused by the failure of a new naval expedition against the Vandals to remove too popular a rival. During the next four years he kept upon the throne Severus, a feeble personage on whose nullity he could rely. Severus died in 465, whereupon Ricimer for two years controlled the destinies of Italy alone. In 467, however, a rapprochement with the court of Constantinople, alienated by the murder of Majorian, became the interest of Italy, and the Senate requested Leo I to nominate an emperor in the West. He complied, naming Anthemius, a great Byzantine noble, son-in-law of Marcian, and a soldier of high repute. Soon after the new ruler had landed in Italy, he endeavoured to conciliate Ricimer by giving him his daughter Alypia in marriage. For the first time since Majorian's death Italy indulged new hopes. Under a soldier supported by Byzantine influence she might make head against the barbarian without, while the union of Ricimer with the imperial princess promised internal peace.

When his prospects were for the second time overclouded by the untimely fate of Majorian, Sidonius passed six years of retirement at Lyons and upon his favourite estate of Avitacum. The quietness of his life was relieved by more than one round of visits to friends at Bordeaux and Narbonne; a number of the letters, and these among the most entertaining, were probably written during the leisure which he now enjoyed. But for the ambitions awakened by experience of two courts and only latent during these years, this would perhaps have been the happiest period of his career. Reading or composing in his library, or instructing his young son; wandering in his grounds by the lake,

and amusing himself upon occasion with games and with the chase, he found the hours pass not unpleasantly at home; abroad, the society of the cultured friends and relatives who vied with one another in their desire to show him hospitality, afforded him the most agreeable of distractions. But he had tasted publicity and imperial favour; he had fallen under the glamour of Rome; and amid all the ease and calm of his existence the thought of the prizes which had just slipped from his grasp was a source of secret discontent. He was still well under forty; he could not yet resign himself to the undistinguished life of a provincial noble. While Ricimer remained sole arbiter of Rome's destinies, Ricimer who had caused the death of both his patrons, there seemed no place for him on the greater stage of the world. On all sides the road was barred against him; he must accept the fate of the disappointed man.

Into these shadows the election of Anthemius and the improved position of affairs in Italy brought a sudden light; hopes almost abandoned rose once more. Sidonius began to consider whether he might not attain at the new court the position which fortune had twice placed almost within his reach and twice withdrawn. The course now taken by events was exceptionally favourable to the attempt. Anthemius fully grasped the importance of strengthening his new dominions, and his attention was naturally directed to Gaul as the bulwark of empire in the West. The provincials on their side were anxious to explain their needs, and to enlist the sympathies of the new prince; they probably had grievances for redress, and schemes for a strong policy against barbaric encroachment. A deputation was appointed to visit Rome, and after offering congratulations to Anthemius, to lay before him the hopes and the necessities of the country. What more natural than that the eloquent son-in-law of Avitus, one used to courts and no stranger in the capital, should be selected to act as leader? Doubtless to his great satisfaction, Sidonius found himself once more preparing to cross the Alps, furnished with an Imperial letter which placed all public means of transport at his disposal. After a favourable journey down the Ticino and the Po to Ravenna, he learned that the emperor was at Rome, and followed him thither by the Flaminian Way, arriving on the eve of the nuptials of Ricimer and Alypia.

The first step was taken; Sidonius had now to see that on this, his third endeavour to rise, he reached an altitude commensurate with his persistent effort and with the dignity of his family. It is probable that Anthemius met him more than half-way, and that the comedy of advancement in which Sidonius now engaged was in reality directed by the imperial advisers. It was very important for the emperor to conciliate Gaul. He was now perfecting a defensive scheme against the aggression of Euric, which involved the sanction of all Burgundian appropriations, and possibly a further cession, in order to secure the more willing cooperation of Gundioc. It was a matter of moment to win for his policy a man of such influence in Lyons and Auvergne as Sidonius, and it may therefore be fairly surmised that the way of ascent was made smooth for the aspirant's feet. The leader of the deputation took up his

quarters with a cultured Roman noble, Paulus, by whose assistance he prepared to combine the prosecution of his mission with a legitimate advancement of his private fortunes. The two selected the most efficacious patron in the Senate, Basilius, who had the reputation of obtaining promotions for all his clients and not for his relatives alone. It was arranged that the emperor should be favourably impressed by a panegyric delivered on his assumption of the consulship for the second term on New Year's Day, 468 A.D. The story which must be read in Sidonius' own words (I. ix), recalls some episode from court-life in the eighteenth century; as Baret has said, the scene might almost be an *entresol* at Versailles. The panegyric was graciously received — had not Basilius guaranteed as much? And the poet was magnificently rewarded with the office of Prefect of Rome, carrying with it the presidency of the Senate. It can hardly be supposed that the appointment was nothing more than a distinction offered to Letters, like the consulship of Ausonius, or those nominations with which ministers of the eighteenth century recompensed their literary partisans. As already hinted, it is more probable that in part at least the affair was prearranged, and that the panegyric provided an ostensible motive for an act really dictated by considerations of imperial policy.

Sidonius now rode, as he would have said, at a safe anchor of glory, he had attained the highest grade but two in the imperial system of honours. There remained only the titles of Patrician and Consul; could he win these, he would have achieved the feat which he repeatedly declared to be every man's proper ambition; he would have risen to a higher rank than any of his ancestors. In the moment of his elation, he doubtless indulged golden dreams; but the unselfishness of his nature is shown by his evident desire that his friends in their turn should set their feet upon the official ladder, and by his promises to do all that he can to further their advancement. Yet he soon found that office has its troubles; almost from the first, the path of greatness was rough to his feet. Among his duties as prefect was the superintendence of the Corn Supply, the *Praefectus Annonae* being his subordinate officer. On one occasion supplies ran dangerously short, and he grew somewhat alarmed, fearing outbreaks in the amphitheatre on the part of the spoiled Roman populace; fortunately the arrival of ships at Ostia preserved him from the unpopularity which he dreaded (I. x. 2). A more serious event was the impeachment of Arvandus, Prefect of Gaul, and a personal acquaintance of his own, before a committee of the Senate on charges of peculation and high treason. Sidonius was now placed in a most embarrassing position. On the one hand, he could not but sympathize with this effort of his native province to end by a signal example the insolence and corruption which were leading Roman provincial government to disaster; moreover, the principal accuser, Tonantius Ferreolus, was his connexion and intimate friend. On the other hand, to leave Arvandus to his fate without lifting a finger, appeared a dishonourable and cowardly course. He decided to do what he could for the impeached man who proved an

intractable client, committing every possible blunder in the defence, and rendering the severest sentence unavoidable. The action of Sidonius has been commended by historians, among whom Gibbon is numbered. He necessarily incurred much odium (I. vii. i); for never had representative of law and order a more compromising client. The praise which thus falls to his lot is doubtless deserved, for it may well have been that Sidonius was unaware of Arvandus' treasonable correspondence with Euric, a matter which the prosecution may have kept as the trump-card to be played at Rome, and perhaps deliberately concealed from all friends of the accused, however nearly connected with themselves. Even when the treasonable letter was produced, Sidonius may have hoped against hope that it was not a genuine document, but had been supplied to the accusers by more unscrupulous enemies of the fallen prefect. But though we may approve this loyalty to a fallen friend, we cannot but feel some astonishment that a man of Sidonius' high character should have permitted himself an intimacy with an unscrupulous and violent personage like Arvandus: he was wont to choose his intimates among men of a very different stamp, and to be fastidious in selection. The conceit and obstinacy of the ex-prefect frustrated all efforts to establish a plausible defence, and Sidonius absented himself from Rome before sentence was pronounced, probably to avoid the pain of witnessing a condemnation which he had been unable to avert. But he and those who acted with him did not relax their efforts on behalf of the condemned man; in all likelihood the commutation of the death-sentence to banishment with confiscation of property may be ascribed to their active intervention.

Events of such a nature must have rendered the term of his office an anxious time for the Prefect of Rome. There was another and yet graver cause of anxiety, less immediately conspicuous, but big with coming trouble. This was the increasing tension between Anthemius and his new son-in-law. To any one gifted with political foresight, an ultimate rupture became day by day more certain; and it may be that the retirement of Sidonius was hastened by his desire to leave Rome before fresh disasters broke on the ill-fated empire. This explanation of his final departure is perhaps as likely as that which would attribute his second return from Italy to something in the nature of honourable dismissal. It is possible, however, that, like Mr. Secretary Addison in 1717, this earlier literary statesman proved unequal to the routine of administration, and that the title of Patrician which he now received, was intended to cover any mortification at the premature close of his career; but the capacity for affairs manifested in the stage of his life on which he was now to enter, is rather against the supposition of actual failure. Whatever the causes of his retirement, Sidonius now bade farewell to secular ambitions; restored to the peace of Avitacum, he may well have reflected upon their vanity, and tasted the last bitterness of disillusion. It is a probable conjecture that such reflections gave a more serious turn to a mind never irreligious, and that the evident change of his outlook on the world conditioned the event which was

now to transform his life. On the death of the Bishop of Clermont, Sidonius was invited by general consent to occupy the vacant throne, and he accepted the invitation. Assuming him to have been born between 431 and 433, he was now about forty years of age. The Letters contain no allusion to the circumstances immediately preceding this, the crucial event of our author's life. Nowhere does Sidonius allude to the invitation itself, of the persons who made it or to the arguments which they employed, though more than once he describes his new profession as having in a sense been forced upon him, as indeed it had been forced upon many other men of birth and wealth alike in Italy, and in his own country, among whom St. Ambrose himself is numbered. It is not difficult to supply the information which he omits to furnish. In those troubled times, the Church had special need of leaders familiar with the traditions of high office, trained to public life, and possessed of ample fortune (see below, p. lxxiii). Such men were better able than any others to stand between their flocks and the imperious barbarian princes who, with every year, closed in a narrowing circle round the dwindling territory of Rome. The careers of a Patiens and a Perpetuus proved the wisdom of those who elected them: the career of Sidonius was destined to justify it in an equal degree. He probably accepted the office not only from the changed view of life which led him to despise worldly ambition, but also because he believed that it opened to him a prospect of useful action for the benefit of his fellow countrymen. He well knew the anxieties and labours which it would involve; long before his own ordination, he had been acquainted with some of the best among the Gallic bishops, and the arduous manner of their life. There can be no question of vanity or ambition in his acceptance. As far as worldly honour went, the ex-Prefect and Patrician had nothing to gain by occupying a bishop's throne; and Clermont was not even a metropolitan see. Several letters written by Sidonius to other prelates soon after his election show that he was sincerely oppressed by the sense of his own unworthiness, and aware how little his previous life had prepared him for his new career; at the same time his health seems to have suffered, and a dangerous fever brought him almost to death's door (V. iii. 3). But he was cheered by the receipt of encouraging and kindly replies from several bishops of the Province; that of Lupus of Troyes, which is preserved, must have caused him peculiar pleasure, for Lupus was the most venerable figure in Gaul, and regarded with respect in every diocese.

Events were now moving to a crisis which was to put the character of Sidonius to the severest test, alike as patriot and as ecclesiastic. The hold of the empire upon Gaul continually relaxed. It had rewarded the friendship of the Burgundians by permitting great annexations of territory; its enemies were never satisfied. Riothamus the 'King' of the Bretons, who had been entrusted with the defence of Berry with some twelve thousand men, had already been defeated by the Goths, whose ambition was an ever-present menace. Count Paul, for a while the Roman commander, had checked with Frankish support their advance north of the Loire, but they now added to their dominion the

northern part of Aquitanica Prima, with the cities of Bourses and Tours. While Euric's lieutenant Victorius made steady conquests in Aquitanica Prima he himself overran the country beyond the Rhône, which he was unable to retain on account of Burgundian jealousy.

The fulfilment of his ambitions involved the absorption of Auvergne, the most loyal district which remained to the empire, inhabited by a war-like race claiming Trojan descent, a people which had fought with Hannibal, and, in the person of Vercingetorix, sent against Julius Caesar a captain worthy of his military genius. Their principality had been the most formidable in Gaul, and they had long enjoyed the reputation of freemen and warriors. Such men, whose leaders still desired Roman rule, even with the traitorous Arvandus and Seronatus as the official representatives of the empire, were not likely to accept Visigothic domination without a struggle. Their country was apparently exposed for several years to a series of raids and invasions culminating in sieges of the city of Clermont, whose people offered a most stubborn resistance, with Sidonius at their head. The bishop was no longer animated by the sentiments towards the Gothic monarchy which had inspired his eulogy of Theodoric II. Euric was a very different man from his murdered brother, more violent, less refined, less amenable to reason. He made no pretence of recognizing Roman supremacy; moreover his Arianism was of an aggressive type, and with Sidonius, whose Catholicism was orthodox and sincere, this was a factor which now weighed more than any other. The Arvernians, though at first they had conceived new hope from the accession of Nepos, now began to fear that they looked in vain towards the Rome for which they prepared to make the utmost sacrifices. As the year 474 advanced it was seen that without imperial support their position was hopeless. Sidonius had attempted to postpone the evil day by diplomatic means; Avitus, whose family name was so well known to the Goths, had been sent to intercede with Euric; Ecdicius seems to have been dispatched to solicit aid from the Burgundians. But neither was able to prevent the horrors of continued siege. The defenders fought with tenacity; and though their walls were damaged, though fires destroyed whole quarters and they were reduced to extremities by hunger, they succeeded in holding the city. Their spirits were at one time raised by a heroic exploit of Ecdicius, 'the Hector of this Troy,' who with a little band of eighteen troopers broke through the enemy's lines, inflicting heavy loss upon seasoned warriors, perhaps overcome by a momentary panic. The privations of the city had been so severe, that a party was apparently formed in favour of accepting Gothic rule, a party perhaps recruited by Gothic agents, who no doubt reminded the suffering citizens that the exactions of Visigothic counts were not likely to exceed those of Seronatus. This was a move of which Sidonius perceived the peril. The tension of war was followed each winter by inevitable reaction. The Goths had burned the crops; and though the generosity of Patiens and Ecdicius, now and later, did much to relieve distress, men stood among ruined homes and

saw their families still suffering the pangs of hunger. The advocates of surrender had here a promising material to work upon, and Sidonius strained every nerve to counteract their efforts. He induced his friend Constantius of Lyons, a venerable priest whose name was held in honour in Auvergne, to visit Clermont. The appeal was not in vain; though the winter weather was severe, the old man braved every inconvenience of the way, and by his cheerful presence and calm advice composed the differences and animated the courage of the people. The bishop also instituted the solemn processional prayers or Rogations already used in time of peril by Mamertus, bishop of Vienne. These also had a tranquillizing effect. But there was still a prospect that the siege might be again renewed, and all eyes were turned to Italy. Julius Nepos was alive to the danger that Euric might cross the Rhône; but weak as his resources were, he could only hope to secure peace by negotiation. The quaestor Licinianus, who had been sent into Gaul to investigate the condition of affairs upon the spot, had done little more than confer upon Ecdicius the title of Patrician, an honour which even at this anxious time highly gratified Sidonius, and filled Papianilla with delight; he had now returned, and it was soon only too clear that hopes based on his intervention were not likely to be fulfilled. Rumours of negotiations were in the air. We find Sidonius writing for information to those presumably in a position to receive early intelligence. To this last period of suspense, if not earlier, may belong the visit to the Burgundian kingdom, when he was able to frustrate the machinations of the informers threatening Apollinaris. He began to fear that something was going on behind his back, and that the real danger to Auvergne came no longer from determined enemies but from pusillanimous friends.

His suspicions were only too well founded. On receipt of the quaestor's report, a Council was held to determine the policy of the empire towards the Visigothic king. Four Gaulish bishops were empowered to enter into negotiations — Leontius of Arles, Graecus of Marseilles, Faustus of Riez, and Basilius of Aix. It is not easy to say whether they failed because they refused to surrender Auvergne; nor can we precisely define the relation of their mission to that undertaken on behalf of the emperor by the venerated bishop of Pavia. Schmidt considers that the embassy of Epiphanius took place when the negotiations of the four bishops had broken down, and that the treaty of 475 was ratified by him. The empire did not feel strong enough to support Auvergne, and it was decided to cede the whole territory to Euric, apparently without condition, unless, indeed, the Visigoth undertook that Catholics should receive fairer treatment, and that the disabilities from which they had suffered should cease. If so, the contingent religious advantages of the treaty might ultimately have soothed Sidonius the Churchman, as the shame of surrender at first incensed Sidonius the patriot. But when the news of the decision reached him he gave way to an outburst of righteous indignation, and wrote to Graecus, his intimate friend, a letter in which the bitterness of reproach is no less remarkable than the exalted tone of patriotism. Sidonius

loved Auvergne; among all the Gallo-Roman nobles none was more devoted to the imperial connexion than he; none attached more weight to the maintenance of Latin letters and Roman civilization. He was cut to the heart. All the valour of Auvergne had been thrown away: the treaty seemed an impossible, an incomprehensible betrayal; the thought of it filled him with mingled shame and sorrow. The year 475, in which he ceased to be a Roman citizen, was the darkest year of his life.

In the organization of his new territory, which he seems to have annexed without further opposition, Euric showed the qualities of a statesman. He appointed Victorius, a Catholic and Gallo-Roman, as Count of Clermont, a man whose piety Sidonius praises, but whose character is painted in a different light by Gregory of Tours. He probably intended to act as fairly by his new Catholic subjects as violent prejudice would allow. But the conduct of Sidonius in encouraging so protracted a resistance at Clermont had incurred his sharp resentment. The bishop was imprisoned in the fortress of Livia, situated between Narbonne and Carcassonne. There may have been some pretence of entrusting him with a special duty, but probably the principal object of the victor was to keep him away from his people until the new government was fairly established. Sidonius seems to have remained for some time within the walls of Livia, but to have undergone no great physical hardships, since his chief complaint is that he suffered from the chattering of two repulsive Gothic hags outside his window (VIII. iii. 2). He had a powerful friend at court in the person of Leo, Euric's Secretary of State, who only waited a propitious time to intercede for his unfortunate countryman, and meanwhile recommended him to occupy his mind by literary work. It must have been due to the solicitations of Leo (VIII. iii) that the prisoner was at last removed, apparently on parole, to Bordeaux, where Euric was now holding his court; and here, among a crowd including members of numerous barbaric tribes, he was forced to wait the king's good pleasure. Sidonius was ill at ease about his property, perhaps his loved estate of Avitacum, all, or part, of which had been seized during the recent disturbances. He found it difficult to obtain justice; and in a letter to his friend Lampridius (VIII. ix), whose case was very different from his own, bewails the hardness of his lot; but the verses which accompany the letter are practically a panegyric of the Visigothic ruler, whose power they exalt to the skies. As Lampridius was now a favoured personage in the king's entourage, the writer doubtless hoped that they would be brought to the royal notice, as indeed they probably were; the subsequent permission to return home, soon afterwards accorded to Sidonius, may well have been hastened by this timely resort to the arts of the court poet. Euric was perhaps of opinion that his prisoner had now suffered enough, and would cause him no further trouble.

The bishop returned to Clermont in a despondent mood. The Patrician and ex-Prefect was brought low; the idol of his patriotism was shattered. He saw himself abandoned by the government for which he had willingly risked his

life; he was the subject of a barbarian whose manners he despised and whose heresy he detested. There remained to him only his faith and his pastoral duty; and in time these were sufficient for him, leading him to those paths of sanctity which were to result in his canonization. But at first the new life was hard; Auvergne enslaved was no longer Auvergne to one whose youth was full of such memories as his. He threw himself with a high sense of duty into his episcopal work; several of his letters refer to events and meetings which occurred in the course of his diocesan visitations; those which were written to aid clerks, deacons, readers, and others in need of his assistance prove that he did not spare himself when an opportunity came to help his neighbours or dependants. But in spite of all these activities, there must have been long and melancholy hours, especially in winter; and his friends feared their effect on his mind. They therefore encouraged him to write; and to this encouragement we probably owe the nine books of the Letters. The first book was issued in response to a request from the aged priest Constantius who had rendered him such noble aid after the siege of Clermont. It probably appeared in 478. It was followed by Books II-VII, dedicated to the same venerable friend. Books VIII and IX were supplemental, the first added to gratify Petronius, though still dedicated to Constantius; the second by desire of another friend, Firminus.

There can be no two opinions as to the wisdom of his friends. It is clear from more than one passage that Sidonius enjoyed rummaging among his papers for any letters suited for publication, and that to transcribe, correct and polish the pages written at various periods of his life provided just the distraction which he required. To the gradual process of publication may in part be ascribed the lack of chronological order in the Letters, which makes them appear inconsequent to the modern reader, though it is not the sole reason (cf. below, p. cliv). But Sidonius was not only asked for collections of his letters. His talent as a poet was still in request. If a new church was erected, a metrical inscription for the walls must come from his hand; if a notable person died, he must provide an elegy. High ecclesiastic though he was, he was still expected by privileged persons to furnish occasional verses; and though he sometimes declined a request which he felt inappropriate, at others he could not find it in him to refuse. He was also urged to write the history of periods falling within his own remembrance, a task which he was unwilling to perform. But he occupied himself with Commentaries on the Scriptures, and composed, among other religious works, certain *Contestatiunculae*, which appear to have been prefaces to the Mass. The loss of his religious writings makes it impossible to estimate his position among the doctors; Gennadius placed him without hesitation among their number. His activities were not confined to composition; he also revised manuscripts. Thus we find him sending to Ruricius a Heptateuch collated by his own hand.

Amid these manifold occupations, pastoral, literary, and scholastic, the later life of Sidonius wore away. In the words of his epitaph (see p. Hi), he lived tranquil amid the swelling seas of the world (*mundi inter tumidas*

quietus undas). He continued to write to his friends and to receive letters from them; it is thought some examples may date from 484, or even later. This was an important year, for it marked the death of Euric, and the succession of a weaker ruler in the person of Alaric II. The disappearance of the great Arian may have relaxed in some measure the tension between the Catholic Gallo-Romans and their unorthodox rulers; but it prepared the way for the final subjection of Gaul under a single barbaric nation. The Franks soon afterwards commenced the advance which was only to end on the shores of the Mediterranean; in 486 Clovis ended the shadowy rule of Syagrius between the Loire and Somme, and prepared the way for a descent upon the Visigothic and Burgundian kingdoms; Sidonius may even have lived to hear of this event. The last years of his life are said to have been embittered by the persecution of two priests of Clermont, Honorius and Hermanchius, possibly representatives of the Arian heresy. The story runs that they proposed on a certain day to drive Sidonius from his church, but a horrible fate overcame one conspirator, and the other for the moment desisted from aggression. Thus Sidonius, when his time came, was suffered to die in peace. He is said to have fallen sick of a fever, and to have been carried into the church of St. Mary, where he took an affecting farewell of his flock, and indicated his desire that Aprunculus should succeed to his office. Little more is heard of his family after his death. His son Apollinaris is said to have been one of his successors in the see of Clermont. The year of Papianilla's death is unrecorded; of her daughters, we know only the meagre facts with regard to Alcima related by Gregory of Tours. By the end of the sixth century the house which had played so great a part in Gaul was no longer known to history. Sidonius was buried in the chapel of St. Saturninus at Clermont, and an epitaph of eighteen hendecasyllables, composed not very long after his decease, is quoted by Savaron from an early manuscript formerly belonging to the Abbey of Cluny, but now at Madrid. At some time after the tenth century, the chapel having fallen into ruin, his remains were translated to the church of St. Genesius in the centre of the town, where they lay in a reliquary on the right-hand side of the principal altar. In 1794 the church was destroyed; it is not known whether the bones were actually burned within the Place de Jaude, or whether the reliquary was buried under the ruins of the demolished walls.

Such were the principal events in the career of Sidonius, Gallo-Roman noble, Prefect and Patrician, Visigothic subject, bishop and saint. His letters have been compared to a literary Herculaneum, preserving under the accumulated centuries the most varied evidences of late Roman provincial life. We may gather from them a multitude of facts bearing upon the society, civil and ecclesiastical, of the time; and though the value of Sidonius as a chronicler is seriously affected by an upbringing which set more store on literature than on observation, the harvest is plentiful enough. He experienced life under such various aspects, and knew so many people, that he could not fail to present a picture of provincial society of the highest interest and

importance. It was inevitable that he should see things in the light of his own times, and remain under the influence of his own environment. He does not say as much about common things and ordinary events as a modern historian would like to know; he is reticent, after the Roman manner, about his family. It was not an age which cared to talk much of private life, or to describe the usual scenes of city, farm and country-side; nor was it the age of confessions, confidences and apologies. Sidonius does not depict his inmost nature like Montaigne, though in many little touches, applied almost at random, he allows us to trace for ourselves a portrait which he would not himself elaborate. We must not therefore go to him either for the sociology of the fifth century, or for the more intimate aspects of life; his mind was absorbed in other things. But when all deductions are made, we shall still find in his pages much invaluable material even on the subjects which he disregards; while those on which he cared to be explicit receive from him more illumination than from any contemporary writer. This is especially true of the lives of the members of his own class, of the literary activities of fifth-century Gaul, and of ecclesiastical affairs. His hundred and forty-nine letters are addressed to a hundred and nine correspondents, including ex-prefects and patricians, a minister and an 'admiral' of the Visigothic king, a Breton commander, and no less than twenty-eight bishops; while among the recipients of letters who did not hold ecclesiastical or secular office are to be found the student, the poet, the young noble, the country gentleman, the schoolmaster and the rhetor. So varied a list proves that the writer was a man whose wide acquaintance gives him a right to be heard as a representative of his time and country.

Many allusions in the Letters will be more intelligible if a few words are said in the present place on the general conditions obtaining in Gaul when Sidonius wrote, with especial reference to the classes from which his correspondents were drawn. And firstly in relation to his own class, the provincial nobles of senatorial houses.

Perhaps the point which first strikes us is that life on the great estates in the last half of the fifth century, at the very end of Roman power in Gaul, is just as Roman, and in some ways almost as secure, as in the times of Hadrian or Trajan. The noble has his town house and his country villa, the latter with its large establishment of slaves, its elaborate baths, and all the amenities of country existence as understood by Roman civilization. In his well-stocked library he reads his favourite authors, writes himself in verse and prose, or maintains a continual correspondence with friends of equal wealth and leisure. For diversion, he hunts and fishes, or rides abroad to visit his neighbours; if interested in the development of his land, he goes round the estate, watches the work in progress, and is present at the harvest or the vintage. It is the life of the cultured landed proprietor in a country at profound peace, where soldiers seem to be neither seen nor thought of, and the only sense of insecurity arises from the presence of robbers on the lonelier roads; but for the apparent predominance of literary over sporting interests, we might be reading

of the English shires in the days of the Georges, when the carriages of nobles were stopped by highwaymen on Bagshot Heath. Yet the Visigoths had been established half a century in Aquitaine; the Burgundians were on the Rhône; the Franks were pressing upon such territory in northern Gaul as still retained a shadow of Roman authority. The barbarians encompassed the diminished imperial possessions upon three sides; even before the time of Anthemius and Euric, the empire must have been aware that they were bent on a further advance. When we think of the apprehension caused in modern times by the threatened invasion of one nationality by another, of the military preparations and the manifold precautions on every hand, it all seems at first sight very strange. The explanation is to be sought in the fact that, for the majority of the population, the possibility of change had no exceeding terrors. The small landowners and townsmen had suffered to such an extent from maladministration in the past, that they regarded the future with indifference; their own lot was no whit better than that of their fellows who had already passed under Teutonic sway. The Visigoths and the Burgundians had the best reputation among the barbarian peoples; they kept order with a strong hand; they endeavoured to assimilate what was good in Roman law and practice. Even the great landowner had only to fear a partial confiscation of his estates; but in most cases the acreage was large enough to leave him still in comfort, and in difficulties he would probably still have an appeal to some administrator of Roman extraction, like Leo or Victorius. Under these circumstances the Gallo-Roman noble might view the change in his allegiance without despair; though his income and his acreage would be diminished, he would still have his villa, and cultivators to work on his land; he would still live his leisured life. Only in Auvergne, perhaps, did loyalty to a tottering empire go the length of resolute resistance; even there, it is probable that a part of the population was lukewarm, and that ardour had to be assiduously fanned by enthusiastic loyalists like Sidonius and Ecdicius. Thus the change from Roman to Visigothic citizenship implied, for the noble, a comparative loss, and for the lower classes a possibility of actual gain: a Euric was less likely than a remote and helpless emperor to tolerate a Seronatus in his service. The Letters afford interesting confirmation of a certain tacit confidence in barbaric rule. One year Sidonius paid a round of visits to Roman friends living near Bordeaux and Narbonne; these friends are displayed to us reading and writing in their comfortable libraries, maintaining their luxurious kitchens, entertaining each other, and living a large life at their ease. Yet at the time every one of them had ceased to have any political concern with the empire; every one of them was a Visigothic subject. The fact speaks for itself, and it makes the point from which we started less strange than it at first appeared. If life continued almost in the old fashion, even across the barbaric frontier, why should there be panic on the Roman side, or terror as to what would happen when the line was finally abolished? Existence would be much the same for most men after the great change was made. The higher nobility

would lose the honours of imperial office, for there would be no more prefectorian or patrician rank; the rude barbarians would be unwelcome neighbours; but there were ways of avoiding them, and after all, they were a small minority. The Gallo-Roman nobles would continue to pay each other visits and write each other elaborate letters; they would hold closely together, and neither Visigoth nor Burgundian would care to intrude on their society. The prestige of Roman culture would remain; things would go on as before. Their day would begin at its usual early hour, opening in religious families with a service in the chapel attached to the house, followed by visits to particular friends. After nine o'clock, there would be outdoor and indoor games; if sport was pursued, the hawks or hounds would be taken out. The company would perhaps adjourn to the baths, after which would come the *prandium* or midday meal, about 11 a.m. The hour of the siesta would be succeeded by a ride or other light exercise, and by the afternoon bath, preparatory to the *coena*, or supper, which would be enlivened by songs and music, or seasoned by cultured conversation. The barbarian might rule the land, but the laws of polite society would be administered as before.

The Letters enable us to follow in some detail the career of the Gallo-Roman noble from childhood to mature age. During his tender years he and his sisters were left to the care of the ladies of the family; at this period of their lives they remained in a seclusion almost resembling that of the Eastern *gynaeceum*. From this seclusion the girl never really issued into the full light; she learned, as she grew up, to superintend and share the work of the *textrinum* (II.ii. 9); if she was skilful, like Araneola, she executed ambitious pieces of embroidery with figure-subjects (*Carm.* xv. 147 ff.); in the library, her place was where the religious books were kept (II. ix. 4), and sometimes, like Frontina, she attained at home a reputation of piety superior to that of nuns (IV. xxi. 4). The boy was permitted far more freedom; he played ball-games, and was initiated into the various forms of outdoor sport. As soon as he was old enough he attended the schools of his provincial capital, and learned to deliver 'declamations' before the rhetor, perhaps a man of distinction like Eusebius of Lyons, at whose feet Sidonius sat (IV. i). In his holidays, or on special occasions, the high official position held by his relatives might secure for him a good position at any spectacle or ceremony; we see the young Sidonius, when his father was prefect, pushing into the near neighbourhood of the consul Astyrius on the day of his inauguration (VIII. vi. 5). Released from the schools, he continued his sports, adding games of chance with dice, evidently very popular on all hands (II. ix. 4; V. xvii. 6, &c.). If a young man was rich and clever, or his family had influence, he went to Rome and entered the Palatine service, with the hope of rising to the high offices of the State. But his public life was usually over before middle age, and he retired to enjoy the honorary rank conferred by his late office. If he had no taste for further publicity he remained at home, read and wrote, followed his hounds, or acquired a taste for rural economics; kept up his classics and

his ball-games; perhaps built additions to his villa. He might even grow too absorbed in rural interests to visit town even in the winter, like the Eutropius whom Sidonius rebuked, or the Maurusius whose company he so highly valued. Or he might advance a stage further, and think of nothing else, till he was lost to all ambition beyond crops and stock, and sank into rusticity. There were many such in Gaul, and in more than one letter Sidonius alludes to them with regret or indignation. But the more intellectual among the country gentlemen did not lightly forget the culture of their younger years. Literature probably occupied the class as a whole more than it has ever done in modern Europe. The Gallo-Roman noble was always a potential author, and valued himself as a critic. Verses and epigrams were circulated from house to house, and the writers of these expected from every reader a letter of acknowledgement, which could be nothing less, under the circumstances, than eulogistic. The more earnest students would edit a classic, and keep copyists at work transcribing manuscripts for their shelves. In their houses the library was a very important room, and the scrolls and books were carefully arranged. We receive the impression that the proportion of well-to-do people really fond of literature was high in the second half of the fifth century; and though the devotion to the classics in many ways recalls that of the Chinese literate to whom the past is everything, the precedence given to literature over sport is a feature which commands our respect.

For all this, the more strenuous noble must often have found time hang heavy on his hands. He had few outlets for his energy; local politics were of the slightest interest to him; they were the affair of smaller men, and he had, as a rule, little notion of what we now call social service (see below, p. lxx). But his duties as father of a family were conscientiously performed; he sometimes himself took a part in his children's education. Then there was the regular and voluminous correspondence with his friends, comparable, in the care lavished on style and diction, to the leisurely exchange of letters by persons of culture in the eighteenth century. Visits to friends living at a distance were also serious undertakings; we find Sidonius making 'rounds' which range from Auvergne to Provence, from Bordeaux to Lyons. On long expeditions he took his servants, bedding, and all impedimenta; where there was no friend's house to offer hospitality, he camped (IV. viii), or, if driven to it, used an inn (II. ix. 7; VIII. xi. 3). Friends' houses stood open to each other, and liberal hospitality reigned. But though good cooking was evidently as general as in modern France, excess at table was rather the exception than the rule. Hospitality, however, was sometimes insistent, then as now; and in one place Sidonius confesses that after the opulent suppers of Ferreolus and Apollinaris a week's thin living will do him good (II. ix. 10). If the noble was a Christian, as was now very generally the case, public religious duties played some part in his life. When a church was consecrated, or the feast of the patron saint came round, he made a point of attending the services, which sometimes began even before daybreak: at such festivals all classes came

together, though they did not mingle, and the intervals between the services were occupied with games and conversation (V. xvii). Or he would prepare to set out with all his family on a pilgrimage to some important shrine, even when the state of the roads was dangerous (IV. vi). With these tranquil occupations his years passed by. But if he bore a high character and was popular with his neighbours, the quiet tenor of his life might be suddenly interrupted: he might wake one day to find himself elected bishop, and the most earnest *nolo episcopari* was not accepted as an excuse. If, on the other hand, the Church made no such claim upon him, he declined into a serene old age, and might have to listen in his own bed to those contradictory verdicts of the doctors whose quarrels in previous years disturbed his patience. He died; but though veneration for the dead was a conspicuous virtue of his age, his family might forget for two generations to erect his monument, and when reminded by some accident of their duty, excuse each other by citing the irrelevant cases of an Achilles and an Alexander.

Both in town and country, the nobles seem to have led a large and sumptuous existence, in no way inferior to that of their own class in Italy. The proud name of 'the lesser Rome of Gaul' which Ausonius applied to Arles, is justified by the letters alluding to the sojourn of Majorian in that town. In one an imperial banquet is described; in another a private feast, given by an acquaintance of Sidonius. In both cases the luxury is redeemed by an intellectual atmosphere, but the luxury is there, with all the *genialis apparatus* which contemporary extravagance required. There are the hangings of rich purple, the napery 'white as snow', the table-decoration of vine-tendrils and ivy; there are flowers in profusion. The guests recline, with balsam-perfumed hair, while frankincense smokes to the roof, and the very lamps are scented. The slaves bow beneath the burden of chased silver plate; choice wines flow in cups crowned with rose-wreaths. There is dancing, and music made on cithara and flute by Corinthian girls and other professional musicians. It all suggests an evening with Lucullus rather than a dinner-party in a provincial capital. These were special occasions; but the general standard of life was clearly high. There is a picture of one Trygetius, so comfortable at Bazas amid the selected delicacies of his storeroom that even the prospect of a gourmet's paradise at Bordeaux cannot drag him from home. A snail would outstrip this lazy personage, whom a comfortable boat awaits on the Garonne, with 'mounds of cushions', a grating to keep the feet dry, an awning to ward off the evening damp, dice and backgammon to pass the idle hours while, in frequent chants, the oarsmen sing his praise. Even the *delicata pigritia* of Trygetius, thinks Sidonius, must be tempted by this care for his comfort, all leading to a veritable tournament of epicures at the end. Who would imagine that when this invitation was sent, the homes of these Gallic Sybarites were in Visigothic territory, and that Theodoric was master of Bordeaux? Sidonius himself was comfortable enough at Avitacum, with his winter and summer dining-rooms, his elaborate baths, and his ball-ground down by the lake (see

below, p. xcv); while the lordly villa of Consentius, the *Octaviana*, was probably more extensive still, with its porticoes and baths, its well-stocked library, its vineyards and olive-groves, where the visitor hardly knew which to praise most, the cultivation of the estate or that of the master's mind (VIII. iv).

It is in many respects a singularly refined life, free, as a rule, from coarse vice and brutality. But no one who reads either the letters of Sidonius, or any other work descriptive of the fourth and fifth centuries, can fail to be struck by a certain lack of broad aims or ardent interests. These men are less primitive than the barons of the Middle Ages, but in idealism and fervour the mediaeval knights leave them far behind. It has already been hinted that to find a parallel for some of these lives, absorbed in solemn literary trifling, we should have to look to the Far East, rather than to any European state. These members of the senatorial class were possessed of enormous wealth, but they seem to have had little encouragement to expend any part of it for the benefit of their country. They escaped the municipal taxation which they could well afford; their chief use for surplus money was to lend it at twelve per cent, and if possessed of business instinct, to foreclose their mortgages. Thus they had come to possess nearly the whole superficial area of a country which they were not even supposed to defend. If they wished to commit illegal acts, they could often set themselves above the law. Provincial governors were amenable to hospitality and open to social influence; a Seronatus could be persuaded to sanction courses which the distant emperor would not have tolerated. Judges were even more exposed to improper influence; the powerful noble had probably little difficulty in wresting a judgement, if he had the mind to do so. The base arts to which some members of the senatorial class descended to evade their share of taxation, or fill their pockets at the expense of a defrauded state, disclose a code of ethics for which too often public duty was a phrase without a meaning. The honourable men among them — a Tonantius Ferreolus, a Thaumastus — might discountenance such ignoble practices, and lead the province in an attempt to obtain the punishment of a bad governor. But they were in a minority, and the evil grew despite their efforts. It is difficult to understand how the nobles spent the princely incomes which, by fair or unfair means, were always increasing. In modern times, with continual demands upon his purse for all kinds of public objects, with the competition for expensive works of art, with a thousand and one objects of use or luxury daily forced upon his notice, it may be supposed that the magnate can keep expenditure within range of income. But the Roman millionaire, at any rate in the provinces, had no great and steady drain on his resources unless he was a devout man and prepared to erect or restore churches as a practice. He might spend considerable sums on his houses and baths; but as labour was cheap, if not unpaid, and as there is a limit to construction, even building on a large scale would not seriously diminish an income equivalent to £50,000 a year. A few, like Magnus or Consentius, might buy pictures or other works of art, but the sums paid for them can

hardly have been comparable with those given for old masters to-day, nor do we gather from the Letters that the love of art was really intense, or widely disseminated in Gaul. The chief intellectual interest was literary, and however enthusiastic it may have been, it can hardly have depleted a senatorial purse. There were manuscripts to buy, but, it may be conjectured, not at the prices of the modern sale-room; and the rarer illuminated books were not yet collected by the competitive methods of our day. If then there were no hospitals to endow, no large yachts to maintain, no subscription lists to head, on what did the provincial millionaire spend his money? He could only entertain on a very lavish scale when resident in a town like Arles. He gambled, but not, as far as we know, on the heroic scale. He patronized the chase, but hunting was then a cheap pursuit. The milliners' and jewellers' bills which he had to pay can hardly have caused him much embarrassment; the weaving, and probably the making, of his wife's clothes was done by the maids of the house; and it may be doubted whether, in an age when diamonds were practically unknown, the most expensive jewellers could send him an inconvenient account. His estate was self-supporting; those who tilled it largely worked for nothing or were recompensed in kind; all the food and all the fuel required for his household came from his own fields and woods. 'Clients' cannot have been ruinously expensive where food was cheap. He had only to feed and clothe his domestic servants, not to pay them wages. The answer to the question probably is that the rich provincial noble did not and could not spend his income; year by year he became richer and ever more uselessly rich.

That he did so was but one count in the indictment against the Roman system of provincial government, which threw such burdens on the middle class and the lower class of freemen, that the vigour of both was sapped, and the spirit of enterprise crushed out of existence. It is unnecessary in the present place to dwell upon the notorious evils of the Curial system, which gave the *decurion* all duties and no rights, and the senatorial class all rights and no duties. We need not linger over the folly which encouraged useless wealth and useless lives in a class which, reasonably handled, might have become a bulwark of the State. The noble had no useful work to do. His tenure of quaestorship, vicariate or prefecture once over, he had no further career. He could not serve in the army; he was not supposed to found an industry. There was no scope for active brains except in literature, and literature was now of such a kind that its propagation was of doubtful advantage to the world. We can hardly wonder if men unmanned, as it were, by statute failed the empire in its need, or if the great proprietor made his estate his world, and cared little for events beyond his boundaries. He had become a fly upon the wheel of government, brilliant perhaps, but an insect still, and adding no momentum. Sidonius belonged to the best of his order; he and his relations loved their country, and were prepared to sacrifice everything for it. But custom held them bound; they had no chance to prove themselves until it was too late.

The Roman empire opened its own veins. But there was now within it an organism which drew to itself new blood, and amid the general enfeeblement of old institutions, grew daily in vitality. The Church succeeded to the neglected opportunities of the State. While the secular arm relaxed, the Church enlarged her power, and drew the people to the one rallying-point that remained to them amid the increasing disruption of society. 'In the civil world', said Guizot, many years ago, speaking of the fifth century, 'we find no real government; the imperial administration is fallen, the senatorial aristocracy fallen, the municipal aristocracy fallen as well. It is a tale of dissolution everywhere. Authority and freedom alike are attacked by the same sterility. In the religious world, on the other hand, we see an active government, an animated and interested people. Excuses for anarchy and tyranny may be numerous; but the liberty is real, and so is the power. On all sides are the germs of an energetic popular activity and of a strong executive. This, in a word, is a society marching towards a future, a stormy future fraught with evil as well as good, but full of power and fecundity.' Here is the root of the matter: the Church had a future and a present; the State had only a past. While the imperial officials were too often regarded as instruments of tyranny, whose only relation to the mass of the people was external and oppressive, the leaders of the Church were in constant touch with national and individual life. Their homes were in the towns; their houses were open to all in trouble. Instead of being the common enemy, the bishop was every one's friend, he stood in a regular relation to the municipal body, and exercised certain judicial rights of his own. Moreover, he controlled the Church lands in his diocese, and had thus a power of the purse which necessarily increased his consideration at a time of general impoverishment. It is not astonishing that under such circumstances the prestige of the bishop steadily rose. In the time of Sidonius, the episcopate was already moving towards the emancipation attained in the sixth century; but as yet the occupants of the Gallic sees were men of such high character that there was little abuse of their expanding authority. The Letters bring no such charges of violent and unseemly conduct as those which are scattered through the pages of Gregory of Tours. The bishops of the expiring fifth century were powers in the land and powers for good, mitigating the hardships of a dangerous epoch, and standing forth in the public eyes as the true representatives of national life. They were indeed almost the only conspicuous figures who were visibly doing national work, and the fact was widely recognized. Good men of wealth and standing, condemned to inaction by the absence of any secular career, must have cast envious eyes upon this episcopal office which enabled its holders to serve their country so well; the hierarchy and the people, equally alive to the importance of strengthening the Church by the admission of such valuable recruits, did not discourage their aspirations. The Church was not so ill-advised as to imitate the State in debarring from a share in her activities the very men who could render the greatest service; she gave the nobles a ready

welcome, not merely because they were rich, though riches were desirable, but because they were likely to possess, in a more eminent degree than others, the high culture and the great manner which the long habit of receiving deference conferred. The Church had room, as historians have observed, for two types of bishop. She needed, on the one hand, the learned pupil of the monasteries, the theologian, preacher, and disciplinarian. She needed, on the other, the man born to great place, imposing respect by personal distinction, and a commanding figure in any company. She appreciated a Faustus, pursuing as bishop the austerities which he had practised as a monk; she welcomed Remigius and Principius, sons of a count, and the wealthy Patiens, who could combine simplicity in his own life with a lordly openness of hand and the most gracious arts of hospitality (cf. VI. xii. 3). The aristocratic bishop could serve her best not only in her relations with imperial officials, whose day was almost gone, but also with the barbarian princes, whose favour grew more important with every year. As the empire was ever further dismembered, and the Church provided the one bond of union between the subjects of isolated kingdoms, the diplomatic bishop continually proved his worth. The Visigoth and the Burgundian were impressed by his culture and his experience of the world; moreover, they were by tradition disposed to favour high birth. There was thus a general tendency to elect a certain number of aristocratic personages to vacant sees, and a corresponding readiness, on the part of the worthier noble, to look with favour on such election, seeing, as he could not fail to do, that the one way to be of use was to become a bishop. It was therefore no unprecedented event when upon the death of the Bishop of Clermont, Sidonius found himself called to succeed by the voice of his fellow countrymen in Auvergne. The call came perhaps too suddenly; it appeared rather a summons than an invitation; but the recipient of it was more ready for the change than he supposed himself to be. And in spite of the misgivings which crowded upon his mind, he must have seen ground for hope in more than one direction. In leaving the aimless existence of the provincial magnate for the living work of the Church, he joined an organization which now assumed a commanding influence over the whole moral and intellectual field; to throw himself with ardour into its work was to aid the one force in the land which made for regeneration. The Church appealed also to the scholar and man of letters. The only original philosophical speculation of the day was carried on by theologians like Faustus and Claudianus Mamertus, who had persuaded Philosophy into the service of Religion (IX. ix. 12). To rhetoric the Church offered the one chance of effective action; the orator in the pulpit could feel that he was not delivering a class-room declamation, but reaching the hearts of men. The preacher could treat the great subjects of life, not as themes for academic display, but with a purpose of practical reform; the eloquence of a Remigius carried away great congregations; the pulpit had succeeded the rostra, it alone spoke to an assembly of the people. Even the education of the young was beginning to pass into the control of the Church:

in the monastery of Lerins a school was established by Faustus, at which a brother of Sidonius was trained (*Carm.* xvi. 1. 70). The old education was doomed to pass with the passing of the empire; it was a survival, unfitted for the coming age. The people at large had no interest in the exercises of rhetors and grammarians; they turned from them to other teachers. And among these the former pupil of Hoënius and Eusebius now took an honoured place.

We may briefly notice a few allusions in the Letters to those ecclesiastical matters with which the second part of Sidonius' life was so largely concerned. Great as the influence of the bishops had become, it is clear that it was still in some measure controlled both by the general voice of the laymen, and by that of the priesthood, now a body apart, and more definitely severed from the community than in early Christian times. We mark the survival of these two factors, the popular and the priestly, in the interesting accounts of the episcopal elections at Bourges and Châlon (VII. ix; IV. xxv). We there find the popular vote still regarded as an integral part of the proceedings, while some of the diocesan priests give vent to strong opinions of their own, not always coincident with the episcopal point of view. But in both cases the bishops, though recognizing the traditional popular claim, succeed in carrying their point. They hold a private meeting at which they agree upon their candidate and it is this candidate who is elected. The consecration of a new bishop at Châlon is carried out by Patiens and Euphronius in a masterful manner; at Bourges, Sidonius delivers a formal address calling upon the people to accept Simplicius. At Bourges, indeed, the electors seem to have recognized the necessary confusion where 'two benchfuls' of unscrupulous men were all urging their claims to a single throne (VII. ix. 2). When one aspirant based his hopes on his kitchen and his dinners, and another on a promise to divide Church property among his supporters, the evils of popular election became apparent to all responsible laymen: they abrogated their claims in favour of the bishops, whose selection they agreed to accept. Such cases probably illustrate as well as any examples could, the evil tendencies which necessitated a change of system. And the people were not alone in the responsibility for undesirable episodes on these occasions. At Bourges the priests openly favoured promotion by seniority rather than by merit, and Sidonius was obliged to administer a sharp rebuke. It is plain that in the late fifth century a tightening of the bonds of discipline was inevitable, and this could only be effected by the bishops. The intense and factious excitement aroused on the occasion of an episcopal vacancy affords yet another proof of the importance attaching to the bishop's position. A see was worth fighting for; so much so, that the prize attracted candidates whose motives were sometimes entirely base. Perhaps in the years preceding the disasters of A.D. 474 there had been a certain laxity in the religious life of Gaul. Sidonius alludes to public devotions in which the prayers were too much interrupted by refreshments (V. xiv. 2); the dicing and other amusements interspersed between the services at the festival of St.. Just seem in rather too close an

alternation with the devotions of the day (V. xvii). There may have been in many places an excessive preoccupation with the material side of life, which affected even those whose office it was to inspire thoughts of the opposite kind. An Agrippinus in holy orders harassing his sister-in-law on money matters is not a pleasant figure (VI. ii). Nor can we approve the apparent toleration of money-lending in the case of priests (IV. xxiv). But against such examples may be set others of a very different kind, which show that there was a strong leaven of piety and devotion both among clerics and among laymen. In the monasteries there was severe self-discipline, and many of the distinguished monks or abbots who were taken from Lerins to fill the sees of Gaul, carried into their new spheres of activity all the monastic rigour to which they had been accustomed. The Syrian monk Abraham, who after being driven from his native country by Sassanian persecution, had finally settled down at Clermont (see below, pp. lxxxiii, civ), afforded another example of renunciation, which produced its effect even upon Victorius, Euric's Count of Auvergne (VII. xvii. 1). Vectius, the noble who maintained his place in the world while secretly practising a devout life, is, as Dill has observed, a character which might be taken from Law's *Serious Call* (IV. ix). The ex-quaestor Domnulus, a friend of Sidonius, goes into retreat in the monasteries of the Jura (IV. xxv). Simplicius, while a young man, straitens his resources by building a church, Elaphius builds a baptistery in Rouergue (IV. xv).

It is natural that we should learn more from Sidonius of the contemporary bishops than of the lower ranks in the Church, since it was with them that he had chiefly to correspond. Many attractive figures pass before us, some already familiar, as having their recognized place in the history of their age. There is the aged Lupus of Troyes (S. Loup), the doyen of Gaulish bishops, who in spite of advanced years and many anxieties, received the news of Sidonius' election with fatherly satisfaction, and, for all his saintliness, was human enough to take umbrage at a supposed breach of literary etiquette (IX. xi). There is Remigius (S. Remi), the apostle of the Franks, to whose glowing eloquence Sidonius bears his testimony (IX. vii). There is Faustus, the daring theologian of the day, and leader of a semi-Pelagian school in the south of Gaul, whose work on Free Grace was condemned by Pope Gelasius, and whose anonymous treatise on the Materiality of the Soul elicited the *De Statu Animae* of Claudianus Mamertus. There is the learned Graecus of Marseilles, whose part in ratifying the treaty of surrender drew from Sidonius the bitter reproach of outraged patriotism, but did not ultimately affect the friendly relations between them. There are St. Euphronius of Autun, Leontius of Arles, Perpetuus of Tours, Basilius of Aix, and many others less known to posterity. Finally there is Patiens, for whom Sidonius is the sole authority, the saintly and generous bishop who relieved the distress even of those living far beyond the limits of his own diocese, and rebuilt on a magnificent scale the old church of the Maccabees at Lyons: for him, as bishop of his native town, Sidonius may well have felt an almost filial affection. Of the 'second order' in the

Church, the priests, we hear comparatively little. The most distinguished among them is the above-mentioned Claudianus Mamertus, the religious philosopher of Gaul, who combined high speculation with orthodox belief, while at the same time aiding his brother Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne, in almost all the practical work of the diocese, from the receipt of the revenues to the training of the choir (IV. xi). Most other priests whose names are mentioned in these pages are names and nothing more; it is a matter for regret that there is no portrait of the parish priest and his activities, such as the most literary bishop of Gaul could so well have drawn for us on his return from one of his extended visitations. Of the inferior orders, one or two deacons ('Levites') are briefly introduced. Proculus, a pupil of Euphronius, is praised as reflecting in his manner something of the urbanity of his master Principius (IX. ii); a more unfortunate Lévite, who, driven from home by the barbarian incursion, has sown a crop on church-lands in the diocese of Auxerre, finds a ready advocate in Sidonius, who begs of Bishop Censorius the remission of the payments due (VI. vii). Two Readers (*lectures*) also find mention in these pages, one, the impudent Amantius, several times, and once at great length; the other, an unnamed person engaged in commerce, whom the influence of Graecus is to convert from a small trader into a 'splendid merchant' (*splendidus mercator* (VI. viii). Of the monks in Gaul Sidonius gives but scanty information. An Abbot Chariobaudus receives a gift of a cowl for winter use (VII. xvi); but though allusions are made to the great houses of Lerins and Grigny, and to the smaller houses of Condat and Lauconne in the Jura, the Letters give us no details of monastic life. We only learn that on the death of the monk Abraham, the founder of St. Cirqgues at Clermont, his successor had not the qualities which maintain order, and Sidonius asks his friend Volusianus to act as a kind of Superior without the walls (VII. xvii); perhaps in the founder's time these monks followed an oriental custom, and Volusianus was now to introduce the stricter rules of Lerins or Grigny. It was at St. Cirqgues that some ill-conditioned person removed Sidonius' book when he was conducting a service, with the vain idea of causing him embarrassment (Gregory, *Hist. Franc.* II. xxii), a rather curious little episode, which, if really founded on fact, throws an interesting side-light on the maintenance of monastic discipline. The house ultimately became a priory and lasted till the close of the eighteenth century.

Though as a young man Sidonius was familiar with the court of Theodoric II at Toulouse (I. ii), no small part of his experience among the barbarians was gained when he had become a bishop. We have seen that after his imprisonment in the fortress of Livia, he seems to have been compelled to wait the king's pleasure at Bordeaux; and in the course of his efforts to recover his lost property, he must have been brought into contact with various members of the Visigothic administration. It was at Bordeaux that he saw those representatives of the different barbarian tribes whose personal characteristics he has described, some of them captives like himself, others

rendering voluntary service to a dreaded master. At both periods of his life he must have been familiar with the Burgundians, whose territory even in his youth was at no great distance from his native town. But in their case also, the acquaintance which was so distasteful to his fastidious mind was renewed at a later time after they had entered on the possession of Lyons. His female relations continued to reside in that city; and he went there after his entry into the Church, to see not only his family, but also the Burgundian king who stood with Rome against the aggression of Euric. It must have been painful in the extreme for one to whom Roman culture meant so much, to hear the guttural voices of the barbarians in the streets where in his young days he had passed to and fro with his Latin classics; to see 'skin-clad' guards at the gate of the praetorium where Rome had displayed the symbols of her power, and, penetrating to the halls built for an imperial magistrate, to be welcomed by the gross good-humoured chieftain whom Patiens conciliated by excellent dinners (VI. xii. 3). Sidonius paid his court, as duty to his people compelled him to do; he took the opportunity of interceding for his kinsman Apollinaris, threatened by the malevolence of the informers who now infested the barbarian capitals; but, all the time, the iron must have entered into his soul. Like his brother-in-law Ecdicius, who in like manner had frequented these same halls, he must have suffered from a keen sense of humiliation. There was but one consolation, that however unrefined the Visigoth and the Burgundian might appear by comparison with the Roman standard, they were humane and civil compared with the pagan Frank and the fierce piratical Saxon of the north.

It was indeed the peculiar good fortune of central and southern Gaul that the two peoples which here succeeded to the Roman inheritance were the best of all the conquering Teutons. The Visigoths belonged to a tribe which had now been in contact with imperial civilization for generations and had adopted much from Roman law and custom; the Burgundians, though outwardly less civilized, were the most genial and good-natured of all the German nations. The great drawback to both lay in their common profession of the Arian heresy, but for which the Gallo-Romans might have acquiesced far more readily in their dominion, and the ultimate triumph of the Frank would hardly have been so rapid. Religious fanaticism apart, and this only flamed fiercely in the ten years of Euric's reign, the relations between provincial and barbarian were those of mutual tolerance. Neither Visigoth nor Burgundian was animated by any inveterate hostility to Rome. They had been confirmed in possession of their present territory by imperial sanction; it had been their earlier ambition to rank as *foederati*; the Burgundian king was even now proud to hold rank under the empire. It was impossible even for the most exclusive Roman citizen to forget that the fabric of the empire had been preserved by barbarian arms, and that the great Stilicho was a Vandal. Nor could personal charm be denied to those Teutonic leaders who had learned the arts of Roman life. In Italy itself there had been conspicuous examples; and

though the portrait of Theodoric II in I. ii is perhaps overdrawn for a temporary political purpose, his manner of life was tolerably civilized. The Goths and Burgundians were prepared to treat the Gallo-Romans without violence; but they were determined ultimately to dominate the whole of central and southern Gaul. Before the time came for the full satisfaction of that ambition, they were as a rule inclined to live peaceably with their neighbours; meanwhile they were subjected to a continual process of Romanization, their new relation to the land and their inferior knowledge of agriculture alone making them to a great extent dependent on Roman law.

On their side, the Gallo-Romans were used to the presence of the northerner in their midst. The individual Teutonic peasant or slave had been a familiar figure in their households or on their farms since the days when the military emperors had distributed thousands of prisoners over the land. It was recognized, not by the fiery Salvian alone, but by the average inhabitant, that the barbarians had their good qualities, and that in blunt honesty and the sense of justice the Teutonic chief might excel the Roman official. When the imperial system degenerated beyond redemption, when a Seronatus succeeded an Arvandus, and the extortions of the tax-gatherers were hardly to be borne, the perception became general that life might be more tolerable in Septimania, or under Chilperic than under the jurisdiction of Rome. Except in Auvergne, where among a section of the inhabitants loyalty to Rome was a passion, the country was being gradually prepared for the inevitable transference of sovereignty. The poor man often longed for the change; the rich man resigned himself to unavoidable fate. The one felt that his lot could not be worse; the other saw that the civilized life of ease might be led almost as agreeably at Toulouse or Bordeaux, which had been Visigothic for half a century, as in the cities remaining to the empire (cf. above, p. lxxv). It may be added that even as fighting men the barbarians did not inspire universal terror. The intruders were in a numerical inferiority which increased with each fresh annexation, and the Gallo-Roman could remember more than one occasion on which, man for man, Roman warriors had proved their equals. Moreover the barbarian tribes were not united against Rome. The Burgundian was jealous of the Visigoth, and even lent troops to Auvergne to assist in opposing his advance. Perhaps the worst feature in the situation was the general suspense; the uncertainty when the blow would fall paralysed such public life as remained. The administration continued to deteriorate; the officials were openly dishonest. The roads were insecure. Fugitives from unjust usage established themselves in fastnesses and seized on all property which could be carried off. They were joined by bankrupts, runaway agents or cultivators from the great estates, in short by every one to whom the lawless life appealed. Rome was ceasing to maintain order; she had to make way for a power which could.

Perhaps when the blow did fall, it proved, for a time at least, more serious than the sanguine had expected. Euric was an intolerant Arian; the passive or

active resistance of the Catholic clergy provoked him to harsh treatment of individuals, while he prevented new appointments to sees left vacant by death or deprivation. Churches fell in ruin; bereft of their pastors, flocks were scattered. He was further incensed by the obstinate resistance of Auvergne; his troops burned the crops and devastated the country, thus causing the most widespread distress. But as soon as the treaty was concluded and Berry and Auvergne were his own, he in some measure justified the hope that the Goths would establish a reputable government. He already had at his right hand, as prime-minister, the Catholic Gallo-Roman Leo; he now set over the conquered Auvergne another Gallo-Roman, Victorius; and we may perhaps assume that the episcopal negotiators of the treaty had secured from him better conditions for the Catholic population under his rule (see above, p. xlii). As a whole, the newly acquired territory settled down under Visigothic laws, in which, as we have seen, much Roman law was now incorporated. A sensible loss to the senatorial families was that of the 'consular', 'prefectorian', and other titles derived from their passage through the *cursus honorum*. As Sidonius says, the only distinction now was culture, so that the jealous maintenance of Roman literature and the purity of Latin speech became more than ever important. A few nobles followed the example of Leo and Victorius, and took high office under the new regime, as they did in like manner at the Burgundian courts. Evodius, for whose presentation-cup to Ragnahild Sidonius wrote his verses (IV. viii), may have succeeded in pushing his fortunes in this manner. Other conspicuous Gallo-Romans were perhaps content to ingratiate themselves with their prince by the arts of flattery: such was Lampridius, the orator and poet of Bordeaux (VIII. ix). The baser sort found their advantage in becoming informers, and trading in the properties and lives of their fellow countrymen. Their machinations were in one case thwarted by the interventions of Chilperic's queen, whose support was of such worth to Patiens. The respect which the Teutonic princes and peoples showed to their women was a virtue which did much to make them respected by their Gallo-Roman subjects.

Probably Sidonius came into close personal relations with no barbarians other than the Visigoths and Burgundians; of the rest he had a glimpse during his sojourn at Euric's court (see below, p. cix), or only knew by hearsay. His experience was gained in the most favourable field; but it is clear that though in younger days he had followed his father-in-law's pro-Gothic policy, and though as a Visigothic subject he schooled himself to civility, the intensity of his Roman sympathies never suffered him to like even the best of the barbarians. In a confidential letter he makes the confession that he does not care for barbarians even when they are good (VII. xiv. 10). He despised them as lacking in the refinements of the one culture in which he believed. The personal habits of the Burgundians revolt him, he indulges in a subdued sneer at the culture of the Visigothic court: the quality of the silver of Ragnahild's cup, not that of the verses engraved on it, will alone be esteemed 'in such an

Athenaeum' (cf. above, p. xlvī). The barbarians are always the skin-clad savages (*pelliti*), as compared with the Romans in their civilized dress. In a time of strained relations, the Visigoths become the perfidious people (*foedifraga gens*), in whom no reliance can be placed (cf. p. lxxxvii, note). This ingrained dislike on the part of Sidonius is an unfortunate circumstance for the historian of the barbaric nations. He was in a position which offered him priceless opportunities to observe not only the outward appearance of a few types casually seen at Bordeaux or Lyons, but the daily life of the community. He might have learned to converse with them, given us examples of their speech, told us their proverbial wisdom, their legends and their history. He did none of these things. The apostle of Latin idiom would not soil his lips with the detested German tongue. An Athenian, forced to learn Persian under a victorious Xerxes, would not have suffered more than this Patrician, if Visigothic had been made a compulsory language in vanquished Gaul. It is clear that he only half admires the cleverness of a Syagrius who became so proficient in the Burgundian dialect that old men were afraid of being detected by him in solecism (V. v. 3).

It is a great opportunity lost. But though he falls lamentably short of what he might so easily have accomplished, Sidonius has left several sketches of barbarian types which are not without their value to the student of history and ethnology, or even to the literary man. It was probably at Lyons that he saw the young Frankish (?) prince Sigismer in his rich apparel, walking amongst his guards to the house of his prospective father-in-law, the Burgundian Chilperic (IV. xx). The description is full of interest, and has attracted the attention of every historian of the fifth century; so circumstantial is it that though the nationality of Sigismer is not stated, it may be fairly inferred from his equipment and his arms. But, as already noted, it was during his enforced stay at Bordeaux that the Bishop of Clermont had occasion to observe the various representatives of the northern tribes who pressed upon one another at the court of the powerful Euric (VIII. ix). There he saw the swift Herulian with his glaucous countenance; the blue-eyed Saxon 'arch-pirate', terror of the coasts; the grey-eyed Frank with his shaven face, yellow hair, and close-fitting tunic; the Sigambrian, shorn of his treasured back-hair. His knowledge of Mongolians probably dates from an earlier time, and is not displayed in the Letters; it may chiefly have been derived from Avitus, who knew the Asiatic nomads well from the days of Attila, Aëtius, and Litorius. What Sidonius has to say of them is to be found in his Panegyric of Anthemius, where he praises the horsemanship of troopers who seem rather centaurs than men separable from their mounts. From hearsay also may have come the extremely interesting description of the Saxons, 'who regarded shipwreck as only so much practice.' Their maritime skill and enterprise are told in a few vigorous phrases, while their custom of offering a human sacrifice before setting sail on the homeward voyage is recorded as a fact of common knowledge. Taken as a whole, these contributions to our knowledge of the Teutonic tribes are well

worth having, though, for the reasons given above, they at the same time disappoint us, knowing as we do the unique nature of his opportunities. After all, great allowance must be made for a writer who had championed a lost cause against these very peoples of the north. The representative of a high civilization who fears that all refinement is going down before the flood of barbarism cannot be expected to regard the barbarian with the same sympathetic interest as the conqueror or pioneer who carries the banner of the higher culture into the wilderness in the confident assurance of its triumph. Had Sidonius accompanied a victorious Roman army to the shores of the Baltic, he might have looked upon the Teuton with other eyes, and developed some of the observant qualities of a Tacitus or a Lafitau. And yet, when we remember his silence on his own countrymen of the lower classes, we may perhaps doubt whether, even under stimulating conditions, he would have made a good scientific observer. The whole education and training of the Roman school were such as to make the scientific attitude almost impossible to the finished product of the system.

Before turning to consider that system and its effect upon the literary talent of Sidonius, we may pause briefly to consider the information which he supplies on several external aspects of Gallo-Roman civilization in the last years of the imperial connexion.

We may take, in the first place, his description of his villa Avitacum, evidently modelled upon Pliny's accounts of his own favourite country seats. In some parts this description is hard to follow, and the relative position of the principal chambers not quite easy to understand. We imagine, however, an extensive structure designed with all the Roman regard for aspect; with a winter dining-room provided with an open hearth, and summer dining-room, half out of doors; with colonnade and loggia, weaving-room, women's quarters, and very extensive baths. The baths were clearly a great feature of Avitacum. The house almost abutted upon an eminence, from which a stream flowed down, while the same hill provided timber for heating in such convenient fashion that the cut logs rolled down the steep slope, and almost delivered themselves at the furnace-door. The different chambers used by the bathers, some of which were adorned with frescoes, are described in some detail; one had a pyramidal roof; another a basin filled from pipeheads cast to resemble lion-masks, through which the water comes in such a tumult that the master of the house and his fellow bathers have to converse at the top of their voices to be heard. Sidonius clearly prided himself on his baths, saying that they need fear no comparison with public establishments. The house of Avitacum must have been a charming place, situated on rising ground with a wide prospect over a lake, perhaps the Lake of Aydat (see note, 36. 2, p. 222); it is not wonderful that the owner should describe it with enthusiasm. But there are curious omissions in the description of its amenities. It is remarkable that so bookish a man should say nothing of his own books, though he could certainly have quoted Cicero's words about his library (*Ep.* VI. viii), and in

another letter dwells at some length on that of a friend. Again, while there must have been extensive gardens round such a residence, not a word is said of them, though, here again, the gardens of a friend are praised in another place. How different Pliny, who dwells with delight upon his fountains and trim walks, his cypresses and roses! We are tempted to doubt whether Sidonius really loved flowers. Nothing, again, is said of stables; nor is there a word of domestic pets: we doubt Sidonius as a lover of animals. Yet, for its freshness and solitude, Avitacum was evidently near to his heart; there he enjoyed the *tunicata quies*, which to the Roman was the equivalent of the ease in 'flannels' so delightful to the city dweller of to-day. We gather that the villa of Avitacum was as undefended as Roman country-houses usually were. But it is a sign of this unsettled period that some seats were already fortified, rather, perhaps, to resist sudden attack by brigands than assault by barbarian invaders. We learn nothing precise from the Letters of the architectural features of town dwellings. It would have been interesting to know the disposition of the houses in such a place as Lyons, and how those of the chief citizens resembled the larger residences in Italy on the one side and Britain on the other.

Of the interior furnishing of the house, little is said; apart from the description of baths, what details we have concern almost exclusively the dining-room. Here were the *stibadium* (horseshoe couch) and 'gleaming sideboard' (*nitens abacus*); here couches for the diners, decked perhaps, like those of Theodoric, with linen coverings on ordinary days, and silk on great occasions (I. ii). The best accounts of dining-room arrangements are given where Sidonius describes the banquets at Arles already mentioned (p. lxiv). In I. xi the arrangement of the company on the *stibadium*, in strict order of precedence is clearly noted, the host being at one 'horn', his principal guest at the other, followed by the remaining guests in order of their official rank, so that the junior (in this case, Sidonius himself) reclined next to the host. The poem of IX. xiii enters with some detail into the luxurious accessories of a Roman banquet in the capital of the province. The couches are draped with hangings of purple silk, or with figured silk textiles bearing representations of mounted huntsmen in Sassanian style, which proves the importation of oriental stuffs into the West as early as the mid-fifth century (see note, 203. I, pp. 251-2). There are flowers on the sideboards and even on the couches. Burning frankincense rolls its perfume to the roof; the lamps, knowing nothing of common oil (*oleum nescientes*), are fed with scented opobalsamum. When the feast begins the servants appear, bowed under the weight of the chased silver plate. Wine gleams in rose-wreathed cups and bowls of various form, and is spiced with nard. When the meal is done, some of the guests are stimulated to the imitation of Bacchantes, and dance among garlands that hang from the unguent-vases. But the chief entertainment comes with the introduction of Corinthian girls, who sing to the accompaniment of the cithara, and of other flute-players and singers. It is a scene of lavish

extravagance. The midday meal of a senatorial family in every-day life is described as consisting of dishes few in number but varied in contents; the evening meals seem to have been more elaborate (II. ix. 6, 10). A high standard of comfort and a good cuisine were evidently the rule. Introducing to Simplicius a person unused to the manners of society (IV. vii), Sidonius pictures the man's astonishment when invited, as the acquaintance of so old a friend as himself, to sit at the family table: 'it will abash this rustic to be entertained with an elegance which will make him think himself among the delicate guests of Apicius, and served by the "rhythmic carvers of Byzantium".' The one indispensable article of furniture, not necessarily placed in the dining-room, which receives special mention is the water-clock or *clepsydra*; even here, however, it is in one case brought in as having announced to the chef the hour for lunch. Of bedrooms nothing is said: one passage rather leads us to suppose that sleeping accommodation was less extensive than we should have expected (II. ix. 7).

Such artistic references as occur seem to show that Sidonius, though fond of all refinement, was not a connoisseur. It may perhaps be surmised that provincial art in Gaul in the second and third quarters of the fifth century resembled the literature of the same period, and that its work was uninspired and imitative, coldly reproducing at second-hand traditional classical models. It probably did not share the great prestige accorded to literature; though Sidonius mentions a score of contemporary orators and poets, artists are to seek in his pages. The wealthy Gallo-Romans may have chiefly concentrated their enthusiasm upon Letters, and have regarded art as a secondary matter. Such comparative indifference could only have hastened the downfall of the academic Roman style before the invading oriental motives which now entered Gaul in increasing numbers, and were naturally more congenial to barbaric taste. Of sculpture we learn even less than painting. The author gives no description of his own statue erected at Rome after the delivery of his Panegyric of Avitus, nor does he allude to the sculptor. His mention of stereotyped attitudes when enumerating the principal philosophers of antiquity (IX. ix. 14) suggests that he had well-known sculptural types in his mind, but he does not himself assert it. On the subject of architecture Sidonius does not seem to write with understanding. The account of the villa of Avitacum is not that of an expert; and his descriptions of two churches, that erected by Patiens at Lyons (II. x) and that by Perpetuus at Tours (IV. xviii. 4) are rather slight: we do, however, gather that the first was an orientated basilica, preceded by an atrium, and with a coffered ceiling in the interior, though there is no clear statement as to the number of aisles or the form of the *bema*. The second, which replaced the older building erected by St. Brice over the shrine of St. Martin, seems to have presented most exceptional features; it may have introduced into Gaul a type of choir which was destined to influence the whole course of Romanesque and even Gothic building (see note, 33. 1, p. 231). Yet nothing that Sidonius says would lead us to infer that the church of

Perpetuus was an epoch-making structure; we infer it only from the later description by Gregory of Tours. In connexion with the churches mentioned by Sidonius, we must not forget the metrical inscriptions which he and his rival poets composed at the bishop's request to be engraved upon the walls. These are of such a length that they were probably cut in rather small characters upon panels or executed in mosaic. In the case of Patiens' church, the verses of Constantius and Secundinus were to be placed to right and left of the altar, those of Sidonius himself perhaps opposite on the west wall, though the words he uses are not clear (*in extimis*). Monastic buildings are not described by our author. Yet, as we have already seen, he had a personal knowledge of Lerins, and any details of its architectural features, plan, and internal arrangements would have been of the highest interest. He could have described to us, too, the process by which the simple cell of the Syrian monk Abraham near Clermont developed into the monastery of St. Cirques, for at the time of Abraham's death the community was evidently of some size (VII. xvii. 3, 4). Altogether, we could wish that Sidonius shared the architectural interest of one of his friends, who was fond of reading Vitruvius (VIII. vi. 10). Perhaps, however, he would only have reiterated his preference for the traditional in all things, and, like the accepted oracles of the eighteenth century, to whom Gothic architecture was all contemptible, have regarded all divergences from Vitruvian precept as wholly beneath his notice. His indifference to the really important features of Perpetuus' church lends some colour to the supposition. In relation to the art of music, our author again reveals no personal enthusiasm. His references to secular music usually concern the performances enlivening banquets, which then, as now, were intended rather to distract than to inspire. But we are told that Theodoric II only cared for serious strains at table, and that he dispensed alike with the hydraulic organs and with vocalists — the negative statement here suggesting that in other houses neither was disdained (cf. above, p. lxiv). Perhaps at no period of his life was Sidonius a patron of musicians. Church music receives just enough attention to tantalize the reader. Among the merits of the accomplished priest-philosopher Claudianus Mamertus, Sidonius records his zeal in training the choir for his brother the Bishop of Vienne; again, in connexion with the celebration of the festival of St. Just at Lyons, we hear of antiphonal singing (V. xvii. 3). There is no definite allusion to the use of musical instruments in churches.

In the matter of costume, we learn more of barbarian than of Roman dress, and more of the garb of laymen than of clerics. It may be taken for granted that the tunic remained the usual garment for the house among the Gallo-Romans; sometimes the girdle or belt which held it round the waist offered scope for ornament of a particular fashion (IV. ix. 2). Over the tunic were probably worn the mantles most commonly in use in late-Roman times — the *pallium*, of Greek origin, and the *paenula* (a kind of poncho) for bad weather. The toga was now a ceremonial garment, of which the most sumptuous form

was the *toga palmata*, or embroidered robe worn by the Consul. Sandals or boots are only mentioned in relation to a symbolic figure of a Muse; the description of the method of lacing is not easy of comprehension (VIII. xi., 11. 12 ff. of the poem). It is just possible that there is an allusion to a professional dress in the letter which Sidonius sends to Domitius, the grammarian of Ameria, inviting him to the cool retreat of Avitacum in a very hot summer. Domitius is depicted as expounding Terence to his pupils wrapped in a thick cloak, while others were perspiring in thin linen or silk; it may be, however, that Domitius was extremely sensitive to draughts, for even under the thick cloak he is said to be swathed round and round, a fashion which would be no necessary accompaniment of a master's gown. Armour is mentioned in the letter which recounts the prowess of Ecdicius in breaking through the Gothic lines round Clermont. The hero is described as wearing greaves, a cuirass, and a helmet with cheek-pieces (III. iii. 5), the whole equipment following the Roman model. The most careful description of barbarian costume concerns not the Visigoths or Burgundians, with whom Sidonius was in frequent contact, but in all likelihood the Franks, with whom he had had probably no regular relations. It has been already noticed (p. xciii) that the weapons borne by the guards of the young Sigismer, whom Sidonius saw at Lyons, are characteristic of that nation (note, 35. 1, p. 233). The prince himself wears a flame-red mantle over a white silk tunic, and a wealth of gold ornaments. His companions wear high, close-fitting, short-sleeved, parti-coloured (?) tunics scarcely reaching to their bare knees, and low boots of hide with the hair adhering; their legs are left uncovered. Each has a green cloak (*sagum*) with a purple border, and apparently a skin mantle over all, brooched on the right shoulder to leave the sword-arm free. The sword is worn on a baldric; the other weapons are barbed lances and missile axes (*lancet uncati, secures missiles*). Circular shields enriched on the field with silver, and on the *umbo* with gold, complete the equipment of the brilliant train. In general it recalls the Frankish warrior as he is depicted in Carolingian illuminated manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries; though at this later date the legs are commonly protected by tight bandages. The skin garment is the great characteristic of the barbarian in the Roman's eyes; the adjective *pellitus* is used almost as a synonym for barbarian.

Especial importance was attached by the different tribes to the manner in which the hair was cut. Theodoric's hair is withdrawn from the forehead and long over the ears (I. ii. 2). The Saxons have the whole fore-part of the skull shorn, a fashion which at a distance seems to increase the length of the face and reduce that of the head (VIII. ix, 11. 23-7 of the poem). The Sigambrian normally wears his hair long at the back; the old warrior of this tribe, whom Sidonius sees at Bordeaux, has had his long locks cut off, and will not feel a true man until they have grown again (*ibid.* 1. 28).

Of clerical vestments, unfortunately, nothing is said; at this early period, differentiation between clerical and lay garb may not have gone very far; but

it had begun, and even a few words would have had their importance. Monks are described as wearing the *palliolum*, which would seem to indicate that the monastic dress at first resembled that of the philosopher (IV. ix. 3). The cowl was apparently at this time an independent covering for the head, as Sidonius sends a thick one as a present to the abbot Chariobaudus (*nocturnalem cucullum*, VII. xvi. 2). The tonsure is described by the usual word *corona*, which is ultimately transferred to the tonsured: *corona tua* is used very much as we should say 'your reverence'.

The allusions to sport and games are fairly numerous. In the chase the bow is the principal weapon (I. ii), but for encountering the boar and other beasts the spear comes into play, the game being driven into nets (VIII. vi. 12). Namatius is bantered on the over-merciful temperament of the hounds with which he pursues the hares of Oleron (*ibid.*). The hawk is more than once mentioned as an essential possession of the young country gentleman with sporting tastes (III. iii. 2). In one place we hear of a fishing expedition to which Agricola, his brother-in-law, invites Sidonius (II. xii. i). Racing in small boats took place in former times on the lake below Avitacum, in recollection of Aeneas' regatta at Drepanum, the people of Auvergne claiming a Trojan descent (II. ii. 19). Large comfortable river-boats manned by rowers ply on the Garonne (VIII. xii. 5).

References to games are of much interest, but unfortunately they are seldom precise, and where they seem to give detail, only confuse by uncoordinated facts. A board-game of some kind resembling backgammon, possibly that known as *duodecim scripta*, is indicated in the difficult passage in I. ii, where Theodoric is described at play. Dice-boxes are frequently mentioned, and one would assume that games of hazard were a little too popular with the aristocracy of Gaul. Outdoor games with balls were evidently pursued with ardour, and Sidonius, similar in this to Augustine, admits himself a devotee (V. xvii. 6). But here again it is difficult to form an idea of the rules. There is no mention of any apparatus beyond the ball itself, so that to translate by 'tennis' is misleading to a modern reader: the players seem simply to have required an open space in a courtyard or on the grass, with perhaps lines marked upon the ground. Sometimes two players were enough, as when Sidonius and Ecdicius play in the meadow by the lake (II. ii. 15); at others there are opposing pairs (II. ix. 4); in one place we read of whole 'sides', when at the festival at Lyons the elderly Filimatius is knocked down (V. xvii. 7). The reference to collisions shows that the game was fast. The great games of the Circus were still held in Gaul in the second half of the fifth century, but possibly not after Majorian's time.

Turning to the apparatus of more serious pursuits, we find various references to writing materials. Letters and manuscripts were written upon parchment or paper; the words *membrana*, *papyrus*, and *charta* are all employed, the two latter being synonymous. But tablets (*codicilli*, *pugillares*) and a stylus were used for the first notes or rough drafts (e. g. IV. xii. 4, and

cf. Cicero, *Ad fam.* IX. xxvi). Literary people were sometimes accompanied by a secretary, who kept the tablets always ready for their use, or himself wrote from their dictation, as did the secretary of Filimatus on the famous occasion when Sidonius composed his epigram upon the towel (V. xvii. x). From IX. xvi it would appear that ink was allowed to dry, and that the process was not accelerated by the use of sand, or by any other substitute for blotting-paper. In the same passage there is a reference to ink freezing on the pens in very cold weather.

A few miscellaneous facts may be noted which bear upon contemporary custom and observance. From I. v. 10 we gather that the old *Thalassio* still held its own in 468, the year of the wedding of Ricimer and Alypia, and that the crown was still worn by the bridegroom at the ceremony. For all that is said to the contrary, it might have been a pagan marriage of Catullus' day, whereas both the contracting parties were Christians.

An interesting point is raised with regard to the disposal of the dead. The spade of the excavator seems to show that in the Roman provinces cremation went out of fashion about the year A. D. 250. We should infer the opposite from those passages in Sidonius, where the machinery of cremation is mentioned as if it were still in use, or had been so within living memory (III. iii. 13; III. xiii; *Carm.* xvi. 123). Perhaps we may hazard the conjecture that a few aristocratic families preserved an old custom after it had been abandoned by the mass of the people, just as, in more ancient times, they had maintained burial when incineration was first introduced. The evidence of Sidonius with regard to epitaphs also deserves notice. Those which he himself composed are of inordinate length, and imply monuments with abundance of plane surface. That they are not merely literary exercises, but really meant to be used, is shown by his desire that the work of the monumental mason who was to cut the epitaph on the tomb of the prefect Apollinaris should be carefully checked, for fear that any error committed might be imputed to the writer and not to the artisan. Altogether, the epitaphs are of most formidable length, eclipsing in this respect those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or the longer effusions of our country churchyards.

The imperial road system was still apparently maintained on a satisfactory footing in the year 467, when Sidonius travelled from Lyons to Rome, and, as bearer of an imperial summons, was entitled to the free use of post-horses. The *mansiones*, or rest-houses, and the *veredarii*, or mounted letter-carriers, are mentioned in different Letters (III. ii. 3; V. vii. 3). In more than one place Sidonius alludes to inns which were patronized by nobles when no better accommodation was to be had, but they seem to have been of indifferent quality.

The above are but examples of a much larger number of points which the archaeologist may discover in the Letters. But even these will suffice to show that the study of Sidonius is not altogether unprofitable to archaeological research.

The preceding pages have sketched in outline the life of Sidonius and the surroundings in which it was passed. But the conditions under which he grew to manhood will be imperfectly understood unless something is said of the system under which the young Gallo-Roman was prepared for his career. For the education which the boy Sidonius received, the typical education of his class and time, exerted a lasting influence upon the man. It coloured his whole outlook upon the world, not always to his advantage, since his very loyalty to academic ideals obscured those natural powers of observation which he certainly possessed. It controlled his literary prospects, determined his interests, and created the astonishing style which seemed to him worth so many vigils, but to us is like a faded finery, hampering the free movement of his thought. Some idea of the intellectual training which produced such strange results is thus essential to our purpose.

The education of the young Gallo-Roman in the fifth century differed but little from that which his father and grandfather had received. The whole training was rooted in traditions no longer vital; it was essentially bookish, uninterested in facts, almost exclusively absorbed in words. Before all other things it set Grammar and Rhetoric; in many schools these two subjects represented almost the whole curriculum. Law had of course to be learned by candidates for the bar; philosophy was studied perhaps more as an accomplishment and a discipline of the mind, than for the problems with which it was properly concerned; there was some musical instruction, perhaps more of a theoretical than of a practical nature. But for most youths education meant a proficiency in the Latin classics, a knowledge of the structure of the Latin language, and of the art of speaking before an audience upon a given subject. The interest was directed not to the synthesis of life, but the antithesis of clauses. Science, as we understand the term, was practically unknown; the mathematics, the geography, the astronomy of the schools had as much relation to mythology as to fact. The interesting letter on the death of the rhetor Lampridius shows that even on the most brilliant products of the late Roman schools, astrologers could still exert their baneful influence (VIII. xi. 9). Perhaps the decline in the study of Greek prejudicially affected the power and inclination to observe or think naturally. That language was still taught in Gaul; Sidonius noted the fluency of Lampridius in both Greek and Latin; and at Narbonne there were men of culture who appreciated Greek poetry. But the Theodosian Code shows that the Latin grammarians received higher salaries than the Greek, enjoyed a higher position, and probably instructed larger classes. Their lectures consisted for the most part in commentaries on classical authors, chiefly the Roman poets. Style was analysed; the vocabulary of each writer examined; metaphors and expressions were carefully discussed. Points of etymology and antiquarian knowledge were raised, and pursued along the by-paths of erudition; it was a golden age for commentators. Not all, however, was learned trifling. Some of the criticism upon Virgil and Homer was acute and penetrating, as, for example, the fifth book of the *Saturnalia* of

Macrobius.

The great text-book in the schools of the fourth and fifth century was Virgil. To Sidonius, as to Augustine, he is the prince of poets. Terence was evidently popular in Gaul; the Letters allude to his characters, and in the passage on the home-education of Apollinaris, Sidonius reads the *Hecyra* with his son, uncertain which delights him most, the fine style of the author, or the youthful grace and ardour of the boy. The influence of Horace is also evident in our author; he is second to Virgil among the poets. The opulent and elaborated style of Statius naturally commended him to such a society as that of fifth-century Gaul; he had been popular with Ausonius; and his influence on Sidonius as poet is undeniable. It is the same with Claudian; the Panegyrics which charmed the ears of an Avitus or an Anthemius owe him much, but the splendour of the original is gone. Among prose-writers, not Cicero, but the younger Pliny was the favourite. In the introductory Letter of the fifth book, Sidonius acknowledges him as his master; and in a later book again refers to this professed allegiance. Pliny, the agreeable letter-writer, was the inevitable model of a society in which correspondence with friends was a main interest of existence: no less inevitable was the reproduction of his mannerisms rather than his excellences by purely imitative writers. In his introductory epistle to Constantius, Sidonius quotes as a warning the nickname given to Julius Titianus for his sedulous efforts to reproduce the style of Cicero: he was called 'the ape of orators' (*pratorum simia*). Yet he and his own contemporaries fell into the same error; they were apes of the second great Roman letter-writer, caricaturing their master by accentuating all his faults. Features of Sallust's style were distorted by them in the same manner.

Grammatical criticism of the classics was followed by specialized study of the great orators, with a view to proficiency in public speaking: this was the course of Rhetoric. The rhetor was a more important person in society than the grammarian. But, as noted above, he professed an art which, except in the Church, had little prospect of great or serious audiences; it was divorced from real life; it was the accomplishment of the speech-room. The training was still, no doubt, a good one; rhythm, prosody, voice-production, division of the subject, were all thoroughly taught, and proved their value when there was a worthy occasion for their use. But most opportunities were hardly worth the taking; the speaker eulogized the great dead or the *Epigoni* of the present; he took part in academic displays or competitions before small circles, in which ancient or unreal issues were treated in the style of the class-room declamation. An unbounded respect for certain models, a good memory with an endless stock of figures, metaphors and mythological examples always at command — these, and not the power to read hearts and sway them to a genuine emotion, were the essentials of oratorical success. These were the qualities which carried Ausonius, the rhetor of Bordeaux, to the highest office in the State. The enthusiasm for letters which such promotion implies is laudable in itself; but in the time of Roman decadence the reward fell to an

artifice which sterilized instead of fertilizing the mind, and drove hearts capable of valiant action into channels of sentimental retrospect. The fine flower of all this education was the panegyric, and it was an artificial flower.

It has been already noted that the Church was beginning a new education of her own (p. lxxvi), and that in some cases boys were placed under a religious teacher, as Sidonius' own brother studied under Faustus at Lerins. But as a rule, sacred learning would seem to have been neglected in the schools attended by wealthy pupils. Some of the great families were probably still pagan: others appear to have shown little zeal for the religion which they nominally professed; the old mythology dominated literary culture. Perhaps Sidonius was never really grounded in the study of the Scriptures till after his consecration. Only after that event do his letters show a familiarity with Holy Writ; examples and illustrations derived both from the Old and New Testament then accompany or displace the mythological figures dear to his earlier years. By the side of Triptolemus, we hear of Joseph, Moses, Aaron, and Solomon, Joshua, the Gibeonites, and the people of Nineveh are introduced in illustration. The Church is the spiritual Sara; Philosophy is the fair woman captured from the enemy and espoused by the captor; the story of Peter and Simon Magus points its obvious moral. St. Luke is quoted as a believer in the advantage of long descent.

In no capacity did this scholastic education so harm Sidonius as in that which it was designed to advance — his quality as man of letters. He was too good a pupil of his peculiar masters to be anything but a bad writer. The curse of the rhetorical tradition clung to him like a chronic disease; it destroyed the originality of a genius never too spontaneous. In an age when it was improper for a literary man to be himself, he thought too faithfully of the proprieties. His age was just to him: he had the reward of his obedience. The society whose conventions he defended saw in him the mirror of contemporary writers; in his heart, he himself was sure that the vote of posterity was won. Though, soon after his death, a Ruricius might whisper a doubt, it was long before the general verdict turned against him. The Middle Ages approved; and even after Petrarch's misgivings, the voice of admiration continued to be heard. But the Renaissance grew critical, the eighteenth century dared to attack. If the value of Sidonius really lay in his style and diction, as he himself believed, then his credit would indeed be dead beyond resuscitation. Hardly any Latin author has received so short a shrift at the hands of modern criticism as this professed champion of the Roman tongue. When good Latinity was once more understood, our author's pedestal became a pillory; and the works of every writer upon style, from Horace to Boileau, provided missiles wherewith to pelt him. Gibbon, preferring his prose to his 'insipid verses', pays it a back-handed compliment after his manner. Even those who uphold particular merits are forced to draw upon the arsenal of epithets forged against the affected and the turgid writer. The most recent critics are the most severe of all. Hodgkin says that Sidonius has achieved nothing beyond a fifth-rate

position as a post-classical author; Dill sees in him one of the most tasteless writers who ever lived. In the matter of depreciation the last word has been spoken; nothing fresh can now be said. The Latin style of Sidonius is condemned as finally as the French style of Voiture.

But the position of Sidonius no longer depends on his manner; his style is to-day brushed aside as a tiresome veil, obscuring what he has to say. He refused to write history; he survives as the historian *malgré lui*. Though he missed one of the great opportunities in literature; though he failed to record much that was most worth recording in the world about him, and instead of the new drama of his times preferred to transmit for the hundredth time the vapid and worn-out stories of Greek mythology, he has yet preserved for us facts enough to constitute him a chief authority on the century in which he lived. His literary fate is indeed a paradox; he is one of those men whose *parergon* alone is valued, and who are esteemed for the very part of their work which they themselves deemed least important. By a careful sifting of the Letters and the Poems, modern writers have extracted much material which, classified and co-ordinated, has thrown useful light on one of the darkest periods of history; on many points, Sidonius is the sole source of information. Nor is his mannerism always with him. The Letters which yield most with least trouble are precisely those in which an eager personal interest in his subject, or the pressure of a busy life, or some unexpected necessity for haste have forced the writer to abandon his preoccupation with style and tell his business in a natural way. At such times he speaks directly: *tam nunc dicit tam nunc debentia dici*. The most efficient cause of plainer writing was probably the stress of episcopal work; to this our debt is large. We are infinitely relieved when amid the familiar affectations we come upon the *stilus rusticans* or the *sermo usualis* for which he apologizes as a degradation of his pen. We almost lose sympathy with him in his personal troubles, as soon as it appears that it is misfortune which has simplified his diction. Appreciating to the full the honourable solicitude of Sidonius for the purity of Latin, and his ever-present fear of Celtic or Teutonic encroachments, we are willing to condone any intrusions from the vulgar tongue to be rid for a while of the alliterations, the inversions, the forced antitheses, and to see the meaning quickly in a simple dress. What we want of Sidonius is plain fact, and it is pleasant to admit that occasionally we get it without too much exasperation; sometimes the actor removes the mask and speaks in unaffected tones. Let it therefore be recorded to his credit that he does not always offend, and that not once or twice, but many times, he writes in a manner worthy of Roman literature at an earlier day. Let it also be remembered that his subject-matter is often well presented; when his narrative interests him, he can tell a story brightly and with effect. Nor should we overlook the fact that Sidonius has a gift for portraiture, which frequently lends animation to his pages. Sometimes a character is sketched in a few sentences, as in the case of Paeonius the parvenu, the malicious old Athenius, the lively veteran Filimatus who plays

ball with the younger men (V. xvii), and Himerius the model priest (VII. xiii). At other times the description is at greater length, and details are drawn with a free hand. We have amusing pictures of the young fortune-hunter Amantius (VII. ii), and of Germanicus the juvenile sexagenarian (IV. xiii), who dresses in the fashion, who will hear nothing of age except the increased respect it brings, and grows more boyish every day (*non iuvenescit solum sed quodammodo repuerascit*). We have the interesting sketch of Vectius the country gentleman, whose girdles are of exquisite design, who hunts, hawks, and entertains his friends, but listens to the Psalms at meals, and is more priestly in spirit than many of those who wear priests' garments (IV. ix). We have the memoir of Claudianus Mamertus who does all the hard work for his brother St. Mamertus, to which allusion has been made above (p. lxxxi); we have the reminiscences of Lampridius, the quicktempered rhetor, murdered by his slaves (VIII. xi). In other cases classes of men are portrayed with the same precision; for instance, informers, or popularity-hunting candidates for municipal appointments (XV. xix). A writer possessing such penetration and such graphic powers as these deserves something more than an untempered ridicule.

Yet the counts in the indictment are sufficiently numerous. First and foremost there is the mania for antithesis, and plays on words which degenerate into the most lamentable of puns, for *paronomasia*, *antonomasia*, and all the other obliquities of language which sound like the infirmities which they are. A critical examination of Sidonius' work resembles literary pathology; his language is often diseased language, which could only regain a semblance of health by a free use of the knife. It calls aloud for amputation of the platitudes, pomposities, and verbal conceits which the euphuist himself would renounce as foolish. It is unnecessary to dwell long on a subject which has its pathetic side, yet concrete instances must be adduced in evidence.

First, we may take examples of the ruling passion for antithesis. The abuse of this is persistent, and sometimes verbal oppositions are cumulated with almost incredible pertinacity, as, for instance, in the description of Ravenna (I. viii). Sidonius pits against each other the words *novus* and *vetus* or *antiquus*, until the staleness of the trick infuriates. Thus *novus clericus, peccator antiquus* (IX. ii); *novo exemplo amicitiarum vetera iura* (VII. vi. 1), *in famillari vetusto novum ius potestatis* (V. xviii). But no glaring contrast of word or sense, however elementary, comes amiss; for instance: *pingues caedibus gladii, macri ieiuniis praeliatores* (VII. vii. 3); *confitetur repulsam qui profitetur offensam* (VII. ix); *pharetras sagittis vacuare, lacrimis oculos implere* (V. xii); *Cuius parva tuguria magnus hospes implesti* (III. ii); *Itinerum longitudinum, brevitatem dierum, &c.* (III. ii. 3).

And so on, and so on. The reader who desires more of this misplaced ingenuity will find instances on every other page. Plays upon words are no less common. *Inferre calumnias, deferre personas, afferre minas, auferre substantias* (V. vii); *scientia fortis, fortior conscientia* (IX. iv); *at non*

remaneamus terrent quibus terra non remanet (IX. iii); *iuste iusta solventes* (III. iii. 8); *indidit prosecutionibus, edidit tribunalibus, prodidit partibus, addidit titulis, &c.* (VIII. vi. 7); *seu sic sentiente concordia, seu sic concordante sententia* (IV. xxv. 5); *inconsulte consultat.* (VIII. ix. 13); *praedae praedia* (IV. xxv. 2); *susplicere iudicium, suscipere consilium* (IV. xxii. 1). The changes are continually rung upon such words as *dicere* and *ducere, susplicere despicere, orare perorare, ambiendus ambitiosus, providere praevidere, &c.* The list of such things is endless, but we are not yet at the worst; we have to endure puns from which a schoolboy would recoil. A proper name like Faustus, Perpetuus, or Rusticus is seldom allowed to escape: let two of them represent the series: *Perpetua durent culmina Perpetui* (IV. xviii — this to be carved on the wall of a church); *rusticans multum quod nihil rusticus* (VIII. xi. 6, cf. *Rusticus*). It is pardonable for a man once in a way, in intimate conversation, to indulge a weakness of this kind, but how can a bishop be forgiven who puns for publication, and in work carefully revised not only by himself but by his friends? From a long list we may cite the following specimens: *non tam honorare censor quam censetor onerare* (VIII. viii); *honoris . . . oneris* (IX. ii); *ex more . . . ex amore* (IX. iv. 1); *classicum in classe cecinisse* (VIII. vi. 13); *Aptae fuistis, aptissime defuistis* (IX. ix) — perhaps the worst of all. It is time to draw the veil over faults which it is impossible to condone; we may conclude with the following instances of *paronomasia* and *antonomasia*. *Leges Theodosianas calcans, Theudoricianasque proponens* (I. ii. 3); *flumen in verbis, fulmen in clausulis* (IX. vii); *inter perfectos Domini quam inter praefectos Valentiniani* (VII. xii. 4).

The reader may be spared illustration of the overloaded interminable sentences; or of the strings of illustrative instances and persons, sometimes eight or ten where two would have sufficed, till the tail is out of all proportion to the kite; or of the mannerism which declares for silence on things which might be praised, and then enumerates them to the bitter end; or of the labouring of points till they are, so to speak, hammered blunt; or the tautologies recalling the ‘which here thou viewest, beholdest, surveyest or seest’ of Armado: to insist on these things is to waste time; there is no possible defence. We may pass to other features, not reprehensible in themselves, but made so by immoderate or tasteless use. The metaphors of Sidonius for the most part are familiar, and worn in service. The world is a threshing-floor, spiritual exhortation a harrow. Life is like a river; a literary career is a sea-voyage; the mind of man is a sea, suddenly disturbed by the squall of adverse tidings. Silence is a curb; evil tongues are like barbed hooks. Verse written in sorrow is like the song of swans, or the music of very tense strings (VIII. ix. 4). A king’s favour is a flame, which illuminates afar, but in neighbourhood consumes (III. iii. 9). A friendship not maintained is like a sword that rusts if not frequently polished. The schools of Lyons resemble a mint, in which youthful natures are struck on a philosophical die (IV. i. 3).

Where originality is attempted, the result is often either crude or over-intricate. As an example of the latter fault we may take the passage comparing the scion of a clerical family to a rosebush, for if he be not holy he stands amid all the roses armoured in the thorns of his sin (IV. xiii. 4); or that comparing Lupus, the generous discoverer of hidden talent, to the sun, whose searching rays will detect and draw up a moisture hidden deep under ground (IX. xi. 9); again, that which likens an author who is always writing but never publishes, to a dog who only snarls but never barks out (VII. iii. 2). Sometimes we find similitudes extraordinary to our taste, like the *mysticus adeps et spiritalis arvina*, which recalls the startling similitudes of a Crashaw or a Donne (VI. vi. 2). It is not surprising to find that Sidonius will mix metaphors with any man. *Salsi sermonis libra* (III. ii. 1); *lacrimis habenas anima parturients laxavi* (IV. xi. 7); *manum linguae porrigis* (IV. i. 3); *quibus . . . faece petulantiae lingua polluitur infrenis* (III. xiii. 2), may suffice to show his quality. There are other defects or affectations, not immediately concerned with words, but equally due to the same imitative contentment with bad rhetorical tradition. There is the tiresome realism which insists upon elaboration of unessential details offensive to the finer sense — what Chaix has called *la manie de tout peindre*; there is the parade of erudition which, if less obtrusive than the determined pedantry of Cassiodorus, is yet a weariness to the reader; there are the hyperbole in flattery, the perverse preference of the inappropriate, the joy in ‘combinations of confused magnificence’. We cannot more justly stigmatize the work of Sidonius at his worst than by continuing the criticism from which the last phrase was quoted, a criticism directed against certain English poets of the seventeenth century, but equally applicable to our author of the fifth. For his style too is marred ‘by descriptions copied from descriptions, by imitations borrowed from imitations, by traditional imagery and hereditary similes’. The thing could not be better said.

The result of all these artifices, applied with an unshrinking hand, is that Sidonius is often hard to construe. Ruricius, his younger contemporary and partial imitator, was the first to complain of his obscurity, Petrarch confessed that he often found him unintelligible; and the most accomplished modern editors of his text admit that he presents some problems which they cannot be sure of having solved. While diffuseness is his besetting sin, some of his phrases are condensed to the point of impenetrability, and his constructions are rendered obscure by the imperfect development of his thought. Petrarch wondered at the audacity of his style; yet, as Baret has remarked, when it is examined, it is found that in prose he has fewer direct irregularities than Tacitus, and, in verse, than Virgil. It is rather a certain strange exotic character, instinctively felt, but not easily defined, which characterizes our author’s work, compared not only with that of the golden age, but with that of a late writer like Symmachus. He is ‘heteroclite’; his cadences have an unfamiliar ring; when they are read aloud, they strike us as differing not in

degree, but in kind from those of the classical authors. Were it not that an early critic has given blunt utterance to the suspicion, we should hardly dare to hint that some subtle Celtic influence had really affected his manner, and that, unknown to himself, the older Gaul was secretly revenged upon this son of hers who had only ears for an Italian idiom. Is it merely a fancy that indigenous turns of thought have been unconsciously adopted by this champion of the classics? Do we witness the first movement towards the changes which were to issue in the Romance language in the South of France? Various indications seem to point that way. The synthetic structure of the older Latin tends to pass into analysis: the conjunctions *quia* or *quod* replace the complementary infinitive; the abstract replaces the concrete term. Prepositions grow more indispensable to inflected cases; the genitive is used in a manner which is almost French. The reader of the Latin text will discover a number of words or turns of expression used in a mediaeval or modern way. In one place, if not in two, the word *familia* is employed in the French, in place of the old Latin sense (VI. vii). *Vir litterarum* is *homme de lettres*; *nebula de pulvere* is *nuage de poussière*. Baret records a number of these peculiarities, and gives a list of the archaisms and neologisms in the text. We may note a few favourite or peculiar words: e. g. *tumultuarius*, used of rapid or impromptu composition; *lenocinari*, to coax or flatter; *fatigatio*, chaff or banter; *eventilare*, to go over, or search through; *humanitas*, hospitality; *piperatum*, 'piquant' or caustic. To some words Sidonius appears to give a new sense; thus it is hard to avoid the conclusion that more than once he employs *toreuma* where *toral* is alone appropriate. In his complimentary formulae he is as a rule correct and Roman; though he is fond of abstract terms like *celsitudo* or *Sanctitas tua* as honorific appellations. His superscriptions give the name of his correspondent in the dative, with the addition of *suo*, if the person is a friend, or of the title *domino papae* if he is a bishop. Sidonius does not employ the affectionate modes of address adopted by Ruricius, e. g. *domino pectoris sui Lupo*; *domino animae suae Pomerio*; *domino venerabili, admirabili, et sanctis omnibus aequiparando Sidonio*. As a rule, the letter ends with a *Vale*; but when the correspondent is a bishop, the formula is: *memor nostri esse dignare, domine Papa*. In one instance he closes with an *ora pro nobis* (VII. xii — to Ferreolus).

So much for the more obvious characteristics which mar the style of Sidonius; we have now briefly to estimate his merits as a letter-writer. It need hardly be said that he cannot be placed in the first rank; he is not, as his friends averred, a second Pliny, far less a second Cicero. But he touches so many sides of contemporary life; he lived through such momentous times; he is so exceptional in speaking with two voices, first as man of letters, nobleman and high official, then as a prominent Churchman, that in spite of his deterrent style, he has an interest somewhere for almost every reader. In most things but the cultivation of brevity, he is superior to his predecessor Symmachus, whose letters seldom touch either great or entertaining issues, but are written to

discharge the obligations of a punctual correspondent, and are often brief as memoranda, and of an unsurpassed aridity. It will be more easy to understand the level on which Sidonius should be placed if we consider a few of the gifts which make the letter-writer, and then ask whether he possessed them. The master in this art must not be argumentative, or his letters become treatises; he must not always be serious, or they may insensibly change to sermons. He must know, as one of the greatest of the craft has said, how to approach great matters by their small side — *prendre les grandes choses par les petits cotes*. If he confines himself chiefly to questions of public concern, he must be doubly careful to be individual, terse, and vivid; above all, he must have the light touch, and the latent gaiety, which never permit the tale to drag. He must be skilled in expression; things must be put, they will not put themselves. But the art must be so concealed that what he writes affects us like the prompt phrases of an unpremeditated conversation. He must be catholic in taste and subject. He must interest most men and not a few; the greatest letter-writers play upon an instrument of many strings. And, in the modern view, at any rate, his letters should be often intimate, revealing the writer's own mind, and telling something of his private life. We thus require of the perfect correspondent much that even the greatest of the ancient letter-writers cannot give. They are mostly Romans; and Roman manners entailed reticence on intimate things; hence a certain preoccupation with intellectual themes and public affairs, which tends to reduce the human interest of their letters. It is not that human interest is absent; there is evidence enough, especially in the case of Cicero, to prove the contrary. But it is often too much in the background, and a correspondence which is too objective is not letter-writing at its very best: it is one-sided; it lacks the perfect balance. For these reasons, even the first among the ancients will sometimes disappoint a modern reader familiar with the achievement of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but approaching the classics for the first time. In many ways Cicero is almost modern; his lively sympathies bring him nearer to natural unreserve than any letter-writer of antiquity; he stands in a class by himself. But if we are conscious of a something wanting when reading Cicero, with all his ardour, his mobility, his colour and conciseness of phrase, it is inevitable that the same deficiency in the less admirable Sidonius should cause a more conspicuous void. The studied care for form which makes the agreeable Pliny sometimes tire, is exaggerated in his last disciple until all spontaneity is lost. And while the manner is frequently repellent, the matter often wearies in its turn; there is too much laudation of obscure literary efforts, too little talk of home affairs, of country life, of details of travel, of the natural beauties of southern France. Nature is overlooked, or regarded, as it were, with the eyes of a duke or cardinal of the Renaissance, seated at a comfortable point of vantage and with quotations from Virgil nearer to his lips than true feeling to his heart. When Sidonius visited Rome in the time of Anthemius, his route followed the Flaminian Way from Rimini; and the latter part of it was the

wonderful hundred and fifty miles beginning at Foligno, the stage which travellers from northern Europe used to cover before the days of railways. Goethe followed it when he first approached Rome; Shelley came down it in 1818, and felt the charm to the full. But of that charm the Gallo-Roman poet is silent, betraying no interest in these things, and assuming none in his correspondent. He has nothing to say of Spoleto, or the falls of the Velino; we should never guess that he had seen Soracte from Civita Castellana, or looked from Castelnuovo across the valley of the Tiber towards the distant Alban hills. And on his river journey down the Ticino and the Po, though the song of the birds in the bulrushes gives him pleasure, his thoughts are soon diverted to Tityrus and the metamorphosis of Phaethon's sisters. For these and other reasons Sidonius cannot be placed very high among the masters who have expressed themselves through the medium of letters. It is in vain to seek in his pages the unstudied brilliance of Mme de Sévigné, the wit and vivacity of Voltaire, the light irony of Horace Walpole, or the natural gaiety of Cowper. We feel that Sidonius would never christen a path or copse 'La Solitaire' or 'La Sainte Horreur'; or stay alone in the woods all day for sheer love of verdure. His is not the art to throw off a likeness in half a dozen words, or to resume an affair of State in a pair of sentences; nor is it his to make a hearthside event like the escape of a pet hare an absorbing and complete adventure. In edification, he lacks the winning simplicity, the amiable grace of St. Francis of Sales. He cannot restrain his scholarship like Gray, or expand in confidences like Lamb. His humour often strikes us as forced; he has compliments like those of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, but less adroitly turned. In fine, he was the victim of an artificial training; he lived in times not of renaissance but of dissolution; his was an age more eager for epistolary honours than any other, but more obviously debarred by circumstance from their attainment.

Though we are not primarily concerned with Sidonius as poet, the inclusion in the Letters of some dozen epigrams and short pieces compels us to ask whether Gibbon's contemptuous phrase is deserved. Were these verses all that remained to us, there could be but one answer; 'insipid' is a temperate epithet for some among them. Of the two impromptu epigrams, one on the imputed satire (I. xi. 14), the other on Filimatus' towel (V. xvii. 10) we can only say that, like other couplets written against time, they should not have been exposed to time's revenge. The epitaphs, elegies, and church inscriptions have the mechanical correctness to be expected of one whose mind was continually exercised by questions of metre. But they are mostly written out of good nature, or out of kindness of heart, motives which in all ages have often left the imagination uninspired. In truth, some of them come near to deserving the title of *naenia eplaphistarum* which their author almost feared for them himself. The poet's reputation cannot, however, be judged by these secondary efforts; it rests upon the *Carmina*, the twenty-four poems issued in 468, and chiefly upon the three panegyrics in honour of Avitus,

Majorian, and Anthemius. In these more ambitious works, which challenge, if unsuccessfully, a comparison with Claudian and Statius, we find the same faults so conspicuous in the writer's prose, with others added — the glittering antitheses, the far-fetched metaphors, the forced emphatic utterance, the unquestionable facility, the lack of emotional inspiration, the tiresome parade of knowledge, making whole parts read 'like versified chapters out of Livy'. But though over the greater part hangs the curse of an implacable memory that cannot forget the Schools, though Pegasus is ever reined to the manège, the whole achievement cannot fairly be dismissed as bad because the bad preponderates. It may be that here, as in the stilted periods of the Letters, the ear is arrested by unfamiliar rhythms and strange sonorities; here, too, a breath of barbarism has passed. But where the author feels his conscious power, there is dexterity, opulence and movement, there is a pageantry of changing form and colour to which the name of poetry cannot be denied. There are narrative passages which seize and hold the interest; for example, the description of the Vandals, or of the Roman army crossing the Alps. Parts of the Panegyric of Majorian advance with an ardour worthy their theme, while here and there flash out gnomic phrases after the glittering style of Lucan. The declamatory manner of these hexameters, so far removed from the suave Virgilian grandeur, admits of frequent brilliance in description; the effect is that of historical painting on a large scale by a skilful but uninspired master. Some of the pieces on less ambitious subjects are not without occasional grace. The verses to Majorian, pleading for remission of the triple tax, strike a light vein with more success than the humour of the Letters would lead us to expect; but the Epithalamia would damage any reputation. Sidonius is at his best in the rhetorical vein; he is the rhetor through and through. In his never-failing fluency, his adroit use of mythology and proverbial wisdom, he is the natural successor of Ausonius, and takes his place after him among the poets of the Roman decadence.

The literary reputation of Sidonius long survived his death. Ruricius of Limoges, in some respects a pupil, refers to him in eulogistic terms, though conscious, as we have seen, of a certain obscurity in his style; so does Avitus of Vienne, another late writer of letters. Gregory of Tours praises his eloquence and power of improvisation. Cassiodorus regards him as a master; Ennodius and Fortunatus are his frank admirers; Jornandes had clearly read his poems. Savaron has illustrated his popularity during the Middle Ages, when John of Salisbury, Abelard, and other scholars were familiar with his works, and mediaeval writers sought to imitate his manner. But in the fourteenth century, the growing familiarity with Classic models reacted unfavourably upon his reputation. We have already noted that Petrarch was critical; and the Renaissance more critical still. Politian was unimpressed by his style; Vives called his prose ridiculous (*absurdissima*); Casaubon is severe, though Scaliger can still find words of praise. The editions of Savaron and Sirmond revived an interest in his works; but with the eighteenth century

he finally lost credit as a writer of Latin, while securing a permanent place as an authority for the history of his times. From Tillemont and Gibbon to Amédée Thierry, Guizot and more recent historians of his age, all have rendered homage to his involuntary merit, while one man of letters at least, Chateaubriand, has borrowed material from his pages (p. xciii above). Despite his chastisement as stylist, Sidonius has not fared ill at the hands of the posterity to which he entrusted his fame. Though his periods will never be recited either for pleasure or instruction, neither his name nor his work is forgotten; and in our greater libraries, while men pursue research, the Letters and the Panegyrics will always hold their undisputed place.

Of Sidonius as a man it is almost unnecessary to speak; the Letters prove his noble qualities, and those written after his entry into the Church reflect the saintliness which won him the honour of canonization. His chief fault, a defect of his ambitious early life, was an over-readiness to flatter where flattery, if given at all, should not have come from him. There were times when he too conveniently forgot the antecedents of the great, or their connexion with men whom honour forbade him to conciliate. Majorian was the comrade and the nominee of that Ricimer who had murdered Avitus; Sidonius forgets the fact too soon. Theodoric II had murdered his own brother; Sidonius, perhaps for a political end, appears oblivious of all save the royal virtues. Such flexibility is unworthy of the man who was to write the stern letter of rebuke to Graecus; nor was it a true part of the nature which trials and disillusion proved to be really his. This is the worst charge which can be brought against him; his other failings are little weaknesses which make him real to us, and which he never seeks to conceal. Thus he sometimes appears too lenient towards unworthy action: for instance, towards the deception of the young adventurer Amantius; but he confesses with a charming frankness that he does not like censorious rigour (VII. iv 3). His literary vanity is now and then accentuated by false modesty (VII. iii, IX. xiii); but as a rule his simple confidence disarms resentment. When he assured his friend Fortunatus that the appearance of his name on the superscription of one of the Letters would ensure its immortality, he was probably more serious than not; after all, he spoke the truth, for the name of Fortunatus is preserved (VIII. v). He probably had no objection to being called a second Pliny (IX. i), and was quietly convinced that his critics were in the wrong. But no doubt he discounted the eulogy which he received; much of it was complimentary verbiage, belonging to the etiquette of his day; and he himself was so profuse of it to others, that he can have been under no illusion as to its current value. The age allowed a great latitude in exaggeration; but it must be admitted that Sidonius availed himself of it upon occasion to an extent which is revolting to modern sentiment. His letter to Claudianus Mamertus reaches the limit of extravagance, and with all allowance for the influence of an eulogistic time, we cannot read it without continual irritation. When we are told that the subject of his praise can hold his own with the first names in every field, with

Orpheus, Aesculapius, Archimedes, Vitruvius, Thaïes, Euclid, Chrysippus, and all the greatest Fathers of the Church as well, credulity is too obviously taxed, and we wish that Sidonius had remembered more often the gnomic saying which he ascribes to Symmachus: *ut vera laus ornat, ita falsa castigat*. Nevertheless it must be remembered that eulogies almost as absurd have been perpetrated in periods very near our own. Thus Prior, in his *Carmen Saeculare* so grossly flattered William III that, in Johnson's phrase, he exhausted all his powers of celebration. We may dismiss the present subject by once more applying to Sidonius the words of the same critic, and say of him that in these matters he 'retained as much veracity as can be properly exacted from a writer professedly encomiastic'. Again, Sidonius was quickly moved, and sometimes allowed his temper to impair his dignity. He 'blazes out' when views are expressed which controvert a pet opinion; and when more seriously offended, does not confine himself to words. The apparently innocent disturbers of his grandfather's grave feel the weight of his fists or the lash of his whip (III. xii); he explodes at the carelessness of a slave who lost some letters, and will not speak to him for days (IV. xii. 2).

But these are the small defects of great qualities. The most affected of writers is the most natural of men. Though uncommunicative about his home, he says enough to show that he was a good father of his family, affectionate to his wife, solicitous for the health and welfare of his children. There is real charm in the passage, already noted, in which he describes himself as sitting reading with his son, distracted between delight in the boy's ardour, and in the fine passages of the poets (IV. xii); there is real regret when in later years the enthusiasm of the young Apollinaris waned (V. xii).

He was a loyal friend. Mention has been made of his fidelity to Arvandus in the dangerous hour of disgrace (V. vii). Similar qualities are apparent in the letter on the death of Lampridius, another friend to whose faults he was by no means blind. At a time when his own anxieties were great, he exerts himself to the utmost at the Burgundian court to foil the informers who had brought Apollinaris into danger (V. vii). A large number of the Letters illustrate his anxiety for the health and prosperity of those for whom he felt regard, or his sympathy with them in their misfortunes. When he became bishop, this fellow feeling was extended to a wider circle, and Claudianus Mamertus bears the highest possible testimony to the unselfishness of his life, when he complains that Sidonius is so busy attending to those who have no real claim upon him, that he finds too little time to answer the letters of old associates. He, too, like this venerated friend, 'remembered through good and evil the necessities of the human lot.' He was generous alike in the distribution of gifts and in the sentiment which is always ready to recognize the qualities of others. Gregory of Tours relates, in a passage often quoted, how he gave away his silver plate to relieve distress, and how, when Papianilla insisted on the recovery of the silver, the poor were compensated in other ways. An example of his kindly thought for others is seen in VII. xvi, where he sends the winter cowl to

Chariobaudus. He is ever ready to encourage the literary efforts of younger men (II. x, IX. xi), and even to lend them most precious volumes in his library, a supreme test of human kindness. He was capable of tolerance towards those whose religious views he most detested; the Letters concerning the two Jews Gozolas and Promotus exhibit him in a pleasing light, and his dictum that a man may be a Jew and yet be sound in judgement does credit to his breadth of vision. He was sociable and friendly, possessed of tact and patience, accommodating affairs to men in a manner which would have won the approval of his favourite Horace. Nor was he devoid of humour; though the examples of his wit which have come down to us are sometimes tiresome, he was probably good company when in the mood. Throughout the Letters he appears as the kindly intermediary who endeavours to help others in the practical difficulties of life. As bishop, his benevolence is always active. We see him receiving a truant son and bringing about a reconciliation with the injured father (IV. xxiv); securing the remission of interest on an old debt for the advantage of an orphaned family (IV. xxiv); persuading a delinquent husband to return to his wife (VI. ix). But he never countenanced favouritism. He saw clearly that reward should only follow efficient service, and expressly opposed the plea that promotion should go by seniority (VII. ix; VIII. vii). He was a man of insight and common sense, upon whom people relied for good advice. Many reflections and maxims in the Letters attest his practical wisdom. He insists that the safeguard of enduring friendship lies in community of likes and dislikes (III. i); he sees that self-depreciation may be pushed to the verge of folly (IX. iii. 7); he knows that the most bitter family quarrels are those which arise over the division of estates (IV. i), and that at a Burgundian court, as at most others, proximity to kings is dangerous (III. ix).

He was a patriot both as Roman and Arvernian. In the earlier part of his career we find him always urging the strenuous life for the credit of the Roman name. We have seen that more than once he rebukes the men of family who allow all interest to centre in their estates or pleasures, while the *imagines* of trabeated ancestors look down on their degeneracy (I. vi); even philosophy is not accepted as an excuse for inactive contemplation (VI. vi). He did not despair of the empire even in the days of Julius Nepos; he thought that if only patriotism were fairly rewarded, as good men would appear to show it as in the great days of the past (III. viii). When Auvergne was attacked by Euric, his spirit was worthy of Roman tradition at its best. Both during the siege of Clermont and after it, he evinced a courage and a fortitude which proved him worthy of his ancestors. It is unnecessary to dwell upon this crisis of his life; his nature issued from it confirmed in strength and refined as by fire. He possessed to the full the moral strength which enables men to overcome old prejudice in the service of a changed ideal. The exclusive magnate who chose his acquaintances with such care became the friend of all men; the proud noble could beg for the Church (III. i; VIII. iv). He was consistent in his loyalty to his new profession, and resolutely maintained the

dignity of the priesthood even against the high worldly rank which he never ceased to respect (IV. xiv; VIII. vii). He was sincerely humble in his sense of his own unworthiness to be the shepherd of others at a time when he felt the need of guidance for himself: in his Letters to Lupus and other bishops after his election to the see of Clermont, the language is emphatic but the contrition is sincere (V. iii; VI. i; VII. vi). The devotion which in earlier years had perhaps depended much on formality of observance was now the guiding principle of his life; the reputation for piety which he gained among his contemporaries and immediate successors is sufficient proof of his sincerity. History records no career precisely comparable to this. Conspicuous alike for his rank and literary celebrity, Sidonius was in many ways the first personage in his native land, yet he fulfilled his arduous and unfamiliar duties in a spirit of abnegation equal to that of colleagues trained to the renunciations of monastic life. In the evil days which fell upon his country, he never abandoned his people; when his own fortunes were darkest, he rejoiced that others escaped affliction (IV. ii). If Sidonius failed of greatness as a writer, he surely attained it as a man.

There are extant more than sixty manuscripts containing the whole or the greater part of the works of Sidonius, and some twenty containing a small part of them. Out of this large number, Lütjohann, when editing the text for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, selected six as of superior importance, some of these having affinities to a few other manuscripts, which for this reason were occasionally employed. The six manuscripts are:

1. *Codex Laudianus*, (Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. 104) 9th or 10th century. Known as L. Related to this book are *Parisinus* 1854 of the 10th century, known as N, and *Vaticanus* 1783, 10th century, known as V.

2. *Marcianus*. (Marcian Library, Venice, 554.) 10th century. Known as M. lii

3. *Laurentianus*. (Laurentian Library, Florence, Plat. XLV. 23.) 11th-12th century. Known as T.

4. *Matritensis*. (Madrid.) 10th-11th century. Known as C. (Related to this is *Vaticanus* 3421, 10th century.)

5. *Parisinus*. (Bibl. Nat., Paris, 9551.) 12th-13th century. Known as F.

6. *Parisinus*. Bibl. Nat., Paris, 2781.) 10th-11th century. Known as P.

Of these, the first is the most valuable, with the two related, manuscripts in Paris and at the Vatican, and with M and T for use where it fails; the other three are of subsidiary importance. It may be noted that certain *lacunae* are common to all; this would seem to indicate that they had a single archetype, which in these places presented difficulties to the copyist or had perhaps been damaged by fire.

Printed editions of Sidonius begin with the last quarter of the fifteenth century, at which period one was issued from Utrecht and another from Milan, the latter being reprinted at Basel in 1542 and 1595. E. Vinet's edition appeared at Lyons in 1552, and Wouweren's in Paris in 1598. The same year saw Savaron's first edition; his second (the first of critical value) followed in 1609. J. Sirmond's valuable edition, with notes from which every one has something to learn, was issued in 1614; Elmenhorst's five years later. Complete translations have hitherto appeared only in French; the first, by R. Breyer, Canon of Troyes, was printed in 1706; that of E. Billarden de Sauvigny in 1787 and 1792; Grégoire and Collombet's version dates from 1836. The last-mentioned work has often been criticized for inaccuracy, but it is not for one who knows by experience the difficulties of their task to join in censure upon this point. Single Letters, or parts of Letters, are summarized or translated by many writers on Sidonius or his age.

The arrangement of the Letters in nine books is, as far as is known, that of Sidonius himself. Seven books were issued at different times at the request of Constantius, the first appearing in 478. The Poems had already seen the light, perhaps as early as 468 (see above, p. cxli). The eighth book was added at the request of Petronius the jurisconsult of Arles (VIII. i), and the ninth at that of Firminius (IX. i), perhaps about the year 484. It soon becomes apparent to any reader familiar with the history of the times, that the order of the Letters is not chronological; most books contain Letters from the earlier and later parts of Sidonius' life; and within the limits of the several books the arrangement often seems capricious, Letters logically and historically connected being separated by others unrelated to them in subject. This confusion is partly due to the fact that, to complete his tale of nine books, Sidonius had to ransack all his drawers and cases at Clermont for drafts of letters written long years before: this explains the inclusion in the two last books of Letters referring to his early manhood. But it is also true that in preparing for publication he was not primarily concerned with chronological sequence; he brought his letters together for other reasons, by associations of idea which to us are often obscure. One of them probably was to ensure to each book a wide variety of subject, that his readers might not accuse him of monotony. Again, he regarded it as an advantage of the collection of Letters as such that it is essentially discontinuous, and provides reading for odd moments: from this point of view, lack of logical order is not of prime importance. It has before now been suggested that the author's arrangement should be disregarded, and that an edition should be issued with every letter in its proper order. If it were possible to give a precise and certain date to the majority of the letters, the overriding of the order approved by Sidonius might be justified on utilitarian grounds. But although certain Letters date themselves by recounting known events, while the period of others can be inferred from personal or other allusions, there remains a large proportion to which nothing more than conjectural or approximate dates can be given. This being so, it is hardly

justifiable to upset the sequence which received the author's sanction, and has been retained for fifteen hundred years. Moreover, the convenience gained in one direction would be lost in another; for the references to Sidonius in historical and critical literature all follow the old system; and, were it changed, the reader, driven to consult a table of concordance at every turn, would soon wish the old order back. It has therefore seemed best to keep the nine books as they stand in the texts, placing at the head of each letter its certain or conjectural date wherever such can be reasonably assigned.

In many cases the year is exactly or approximately indicated by the contents. In others, a particular allusion, or the general tone, may enable us to infer the period: for instance, it is often possible to say with some confidence that a given letter must have been written before or after the entrance of Sidonius into the Church, or the abandonment of Auvergne by the empire. Again, there is a long interval of leisure in the author's career between A.D. 461 and 467, within which many letters descriptive of provincial life seem naturally to fall: a few of these might be transferred to the years between A.D. 456 and 459, though I have not actually suggested this. It will thus be seen that the date of the majority of letters can only be regarded as approximate.

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TEXTS

The two important critical texts are the Teubner text, edited by Mohr, and that of Lütjohann, Löwe, and Mommsen: viz.: —

C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius, recensuit Paulus Mohr. Leipzig, 1895.

C. Sollii Apollinaris Sidonii Epistulae et Carmina, recensuit et emendavit C. Lütjohann. [Completed by F. Löwe and Th. Mommsen, who contribute the preface. The *Praefatio* of Mommsen, dealing with the life, &c., of Sidonius, is important.]

Among texts of less value not already noted in the bibliography may be mentioned that printed by J. P. Migne in his *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Latin Series, vol. xviii, 1844; Sidonius is included in J. M. Nisard's *Collection des auteurs latins*, 1850; in the *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* of A. Gallandius, vol. x, 1765; in P. Amati's *Collectio Pisauensis*, &c., vol. vi, 1766. The *Corpus omnium Poetarum Latinorum*, 1627, and the *Chorus Poetarum Classicorum duplex*, &c., pt. I, 1616, include the Poems.

The sixteenth century produced the texts of J. de Wouweren, with notes by Wouweren and P. Colvius, Paris and Lyons, 1598; E. Vinetus, Lyons, 1552; G. P. Pio, Basel, 1542.

To the fifteenth century belong an imperfect text with Pio's commentary, produced at Milan in 1498; and an edition issued at Utrecht by N. Ketelaer and G. de Leempt in 1473 (?).

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LIST OF CORRESPONDENTS

AND PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE LETTERS IMPORTANT FOR THE CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF GAUL.

(*Asterisks indicate correspondents and the letters addressed to them.*)

Abraham. VII. xvii. Saint. Ascetic from Mesopotamia, who, flying from Persian persecution, settled in Gaul, at Clermont, where he founded the Community of St. Cirques. Died in 477 (June 15th). For a miracle attributed to him on the occasion of a visit made by Sidonius and Victorius, cf. Gregory of Tours, *Vitae Patrum*, c. iii; also *Hist. Franc.* II. xxi. The relics of St. Abraham were removed to the church of St. Eutropius in 1804 (Chaix, ii, p. 224).

Aëtius. VII. xii. 3. The famous general, who defeated Attila, and was murdered by Valentinian III. Also mentioned in *Carm.* v, vii, and ix.

*Agricola. *I. ii. *II. xii. Brother-in-law of Sidonius; son of the Emperor Avitus; brother of Ecdicius and Papianilla. Unknown except for mention in Sidonius.

Agrippinus. VI. ii. An unscrupulous priest.

*Agroecius. *VII. v. Cf. VII. ix. 6. Bishop of Sens. *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 564.

Albiso. IX. ii. 1. A priest; or possibly a bishop whose see is unknown. Cf. Chaix, ii, p. 75.

Alethius. II. vii. Party in a dispute with Paulus, which Sidonius refers for settlement to Explicius.

Amantius. VII. vii, x; IX. iv. Cf. also VI. viii; VII. ii. A young reader who served as letter-carrier between Sidonius and Graecus. A native of Clermont, he sought to better his fortunes at Marseilles, with the success related in VII. ii. Cf. Chaix, ii, p. 108 f. lxi

*Ambrosius. *IX. vi. A bishop. Conjectured by Sirmond to be the same as a correspondent of Ruricius. Cf. Chaix, ii, p. 98.

Annianus. VIII. xv. Saint. Bishop of Orleans at the time of Attila's invasion. Cf. Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* II. vii.

Anthemius. I. iv, v, vii, ix; II. i; V. xvi. A Byzantine noble, son of Procopius. Had served on the Danube and elsewhere, and married Euphemia, daughter of the Emperor Marcian. Nominated Emperor of the East by Leo, in 467, after the death of Severus. On the occasion of his second consulship in 468 Sidonius addressed a panegyric to him (*Carm.* ii), which helped to secure for him the Prefecture of Rome. Anthemius was not a strong ruler, though Arvandus was brought to justice in his reign. He gave his daughter Alypia in marriage to Ricimer (I. v. 10), but ultimately quarrelled with his son-in-law, and died in the same year (472). Sidonius is the principal authority for many events in his life. Cf. *Carm.* i; ii, 197, 199, 205 ff. See Ricimer.

Antiolus, or Antiolius. VIII. xiv. A bishop whose see is unknown. Had lived with Lupus at Lerins, and practised monastic austerities. Also a friend of St. Remi.

*Aper. *IV. xxi; V. xiv. Friend. An Aeduan, possessing influence in Auvergne. See Fronto,

Auspicia.

Apollinaris. III. xii; V. ix. Grandfather of Sidonius; Prefect of Gaul in 408 under the 'tyrant' Constantine. Disgusted with the instability of the usurper, he withdrew to his native city of Lyons, where he died. (Fauriel, *Hist. de la Gaule méridionale*, i, pp. 67, 99.)

*Apollinaris. *III. xiii; V. xi. 3; VIII. vi. 12; IX. i. 5. Son of Sidonius. Cf. Introduction, p. xiv.

*Apollinaris. *IV. vi; *V. iii, vi; II. ix. Cousin (?) of Sidonius, brother of Thaumastus, and apparently also of Simplicius, to whom, jointly with himself, *IV. iv, xii, are addressed. (Cf. also VII. iv. 4.) Endangered by informers at the court of Chilperic, whose machinations were thwarted by Sidonius.

Apollinaris. II. ix. i. Connexion. Host of Sidonius lxii at the estate of Vorocingus (or Voroangus) in the valley of the Gard not far from Nîmes. Cf. *Carm.* xxiv. 53.

*Aprunculus. *IX. x. Bishop of Langres. Suspected of intriguing with the Franks by the Burgundian king Gundobad, he took refuge at Clermont with Sidonius, whom he there succeeded. Cf. Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* II. xxiii; Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, ii, p. 185.

*Aquilinus. *V. ix. Schoolfellow and friend. Grandson of Rusticus, the friend of Sidonius' grandfather Apollinaris. His father was Vicarius of a province in Gaul under the father of Sidonius.

*Arbogast. *IV. xvii. Friend. Count, and Governor of Trêves. Descendant of an earlier Arbogast, created count by the younger Valentinian, and famous in the reign of Theodosius. Praised as a good Christian by St. Auspicius, Bishop of Toul. Possibly the same man who became Bishop of Chartres in 473 or 474. (*Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, pp. 478, 548; Tillemont, *Mem.* xvi, pp. 250, 475, &c.; *Gallia Christiana*, ii. 481.)

Arvandus. I. vii. Prefect of Gaul. The impeachment of this governor in the reign of Anthemius was one of the last acts of authority exercised by the Senate over Gaul. Cf. Introduction, p. xxx.

Asellus, Flavius. I. vii. 4. *Comes Sacrarum largitionum* in 469. Guard of Arvandus during his trial.

Astyrius (Asterius, Asturius), Turcius Rufius. VIII. vi. 5. Consul 449. Had commanded imperial troops with success in Spain. (Idatius. *Ann.* 450.)

Athenius. I. xi. Guest at the banquet of Majorian.

*Attalus. *V. xviii. Sirmond conjectures that he is the Count of Autun who was uncle of Gregory of Tours. In his youth he had been sent as hostage to Childebert near Trêves, from whom he escaped in an adventurous manner. (Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* iii. 15.)

Attila. VII. xii; VIII. xv. King of the Huns. Cf. *Carm.* vii. 327.

*Audax, Castalius Innocentis. *VIII. vii. Friend. Prefect of Rome under Julius Nepos (474).

Auspicia. IV. xxi. Grandmother of Aper (*q. v.*). lxiii

*Auspicius. *VII. xi; IV. xvii. 3. Bishop of Toul. He enjoyed a high reputation for learning and piety. See *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 478; Chaix, ii, p. 86.

Auxanius. VII. xvii. Succeeded St. Abraham as abbot of the monastery of St. Cirgues, near Clermont.

Auxanius. I. vii. 6. A Roman who advised Arvandus on the occasion of his impeachment.

Avienus, Gennadius. I. ix. Of the family of the Corvini. An influential senator at Rome during the period of Sidonius' visit in the reign of Anthemius. He had been chosen by the Senate in 452 to accompany Pope Leo when he went out to meet Attila. (Prosper of Aquitaine, *Chron. An.* 452.) Colleague of Valentinian in his seventh consulate in 450.

*Avitus. *III. i. Kinsman (cousin?) of Sidonius, and of about his age. He possessed influence with the Visigoths, which he appears to have used with some effect at Sidonius' request in or about the year 474. Cf. *Carm.* xxiv. 75, where his estate of Cottion (Cottium) is mentioned, and Chaix, ii, p. 147.

Basilus, Caecina. I. ix. 2. Consul, 463. An influential senator at Rome, of the Decian family, who secured for Sidonius the audience at which he recited his Panegyric to Anthemius, preparatory to his nomination as Prefect of the city. Basilus was at a later time treated with consideration by Odovakar, who summoned him to his Court. Cf. Chaix, ii, p. 333.

*Basilius. *VII. vi. Bishop of Aix. One of the four bishops who were nominated to treat with Euric (see Graecus, Faustus, Leontius). Cf. Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* II. xxv.

Bigerrus. I. xi. 3. Of Arles. Associated with Paeonius in the episode of the anonymous satire.

*Burgundio. *IX. xiv. A young man of senatorial family in Clermont, devoted to rhetoric and poetry.

Caelestius. IX.x. i. Friend. '*Fraternoster*,' Probably a cleric.

*Calminius. *V. xii. Friend. Son of the senator Eucherius. Compelled by Euric to fight against Auvergne, his native country. Cf. Chaix, ii, pp. 292-3. lxiv

Camillas. I. xi. Of Narbonne. Nephew of Magnus (*q.v.*). Cf. *Carm.* ix, l. 8.

*Campanianus. *I. x. Friend.

*Candidianus. *I. viii. Friend. Native of Cesena, settled in Ravenna.

Catullinus. I. xi. 3, 4. Friend and comrade of Sidonius at the time of the *Coniuratio Marcell[in]iana*. Cf. *Carm.* xii.

*Censorius. *VI. x. Bishop of Auxerre. (Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, ii, p. 441.)

*Chariobaudus. *VII. xvi. An abbot.

Chilperic. V. vi. 2, vii. i. One of the four kings ('tetrarchs') of the Burgundians. Father of Clotilda, queen of Clovis. Bore the title of *Magister militum*.

Claudianus, see Mamertus, Claudianus.

Consentais. IX. xv. i (v. 22 of the poem). Distinguished citizen of Narbonne. Owner of the villa *Octaviana* between Narbonne and Béziers. A man of great intellectual gifts. Cf. *Carm.* xxiii. 33, 98, 169, 177.

*Consentius. *VIII. iv; IX. xv. 1 (v. 22 of the poem). Friend. Son of the preceding. Possessed a great reputation as poet in Greek and Latin (IX. xv). Succeeded to the Villa Octaviana. In earlier life entered the Imperial service, and was entrusted by Valentinian III with missions to Constantinople. Prefect of the Palace under Avitus. (*Carm.* xxiii, 2, 98, 176.) *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 653.

Constans. IV. xii. A *lector*, or *anagnôstes*.

Constantinus (III). V. ix. i. 'The tyrant' (407-411). A soldier, proclaimed emperor in Britain. Established his power in Gaul, and was recognized by Honorius. But Gerontius (*q. v.*), his general in Spain, revolted; and having slain his son Constans at Vienne, besieged the tyrant in Arles. The emperor, profiting by this disunion, sent against him his general Constantius, to whom, after a siege of four months, he surrendered. He was murdered near Mantua by order of Honorius, while being taken to Ravenna under a safe-conduct (411). Cf. Freeman, *English Historical Review*, i, 1886, pp. 53ff.

*Constantius. *I.i; *III.ii; *VII. xviii; *VIII. xvi; II. x,3; lxv IX. xvi. 1. Priest. Of a noble family in Lyons; reputed for eloquence, judgement, and love of letters. The publication of Sidonius' Letters was suggested by him, and the first Letter dedicates the book to him. The eighth book, collected at the request of Petronius, was to be issued under his auspices. Constantius wrote little himself, his principal work being a Life of St. Germain of Auxerre, composed at the request of Patiens. His reputation as a poet led Patiens to ask of him a metrical inscription for his great church at Lyons (II. x). The character of Constantius was a noble one, and his influence wide. When the capital of Auvergne was laid desolate by the Visigothic siege, Sidonius sent for him, and his arrival had the most salutary effect upon the desperate population (III. ii). He is supposed to have died at an advanced age about 488. Cf. *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii; Chaix, ii, p. 206.

Crocus. VII. vi. 9. Bishop. Considered by Sirmond to have occupied the see of Nîmes; but the only recorded Crocus lived in the seventh century. (Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, i, p. 313.)

Dardanus. V. ix. i. Prefect of Gaul, *temp.* Honorius, 409-10. After his prefecture he appears to have embraced Christianity. Letters were addressed to him by Jerome and Augustine. For an inscription relating to him, cf. note, 60. 4, p. 237.

*Desideratus. *II. viii. Friend: perhaps an ancestor of St. Desideratus, Bishop of Clermont after St. Avitus. His poetical judgement was highly valued in Auvergne, and Severianus considered it an advantage to publish a treatise on rhetoric under his auspices. (*Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 576.)

*Domitius. *II. ii. Friend. Perhaps born at Lyons, but teaching as a grammarian in the schools of Ameria. Mentioned in *Carm.* xxiv. 10-16 as a severe critic, and compared to the censorious person who had only laughed once in his life.

*Domnicus. *IV. xx; V. xvii. 6. Friend.

*Domnulus. *IV. xxv; IX. xiii. 4, xv. i. Friend; living at Arles. Served as Quaestor. Poet and philosopher, with an interest in theology, and a Churchman. One of the four poets whom Majorian invited during his sojourn in Gaul. lxvi Probably still living, as an old man, in 483

or 484. Cf. *Carm.* xiv; *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 507.

*Donidius. *II. ix; III. v; VI. v. Friend. *Vir spectabilis*. Living on his ancestral estate at Eborolacum (Ebreuil, near Gannat), in the valley of the Sioule, part of which he lost during the disturbances of 474.

*Ecdicius. *II. i; *III. iii; II. ii. 15; V. xvi. 1. Son of the emperor Avitus; brother of Papianilla and brother-in-law of Sidonius. Patrician. An athlete and patriot, who became the champion of his countrymen during the last resistance of Auvergne to Euric's aggression. Ecdicius continued the policy of his father Avitus in conciliating the barbaric princes, and his diplomacy confirmed the Burgundians in their support of the Gallo-Romans against Euric; but he was also a defender of the purity of the Latin language against encroaching barbarism. During the misery which followed Euric's invasion, Ecdicius rivalled Patiens in the generosity with which he relieved the starving. Some consider that he is the Isicius who succeeded Mamertus as Bishop of Vienne (Chaix, ii, p. 209). It is also thought that he is the Decius whom Jornandes describes as leaving his country in disgust after its surrender to the Goths (*Get.* xlv).

*Elaphius. *IV. xv. Friend. Resident in Rodez, where he built a baptistery. Perhaps subsequently a bishop. (Ruricius, *Ep.* II. vii; *Gallia Christiana*, iii, p. 593; Tillemont, *Mem.* xvi, p. 260.)

*Eleutherius. *VI. xi. Bishop. (Tillemont, *Mem.* xvi, p. 232.)

Eminentius. IV. xvii. 1. Friend of Arbogast.

Epiphanius. V. xvii. 10. *Scriba* or Secretary, either of Filimatus or Sidonius.

*Eripius. *V. xvii. Friend; of Lyons. Son-in-law of Filimatus.

Eucherius. IV. iii. 7. St. Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, previously monk at Lerins, D. 449. Author of various treatises and homilies. Cf. *Carm.* xvi, 1. 115; *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 275; Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, ii, p. 163.

*Eucherius. *III. via; VII. ix. 18. Friend. *Vir illustris*. lxvii A man of integrity, for whom the decaying Roman empire found no important post. Sirmond conjectures him to be the same Eucherius who, under Count Victorius, when Euric had seized Auvergne, was falsely accused, and put to death. (Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* II. xx; Tillemont, *Mem.* xvi, p. 303.)

*Euphronius. *VII. viii; *IX. ii; IV. xxv. 2. Bishop of Autun. His visit to Châlon with Patiens, described in IV. xxv, must have taken place about 470, when he was advanced in years. Of his writings, there remains only a letter written jointly with Lupus of Troyes to the Bishop of Angers on questions of ecclesiastical discipline. He died at a great age about 476. (*Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 465; Chaix, ii, p. 74; Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, ii, p. 117.)

Euric (Eoricus, Evarix). VII. vi. 4; VIII. iii, ix. 5. Cf. I. vii. 5; II. i. 3; IV. viii. 1; VIII. ix. 1. King of the Visigoths. Murderer and successor of his brother Theodoric II. A bigoted Arian, conqueror, and energetic ruler, who extended his territory from Septimania, until by the conquest of Auvergne and Berry, and the cession by Odovakar of the last territory preserved to Rome in Provence, it embraced the whole of southern France outside the Burgundian dominions. Euric probably died in 484-5 in the nineteenth year of his reign (Jornandes, *Getica*, c. lvii), though Isidore of Seville and Gregory of Tours give different dates. Cf. Chaix,

ii, p. 330.

Eusebius. IV. i. 3. Teacher of philosophy at Lyons, where he taught Sidonius and many of his friends.

Eustachius. VII. ii. 4, 9. Bishop of Marseilles.

Eutropia. VI. ii. i, 4. A pious widow; possibly the same celebrated in the Roman martyrology among sainted widows on September 15. (Tillemont, *Mem.* xvi, 227.)

*Eutropius. *VI. vi. Bishop of Orange. See *Acta Sanctorum* (May 27), p. 699; *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 473; Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, i, p. 265.

*Eutropius. *I. vi; *III. vi. Lifelong friend; member of a noble family, distinguished for its official honours. Became Prefect of Gaul. Cf. Chaix, ii, p. 19. lxviii

Evanthius. V. xiii. i. An official of public works under Seronatus.

*Evodius. *IV. viii. Petitioner at the court of Euric, to whose queen, Ragnahild, he presented a silver cup.

*Explicius. *II. vii. A jurisconsult, to whom Sidonius refers a dispute which his own efforts had failed to settle.

Faustmus. IV. iv. I; vi. 1. Friend of Sidonius from his youth. Entered the Church, and perhaps became the successor of Hermentarius at Velay. (*Hist. litt. de la France*, ii. p. 551; cf. Chaix, ii, pp. 116, 118.)

Faustus. Born in Britain. Abbot of Lerins (433-4) for twenty-seven years, where he established a school. Subsequently Bishop of Riez (462). Preserved the ascetic habits of monastic life (IX. iii). Celebrated for his learning and eloquence. One of the four bishops nominated to treat with Euric (see Leontius, Graecus, Basilus). Preached at the dedication of Patiens' new church at Lyons (IX. iii). Published a famous letter maintaining the materiality of the soul (IV. iii; Guizot, *Hist. de la Civ. en France*, v. 165 f.), wrote against the Arians, for which he was exiled by Euric to the district of Limoges, where he enjoyed the intercourse of Ruricius; liberated in 484, and died at an advanced age (c. 490). His writings, which give evidence of a modified Pelagianism, were regarded as heretical after his death, but were not condemned in his lifetime. Cf. *Carm.* xvi. See *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii. 587; *Mon. Germ. Historica*, viii (Auctorum Antiquiss. pp. liv ff.); Chaix, i, pp. 248-9; ii, p. 294; Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, i, p. 284.

Felix, see Magnus Felix.

Ferreolus. VII. i. 7. Martyr: interred near Vienne.

Ferreolus, see Tonantius Ferreolus.

Filimatia (Philimatia). II. viii. Wife of Eriphius and daughter of Filimatius (?).

*Filimatius (Philimatius, Philomathius). *I. iii; V. xvii. 10. Friend; of Lyons. Father-in-law of Eriphius; father of Filimatia (?); member of the Prefect's council. A man of vivacious temperament and poetical tastes. Cf. Chaix, ii, pp. 169, 297. lxix

*Firminus. *IX. i, xvi. Friend. A native of Arles. Incited Sidonius to publish the ninth book of the Letters. Ennodius of Pavia praises his learning and literary style (*Ep. I. viii*). He was of a generous character, and assisted St. Caesarius in a time of trouble. Cf. *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 684.

*Florentinus. *IV. xix. Friend.

*Fonteus. *VI. vii; *VII. iv. Bishop of Vaison from about A.D. 450. Sidonius praises his charming character. He seems to have exerted over the Burgundian princes an influence which enabled him to be of great service to the Gallo-Romans of his diocese. Cf. Chaix, ii, p. 106; Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, i, p. 262.

*Fortunalis. *VIII. v. Friend. Lived in Spain (Tarra-gona), and witnessed the conquest of Iberia by the Visigoths in 478-80.

Fronto. IV. xxi. Grandfather of Aper (*q. v.*). Possibly the Count twice sent as ambassador to the Suevi in Spain, first by Valentinian, then by Avitus.

Gallicinus. VIII. xi. 3 (*v. 39* of the poem). Bishop.

Gallus. VI. ix. A man living in the diocese of Troyes, whom Sidonius persuaded to return to his wife. Cf. Chaix, ii, p. 80.

*Gaudentius. *I. iv; I. iii. 2; III. xii. 4. Friend. Of tribunician rank. Became Vicarius of the Seven Provinces. Called *venerabilis* in III. xii. 4.

*Gelasius. *IX. xv; IX. xvi. i. Friend.

Germanicus. IV. xiii. i. Resident at or near Chanteile in the Bourbonnais, and a neighbour of Vectius. Described by Sidonius as a juvenile sexagenarian. Cf. Chaix, ii, p. 242.

Germanus. VIII. xv. 1. Bishop of Auxerre.

Gerontius. V. ix. I. Commander in Spain under the 'tyrant' Constantine (*q. v.*), but rose against Constans, the tyrant's son, whom he drove from Spain into Gaul, and slew at Vienne. He then besieged Constantine in Arles, but on the arrival of Honorius' general Constantius, was abandoned by his men, and flying to Spain, there perished (411). Cf. Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* II. ix.

Gozolas. III. iv. i; IV. v. i. A Jew. lxx

*Graecus. *VI. viii; *VII. ii, vii, xi; *IX. iv; VII. vi. 10. Bishop of Marseilles. Charged by Julius Nepos to negotiate with Euric, together with Leontius of Arles, Basilius of Aix, and Faustus of Riez. Cf. Introduction, p. xlii.

Gratianensis. I. xi. 10,13. *Vir illustris*. Guest at the banquet of Majorian.

Heliodorus. IV. x. i. Mentioned as *filius meus*, but probably no relation of Sidonius.

*Herenius (Heronius). *I. v, ix. Friend; of Lyons. A cultivated man, interested in geographical and historical questions, and a poet. (*Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 437.)

*Hesperius. *II. x; IV. xxii. 1. Friend. Man of letters; also intimate with Leo.

Himerius. VII. xiii. 1. A priest, or possibly bishop. Son of Sulpicius, and pupil of Lupus at Troyes. (*Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 490.)

*Hypatius. *III. v. Friend. A person with influence in the neighbourhood of Ébreuil. Cf. Chaix, ii, p. 149.

*Industrius. *IV. ix. Friend.

Injurius. IX. x. i. A dependant (clerk?) who left Sidonius for Aprunculus, bishop of Langres.

Innocentius. VI. ix. 3. A *vir spectabilis*.

Johannes, II. v. i. A friend involved in legal difficulties; introduced by Sidonius to the jurisconsult Petronius.

Johannes. IV. xxv. 3. Bishop of Châlon, consecrated by Patiens and Euphronius. Cf. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, ii, p. 192.

*Johannes. *VIII. ii. Friend. Grammarian, teaching in Aquitaine under Visigothic rule.

Jovinus. V. ix. 'Tyrant.' Assumed the purple while Constantine was being besieged by Constantius at Arles (411). Defeated and slain at Narbonne in 412 by Ataulf the Visigoth, acting on behalf of Honorius. Cf. *Carm.* XXIII. i. 173.

Julianus. IX. v. Bishop. Perhaps of some see in Gallia Narbonensis. Cf. Chaix, ii, p. 149.

Julius Nepos. V. xvi. Cf. V. vi. 2, vii. I; VIII. vii. 4. Emperor, A. D. 474-5, in whose reign Auvergne was lost to the empire. Cf. Introduction, p. xliii. lxxi

*Justinus. *V. xxi. Friend. Brother of Sacerdos. Their brotherly affection was celebrated. Cf. *Carm.* xxiv. 26 ff.

Justus. V. xvii. 3. Saint. Bishop of Lyons, d. c. 390. The church erected by Patiens on the site of the old church of the Maccabees at Lyons was known by his name.

Justus. II. xii. 3. A doctor attending Severiana.

*Lampridius. *VIII. ix.; VIII. xi. 3; IX. xiii. 2, 4. Friend. Poet and orator of Bordeaux. A man of great versatility, whom Fertig calls 'the Goethe of his age'. He ingratiated himself with Euric, and was probably thus enabled to assist Sidonius in regaining his liberty. Murdered by his household slaves. Cf. *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 494.

*Leo. *IV. xxii; *VIII. iii; IX. xiii. 2, xv. i. Minister of Euric. A native of Narbonne and descendant of the orator Fronto, whose talent he inherited. He also bore a high reputation as poet (*Rex Castalii Chori*, IX. xiii), philosopher, orator, and jurist: Appius Claudius himself would be silent when Leo expounded the law of the Twelve Tables (*Carm.* xxiii. 446). Though a Catholic, he was selected by Euric as minister, in which capacity he doubtless made easier the lot of many of his co-religionists. While Sidonius was in banishment Leo encouraged him to occupy himself with the life of Apollonius of Tyana; and the intercession of the powerful minister must have contributed to his release. Leo was still living about 483. Cf. *Carm.* ix. 314, XIV. xxiii. 446 ff.; *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, pp. 627 ff.

*Leontius. *VI. iii. Bishop of Arles, and friend of Pope Hilary, who confirmed the privileges of his see as the first in Gaul. Friend of Faustus, Felix, and Ruricius (cf. Ruricius, *Ep.* I. xv). Arranged terms of peace with Euric in company with Basilius, Graecus, and Faustus. Cf. Chaix, ii, p. 189.

Leontius, see Pontius Leontius.

Licinianus. III. vii. 2; V. xvi. i. Quaestor; envoy from Julius Nepos to Gaul at the time of Euric's invasion of Auvergne. lxxii

Livia. VIII. xi. 3 (1. 34 of the poem). Mother of Pontius Leontius (*q. v.*).

*Lucontius (Lucentius). *IV. xviii. Friend.

*Lupus, St., d. 479. *VI. i, iv, ix; *VIII. xi; *IX. xi; IV. xvii. 3; VII. xiii. i; VIII. xiv. 2, xv. i. Saint. Born at Toul. Bishop of Troyes. In 451 he persuaded Attila to spare the city. After separating from his wife Pimeniola, sister of St. Hilarius, resided at Lerins first as a monk under Honoratus, subsequently as abbot. (Cf. *Carm.* xvi. 11.) Summoned to the see of Troyes in 426 or 427. Opponent of Pelagianism. On Sidonius' election to Clermont, Lupus wrote him a still extant letter of congratulation, the terms of which seem to imply a previous intimacy in spite of their disparity in age. Lupus was no less eminent for his learning than for the austerity of his life. (IV. xvii.) Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum*, July 29; Chaix, i, p. 442; *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, pp. 486 ff.; Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, ii, p. 449.

*Lupus. *VIII. xi. Friend. Rhetor, residing at Périgueux or Agen, the former being his native city. A man of literary taste with a predilection for science. Cf. *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 583.

Magnus. I. xi. 10. Senator of Narbonne. Consul in 460. Prefect of Gaul in 469. Father of Probus and Magnus Felix, both of whom were friends of Sidonius. Uncle of Camillus. A great personage in Gaul, where he was widely respected for his integrity and practical wisdom. Cf. *Garni*. XIV. xxiii. 455; xxiv. 90.

*Magnus Felix. *II. iii; *III. iv, vii; *IV. v, x. Friend. Son of Magnus and brother of Probus. 'Patrician.' Lived at Narbonne. Schoolfellow of Sidonius, to whom the latter dedicated his poems. Cf. *Carm.* ix. 330, xxiv. 91; Chaix, ii, p. 294.

Majorianus, Julius Valerius. I. xi. 2; IX. xiii. 4. Roman Emperor. Distinguished soldier and comrade of Aëtius and Ricimer. Raised to the throne by the latter in 457. Pardoned Sidonius for his share in the insurrection of Lyons after the deposition of Avitus, and during his visit to lxxiii Gaul treated him with distinction. Majorian was a wise ruler, who sought to stem the progress of imperial decay; he defeated the Vandals in Italy, but his preparations for an attack upon them in Africa were thwarted by the burning of his fleet, and, having incurred the enmity of Ricimer, he was assassinated by his own troops at Tortona in 461. The Panegyric on Majorian is *Carm.* v. Cf. Introduction, p. xxi. Mamertus. *VII. i; IV. xi. 6; V. xiv. 2; Saint. Bishop of Vienne. Brother of Claudianus Mamertus. Introduced, at a time of public disaster, the Rogations, which were afterwards adopted by Sidonius at Clermont. Incurred the displeasure of Pope Hilary in connexion with the bishopric of Die. Cf. Chaix, ii, p. 112; Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, i, p. 205.

*Mamertus, Claudianus. *IV. iii; IV. xi. i; V. ii. i. Writer of IV. ii. Priest. Brother of St. Mamertus, bishop of Vienne. Learned in philosophy, and author of a well-known treatise, *De Natura Animae*, in three books, a reply to a letter of Faustus, Bishop of Riez (*q. v.*),

maintaining the material nature of the soul. Friend of Salvian, who dedicated to him his work on Ecclesiastes. Cf. Guizot, *Hist. de la Civ. en France*, i, pp. 166 ff.; Chaix, i, p. 361.

Marcellinus. II. xiii. i. A jurisconsult of Narbonne, described in *Carm.* xxiii, 1. 465, as of a frank outspoken character, but amiable and a man of many friends, among whom was Serranus (*q. v.*).

Marcellinus. I. xi. Distinguished soldier. Served under Aëtius, after whose death he withdrew to Dalmatia and established a practically independent state. On the death of Avitus the diadem was apparently offered him by a party in Gaul, to which Sidonius belonged, and which was subdued by Majorian. Cf. Introduction, p. xx.

*Maurusius. *II. xiv. Landed proprietor, and friend.

Maximus. VIII. xiv. 2. Abbot of Lerins, and afterwards Bishop of Riez. Cf. *Carm.* xvi, 11. 112, 128.

Maximus. IV. xxiv. Friend. Formerly in the Palatine service, subsequently a cleric, possibly bishop, living near Toulouse. Cf. Chaix, ii, p. 235. lxxiv

*Megethius. *VII. iii. Bishop, possibly of Belley. (Sirmond.)

Megethius. VIII. xiv. 8. Cleric. Acting as messenger between Principius and Sidonius. Cf. IX. viii. i.

Menstruanus. II. vi. i. Friend of Sidonius and Pegasus.

Modaharius. VII. vi. 2. A Visigothic Arian confuted by Basilius.

*Montius. *I. xi. Friend.

Namatius. *VIII. vi. Friend. 'Admiral' of Euric on the West Coast. He had a villa at Saintes, and apparently an estate in Oléron. Studied architecture. (*Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 576.)

Nicetius, Flavius. VIII. vi. 2. Cf. III. i. 3; VIII. vi. 8. Advocate of Lyons. Chosen by common consent to deliver a panegyric at the inauguration of the Consul Astyrius at Arles in 449. An admirer of Sidonius' writings. (*Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 500.)

*Nunechius. *VIII. xiii. Bishop of Nantes. He was present at the Council of Vannes in 465.

*Nymphidius. *V. ii. Friend. Grandfather of Polemius. Cf. *Carm.* xv. 200.

Optantius. II. iv. 2, 3. *Vir clarissimus*. The deceased father of a girl demanded in marriage by Proiectus, to whom Sidonius gives a letter of introduction.

*Oresius. *IX. xii. Friend; living in Spain.

Paeonius. I. xi. A parvenu and ambitious demagogue. During the interregnum, after the death of Avitus, he usurped the position of Prefect of Gaul. In this capacity he made himself essential to the young nobles who participated in the 'conspiracy of Marcellinus'. After his term of office he was given senatorial rank, but did not succeed, like Sidonius, in conciliating the favour of Majorian; to this cause perhaps was due the enmity which he displayed in the affair of the anonymous satire. Cf. Introduction, p. xxii.

*Pannychius. *V. xiii; VII. ix. 18. Friend. *Vir illustris*. Living at Bourges,

*Papianilla. *V. xvi. Cf. II. ii. 3, xii. 2; V. xvi. 3; lxxv *Carm.* xviii. 1. Wife. Daughter of Avitus and sister of Ecdicius (*q. v.*). Cf. Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* II. xxi, and Introduction, p. xiii.

*Pastor. *V. xx. Friend.

Pateminus. IV. xvi. r. Bearer of a letter from Ruricius.

*Patiens. *VI. xii.; II. x. 2; IV. xxv. i, 3, 5. Cf. III. xii. 3. Saint. Archbishop of Lyons from before 470. A man of great wealth, which he employed in the building and restoration of churches and in the relief of the needy in times of national distress. (Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* II. xxiv.) Sidonius is our chief authority for Patiens. Cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, September 11; *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 54; Chaix, ii, p. 304; Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, ii, p. 163.

Paulus. IV. xxv. i. Bishop of Châlon.

Paulus. I. ix. i. Of prefectorian rank. Host of Sidonius at Rome.

Paulus. II. vii. Party to a dispute with Alethius, which Sidonius refers for settlement to Explicius.

*Pegasius. *I. vi. Friend.

*Perpetuus. *VII. ix.; IV. xviii. 4, 5, &c. Bishop of Tours. Soon after his accession he convened a council at Tours to regulate ecclesiastical discipline and remedy abuse; four years later he summoned another at Vannes. His devotion to the memory of St. Martin led him to erect the basilica described by Sidonius in place of the earlier church. He was an intimate friend of Euphronius, whom he survived. Cf. Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* II. xiv; X. xxxi; *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, pp. 619 ff.; Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, ii, p. 300.

*Petreius. *IV. xi. Friend. Nephew of Claudianus Mamertus.

*Petronius. *II. v; *V. i; *VIII. i; I. vii. 4; VIII. xvi. i. Eminent jurisconsult of Arles and lover of letters. Associated with Tonantius Ferreolus in the impeachment of Arvandus. Persuaded Sidonius to publish the eighth book of the Letters. *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, pp. 581 ff. lxxvi

Petrus. IX. xiii. 4; xv. i. Born in North Italy. Secretary (*magister epistolarum*) of Majorian. Sidonius, in the Prologue to the Panegyric in honour of that Emperor, describes Petrus as his Maecenas; and it was probably owing to the intercession of this friend that he made his peace after the rebellion at Lyons. (*Carm.* v. 569-71; ix. 305.) Petrus had also gifts of eloquence and style, and was no mean poet. After the assassination of Majorian he devoted himself to literary interests, and is said to have died in 473 or 474. (*Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 439.)

Petrus. VII. xi. 2. Of tribunician rank.

*Philagrius (Filagrius). *VII. xiv. Cf. II. iii. 1. Known to Sidonius by reputation only as a man of culture and erudition. Connected with the families of Avitus and Magnus Felix. Cf. *Carm.* vii. 156, xxiv. 93; *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, pp. 41, 576.

*Placidus. *III. xiv. Friend; of Grenoble. A man of literary tastes, who appreciated the writings of Sidonius.

*Polemios. *IV. xiv. Friend. Descendant of Tacitus. Prefect of Gaul. Of philosophical tastes, and a student of Plato. Cf. *Carm.* xiv (an epithalamium for the marriage of Polemios and Araneola). Cf. also Chaix, i, p. 347; ii. 254; *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, pp. 514 ff.

Pontius Leontius. VIII. xi. 3; xii. 5. Of Bordeaux, in the neighbourhood of which was situated his fine villa, Burgus. A personage of great importance in Aquitaine (*Facile primus Aquitanorum*). Sidonius has celebrated the elegance and hospitality of Burgus in his twenty-second poem. Cf. *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 409.

Pontius Paulinus. VIII. xii. 5. Son of Pontius Leontius. Friend. Native of Aquitaine. A poet, chiefly devoting himself to religious subjects. Cf. *Carm.* ix. 304; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, xvi, p. 404; *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 470.

*Potentinus. *V. xi. Friend. Regarded by Sidonius as the model for his young son Apollinaris.

*Pragmatius. *VI. ii. Bishop. Probably not Pragmatius of Antun. Cf. Chaix, ii, p. 97. lxxvii

Pragmatius. V. x. I. 2. A man of eloquence and personal charm, adopted as son-in-law by Priscus Valerianus. Cf. *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, pp. 499, 580.

*Principius. *VIII. xiv; *IX. viii. Bishop of Soissons. Elder brother of St. Remi. Cf. *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 668.

*Probus. *IV. i. Friend from schooldays. Husband of Eulalia, cousin of Sidonius; elder brother of Magnus Felix (*q. v.*) and son of Magnus. A man of literary taste and precocious ability. Cf. *Carm.* ix. 329-34; xxiv. 95-8; *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 649.

*Proculus. *IV. xxiii; IX. xv. Friend. Of Ligurian origin; poet and man of letters, (*Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 538.)

Proculus. IX. ii. 1. A deacon.

Proiectus. II. iv. 1. *Vir clarissimus*. Betrothed to the daughter of Optantius, and introduced by Sidonius to his friend Sagittarius (or Syagrius).

Promotus. VIII. xiii. 3. A Jew.

*Prosper. *VIII. xv. Bishop of Orleans. Only known from this letter and from his mention by Bede. Invited Sidonius, at the time of his exile, to write a history of Attila's attack on Orleans. Cf. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, ii, p. 456.

Prudens. VI. iv. 2. Witness to the sale of a slave.

*Pudens. *V. xix. Friend.

Ragnahild. IV. viii. 5. Queen of Euric. Her name is only known through Sidonius.

*Remigius (Remi). *IX. vii. Cf. VIII. xiv. 'Apostle of the Franks.' Saint. Bishop of Reims. Born c. 458, in or near Laon; son of Count Emilius and Celinia, and brother of Principius. Elected at an early age to the see of Reims by popular compulsion (*Raptus potius quam electus* — Hincmar). Baptized Clovis in 496, using on this occasion the famous words bidding the King adore what he had burned and burn what he had adored. Author of Addresses (*Declamationes*), highly praised by Sidonius, but no longer extant. Cf. *Hist. litt. de la France*,

Ricimer. I. v. 10; ix. i. The famous 'king-maker', lxxviii who raised emperors to the throne (Majorian, Severus) or deposed them (Avitus), but never assumed the diadem himself. He was the son of a Suevic father and a Gothic mother (cf. *Carm.* ii. 361 ff.), and comrade of Majorian (*Carm.* v. 267). He married the daughter of Anthemius (I. v), but quarrelled with that Emperor, and a war ensuing, died shortly after his antagonist. Cf. Introduction, p. xix.

Riochatus. IX. ix. A priest (or bishop) and monk (*antistes ac monachus*), who visited Clermont, bearing with him works by Faustus of Riez.

*Riothamus. *III. ix. Commander of the Bretons engaged to join the Empire in resisting the advance of the Visigoths. He engaged Euric before Roman support could reach him and was defeated by that king at Bourg-de-Déols on the Indre, whereupon he took refuge with the Burgundians. Cf. Introduction, p. xxxvi.

Roscia. V. xvi. 5. Daughter of Sidonius and Papianilla. Cf. Introduction, p. xiv.

*Ruricius. *IV. xvi; *V. xv; *VIII. x. Friend. Member of a patrician family connected with the Gens Anicia. Married, before 470, Iberia, daughter of the Arvernian Ommatius, Sidonius writing their epithalamium (*Carm.* xi). After some years, he renounced the world for a life of piety. In 484 he became Bishop of Limoges. Author of two books of Letters, in which an imitation of Sidonius is sometimes apparent. These mostly date from the time previous to his episcopate, and though exemplary in their piety, and showing an admirable character, contain little of interest for the historian. Of them Bk. I. ix, xvi are addressed to Sidonius. (*Hist. litt. de la France*, iii, pp. 49-56.) See also Krusch, *Mon. Germ. Historica*, viii (Auctorum Antiquissimorum, pp. lxiiff.).

*Rusticus, Decimus. V. ix. 1. Succeeded his friend Apollinaris as Prefect of Gaul at the time of the tyrant Constantine (409). Captured and slain in Auvergne by the generals of Honorius a few years later. Grandfather of Aquilinus. Cf. Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* II. c. ix.

Rusticus. V. ix. 2. Son of the preceding. Tribune and lxxix notary under Honorius, with the father of Sidonius, and subsequently a vicarius.

Rusticus. V. ix. 4. Son of Aquilinus (?).

*Rusticus (Rusticius). *II. xi; VIII. xi. 3 (v. 36 of the poem). Friend; living near Bordeaux. (*Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 428.)

*Sacerdos. *V. xxi. Friend. Brother of Justinus (*q.v.*). Cf. *Carm.* xxiv. 27.

*Sagittarius (?). *II. iv. Friend. The MS. C gives the name of the recipient of this letter as Syagrius.

*Salonius. * VII. xv. Friend; living at Vienne. Some have considered him to be the son of St. Eucherius of the same name, who was a bishop when Sidonius was quite young, but this view is not universally accepted. (*Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 433; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, xvi, p. 207; Sirmond, note to VII. xv.)

*Sapaudus. *V. x. Friend. Rhetor of Vienne. For his studies he received the advice of Claudianus Mamertus, and sought to inspire himself from the earlier Roman writers. (*Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 498.)

*Secundinus. *V. viii; II. x. 3; V. viii. i. Poet of Lyons. Associated with Constantius and Sidonius in writing metrical inscriptions for the church erected by Patiens. Wrote a satire exposing the merciless cruelty of Gundobad, one of the Burgundian 'tetrarchs', to his brothers and their families. (*Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 502.)

*Secundus. *II. xii. Nephew of Sidonius, or grandson of one of his uncles (Mommson, *Praefatio*, p. xlvii).

Seronatus. II. i. i; V. xiii. i, 4; VII. vii. 2. Perhaps Governor of Aquitanica Prima (cf. Introduction, p. xxxviii). He was guilty of more open treason and even worse oppression than his predecessor. The people of Auvergne brought him to justice, and he received the penalty of death. Cf. Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, vi, p. 352; Chaix, i, p. 377.

*Serranus. *II. xiii. Friend; living at Narbonne. Adherent of the Emperor Petronius Maximus. Friend of Marcellinus.

Severiana. II. xii. Daughter (?) of Sidonius. Cf. Introduction, p. xiv. lxxx

Severianus. IX. xiii. 4; xv. i. A poet of repute in Gaul, considered to rank with Domnulus, Lampridius and Sidonius. In his prose work he is compared by the latter to Quintilian. Cf. *Carm.* ix. 312; *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 509.

Severinus. I. xi. 10, 16. Consul of the year 461. Guest at the banquet of Majorian.

Sigismer. IV. xx. A young Frankish (?) prince. Cf. Introduction, p. xciii.

Simplicius. VII. vi. 9. A bishop.

Simplicius. VII. viii. 2, 3; ix. 16, 25. Son of Eulogius and son-in-law of Palladius, both bishops of Bourges. Nominated by Sidonius to the same see. (Chaix, ii, p. 20.)

*Simplicius. *V. iv; III. xi; IV. iv, vii, xii; VII. iv. Perhaps brother of Apollinaris (*q. v.*).

*Sulpicius. *VII. xiii. Friend.

Syagrius, Flavius Afranius (I). I. vii. 4; V. xvii. 4. Cf. V. v. i; VIII. viii. 3. Of Lyons. General of Valentinian; subsequently *Praefectus Praetorio* in Gauland consul in 382. Buried at Lyons, where his monument is mentioned by Sidonius (as above). His daughter Papianilla was the mother of Tonantius Ferreolus (*q. v.*).

*Syagrius, *V. v; *VIII. viii. Great-grandson of the preceding. Man of letters. At one period living much at the Burgundian court; at another on his estate of Taionnacus near Autun. It seems best to follow the Benedictine *Histoire littéraire de la France*, ii, p. 651, in regarding this personage as distinct from Syagrius, son of Aegidius of Soissons, defeated by Clovis in 486. Sirmond and others, however, regard V. v. at least, if not both letters, as written to that Syagrius. The objection to this view is that the ruler of Soissons would hardly have been able to live among Burgundians or in a country-house so far away from his proper sphere of interest.

Symmachus Quintus Aurelius. I. i. i; II. x. 5; cf. VIII. x. i. Flourished in the second half of the fourth century. Consul 391. Famous as an orator, though most of his speeches are lost. His *Letters* survive in ten books, and are written in a style which compared with that of Sidonius is simple and lxxx direct. The best known is that relating to the proposed restoration of the

altar of Victory in the Senate. Cf. *Carm.* ix. 304.

*Tetradius. *III. x. Friend. A jurisconsult of Arles. Cf. *Carm.* xxiv. 80-3; *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, pp. 577-8.

*Thaumastus. *I. vii; I. vii. 4; V. vi. i. Friend. Brother of Apollinaris. Associated with Tonantius Ferreolus in the impeachment of Arvandus. Cf. *Carm.* xxiv. 85.

Theodoric II (Theudericus). I. ii. i; II. i. 3. King of the Visigoths (453-66). Son of the Theodoric who fell in the battle of Maurica. Succeeded in 453 after the assassination of his brother Thorismond. Supported the election of Avitus as emperor, having been acquainted with him in former years, and on his deposition and death opposed Majorian, by whom he was defeated before Arles. Afterwards once more reconciled to the Empire, but assassinated by his brother Euric in 466. Cf. *Carm.* vii. 262, &c.; and see Introduction, p. xvi.

Theodorus. III. x. i. *Vir clarissimus*. Introduced by Sidonius to the jurisconsult Tetradius.

*Theoplastus. *VI.v. Bishop of Geneva (?). (Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, i, p. 227.)

Thorismond (Thorismodus). VII. xii. 3. King of the Visigoths. Son of Theodoric I, who died in the great battle of Maurica, and brother of Theodoric II, by whom he was assassinated in 453. Besieged Arles soon after the defeat of Attila, but was induced to withdraw through the practical diplomacy of Tonantius Ferreolus (*q. v.*).

*Tonantius Ferreolus. *VII. xii. i; I. vii. 4; II. ix. i. Grandson of the Consul Afranius Syagrius, and through his mother, Papianilla, connected with the Aviti. An important Gallo-Roman noble, son of a Prefect of the Gauls, himself three times Prefect, and Patrician. With Avitus, he was instrumental in arranging the co-operation of the Visigoths with the Romans, which resulted in the defeat of Attila at Maurica by Aëtius. He was gifted with diplomatic powers which enabled him to save the town of Arles when besieged by the new Visigothic king Thorismond, at the trifling cost of a dinner (VII. xii), but his qualities as a strong and just administrator led to his selection, after his official career, as the principal accuser of Arvandus (I. vii). His tastes were cultivated; cf. the description which Sidonius gives of his country-house Prusianum (II. ix). Born about 420, he died about 485, and was thus a lifelong contemporary of his friend Sidonius. Cf. *Carm.* xxiv. 1. 36; *Hist. Lit. de la France*, iii, p. 540.

*Tonantius. *IX. xiii; IX. xv. Son of Tonantius Ferreolus. Cf. *Carm.* xxiv. 34.

*Trygetius. *VIII. xii. According to Sirmond, the same Trygetius sent on an embassy to Attila with St. Leo and Avienus. At the time of Sidonius' visit to his friends at Bordeaux, Trygetius was living at his house at Bazas. Cf. Chaix, ii, pp. 225-6.

*Turnus. *IV. xxiv. Friend. Son of Turpio.

Turpio. IV. xxiv. Friend; of tribunician rank. On his death-bed requested Sidonius to help his family in the matter of a debt to Maximus. See Turnus.

Valerianus, Priscus. V. x. 2. Prefect of Gaul, and relative of the Emperor Avitus. Father-in-law of Pragmatius. Consulted by Sidonius on the merits of his Panegyric of Avitus. Cf. *Carm.* viii. See also *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, p. 360; Chaix, ii, p. 183.

*Vectius (Vettius). *IV. xiii; IV. ix. i. Friend. A noble living in the world, but practising austerities in secret. His home was near Chanteile in the Bourbonnais. (Chaix, ii, p. 239.)

Victorius. VII. xvii. i. Cf. IV. x. 2. Appointed Count of Auvergne by Euric, after he obtained possession of that country in 475. Probably the *patronus* of IV. x. 2. Gregory of Tours, who describes him as duke, gives him a much worse character than Sidonius (*Hist. Franc.* II. xx. and *De gloria Confessorum*, c. xxxiii).

Victorius. V. xxi. Uncle of Sacerdos and Justin. Sirmond thinks it probable that the person to whom this letter is addressed is Victorius of Aquitaine, who in 457 under the Consulate of Constantine and Rufus composed the Paschal Cycle, and had some repute as a poet (cf. V. x). His lxxxiii home was among the hills of the Gabalitani, now the district of La Lozère. (*Hist. litt. de la France*, ii, pp. 419, 424.) The poet and the author of the Cycle are distinguished.

*Vincentius. *I. vii. Friend.

Vindicius. V. i. 2; VII. iv. i. Friend. A deacon of Auvergne, who assisted Sidonius in his literary work.

*Volusianus. *VII. xvii; IV. xviii. 2. Intimate friend. At Sidonius' request he assisted with advice and support Auxanius (*q. v.*), successor of St. Abraham, as abbot of the monastery of St. Cirgues, near Clermont. On the death of Perpetuus he became bishop of Tours. (Chaix, ii, pp. 222, 224.)

BOOK I

I.

To his friend Constantius c. A.D. 477

[1] WITH all the influence you derive from a genius for sound advice, you have long urged me to correct, revise, and bring together in one volume the more finished of those occasional letters which matters, men, and times have drawn from me: I am to set presumptuous foot where Symmachus of the ample manner, and Pliny of the perfected art have gone before. [2] Of Cicero as letter-writer I had best be dumb; not Julius Titianus himself, in his *Letters of Famous Women*, could worthily reproduce that model; he tried to imitate a style which was not of his time,” and Fronto’s other pupils, in their jealousy, called him ‘ape of orators’ for his pains. I have always been horribly conscious how far I fall short of these great examples; I have consistently claimed for each the privilege of his own period and genius. [3] But I have done your will; here you have the letters, not merely to revise, for that is nothing, but to polish and, as the phrase goes, clear of lees. Do I not know you devoted not to studies only, but to the studious too? Which devotion now makes you launch me, despite my fears, upon this deep main of ambition. [4] I had been safer had I breathed no word about these trifles, content with the reception of my poems, which good luck surely helped to recognition rather than skill of mine. Such fame as I have should be to me an anchor cast in the haven of safe repute. I ought to be content with it after the envious snarls of all the Scyllas which my ship has passed. But if the tooth of jealousy spares these extravagances of mine, volume shall follow upon volume, all full-brimming with my most copious flow of correspondence. Farewell.

II.

To [his brother-in-law] Agricola A.D. 454(?)*

[1] You have often begged a description of Theodoric the Gothic king, whose gentle breeding fame commends to every nation; you want him in his quantity and quality, in his person, and the manner of his existence. I gladly accede, as far as the limits of my page allow, and highly approve so fine and ingenuous a curiosity.

Well, he is a man worth knowing, even by those who cannot enjoy his close acquaintance, so happily have Providence and Nature joined to endow him with the perfect gifts of fortune; his way of life is such that not even the envy which lies in wait for kings can rob him of his proper praise. [2] And first as to his person. He is well set up, in height above the average man, but below the giant. His head is round, with curled hair retreating somewhat from brow to crown. His nervous neck is free from disfiguring knots. The eyebrows are bushy and arched; when the lids droop, the lashes reach almost half-way down the cheeks. The upper ears are buried under overlying locks, after the fashion of his race. The nose is finely aquiline; the lips are thin and not enlarged by undue distension of the mouth. Every day the hair springing from his nostrils is cut back; that on the face springs thick from the hollow of the temples, but the razor has not yet come upon his cheek, and his barber is assiduous in eradicating the rich growth on the lower part of the face. [3] Chin, throat, and neck are full, but not fat, and all of fair complexion; seen close, their colour is fresh as that of youth; they often flush, but from modesty, and not from anger. His shoulders are smooth, the upper- and forearms strong and hard; hands broad, breast prominent; waist receding. The spine dividing the broad expanse of back does not project, and you can see the springing of the ribs; the sides swell with salient muscle, the well-girt flanks are full of vigour. His thighs are like hard horn; the knee-joints firm and masculine; the knees themselves the comeliest and least wrinkled in the world. A full ankle supports the leg, and the foot is small to bear such mighty limbs.

[4] Now for the routine of his public life. Before daybreak he goes with a very small suite to attend the service of his priests. He prays with assiduity, but, if I may speak in confidence, one may suspect more of habit than conviction in this piety. Administrative duties of the kingdom take up the rest of the morning. Armed nobles stand about the royal seat; the mass of guards in their garb of skins are admitted that they may be within call, but kept at the threshold for quiet's sake; only a murmur of them comes in from their post at the doors, between the curtain and the outer barrier. And now the foreign envoys are introduced. The king hears them out, and says little; if a thing needs more discussion he puts it off, but accelerates matters ripe for dispatch. The second hour arrives; he rises from the throne to inspect his treasure-

chamber or stable.

[5] If the chase is the order of the day, he joins it, but never carries his bow at his side, considering this derogatory to royal state. When a bird or beast is marked for him, or happens to cross his path, he puts his hand behind his back and takes the bow from a page with the string all hanging loose; for as he deems it a boy's trick to bear it in a quiver, so he holds it effeminate to receive the weapon ready strung. When it is given him, he sometimes holds it in both hands and bends the extremities towards each other; at others he sets it, knot-end downward, against his lifted heel, and runs his finger up the slack and wavering string. After that, he takes his arrows, adjusts, and lets fly. He will ask you beforehand what you would like him to transfix; you choose, and he hits. If there is a miss through either's error, your vision will mostly be at fault, and not the archer's skill.

[6] On ordinary days, his table resembles that of a private person. The board does not groan beneath a mass of dull and unpolished silver set on by panting servitors; the weight lies rather in the conversation than in the plate; there is either sensible talk or none. The hangings and draperies used on these occasions are sometimes of purple silk, sometimes only of linen; art, not costliness, commends the fare, as spotlessness rather than bulk the silver. Toasts are few, and you will oftener see a thirsty guest impatient, than a full one refusing cup or bowl. In short, you will find elegance of Greece, good cheer of Gaul, Italian nimbleness, the state of public banquets with the attentive service of a private table, and everywhere the discipline of a king's house. What need for me to describe the pomp of his feast days? No man is so unknown as not to know of them. But to my theme again. [7] The siesta after dinner is always slight, and sometimes intermitted. When inclined for the board-game, he is quick to gather up the dice, examines them with care, shakes the box with expert hand, throws rapidly, humorously apostrophizes them, and patiently waits the issue. Silent at a good throw, he makes merry over a bad, annoyed by neither fortune, and always the philosopher. He is too proud to ask or to refuse a revenge; he disdains to avail himself of one if offered; and if it is opposed will quietly go on playing. You effect recovery of your men without obstruction on his side; he recovers his without collusion upon yours. You see the strategist when he moves the pieces; his one thought is victory. [8] Yet at play he puts off a little of his kingly rigour, inciting all to good fellowship and the freedom of the game: I think he is afraid of being feared. Vexation in the man whom he beats delights him; he will never believe that his opponents have not let him win unless their annoyance proves him really victor. You would be surprised how often the pleasure born of these little happenings may favour the march of great affairs. Petitions that some wrecked influence had left derelict come unexpectedly to port; I myself am gladly beaten by him when I have a favour to ask, since the loss of my game may mean the gaining of my cause. [9] About the ninth hour, the burden of government begins again. Back come the importunates, back the ushers to

remove them; on all sides buzz the voices of petitioners, a sound which lasts till evening, and does not diminish till interrupted by the royal repast; even then they only disperse to attend their various patrons among the courtiers, and are astir till bedtime. Sometimes, though this is rare, supper is enlivened by sallies of mimes, but no guest is ever exposed to the wound of a biting tongue. Withal there is no noise of hydraulic organ, or choir with its conductor intoning a set piece; you will hear no players of lyre or flute, no master of the music, no girls with cithara or tabor; the king cares for no strains but those which no less charm the mind with virtue than the ear with melody.

[10] When he rises to withdraw, the treasury watch begins its vigil; armed sentries stand on guard during the first hours of slumber. But I am wandering from my subject. I never promised a whole chapter on the kingdom, but a few words about the king. I must stay my pen; you asked for nothing more than one or two facts about the person and the tastes of Theodoric; and my own aim was to write a letter, not a history. Farewell.

* Translated by Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, ii. 352. The king here described is Theodoric II, successor of Thorismund, predecessor of Euric.

III.

To his friend Filimatus A. D. 467

[1] INDICT me now by the laws against intrigue, degrade me from the Senate for keeping patient eyes on the promotion to which, after all, birth gives me claim, since my own sire and my wife's, my grandsire and his sire too before him were urban and praetorian prefects, or held high rank in court and army.

[2] If it comes to that, consider our friend Gaudentius, who but now of tribune's rank, towers in the dignity of the Vicariate above the unenterprising sloth of our good citizens. Of course our young nobles grumble at his passing over their heads; as for him, his one sentiment is satisfaction. And they now respect a man scorned till yesterday; amazed at such a sudden rise, they look up to one as magistrate on whom as neighbour they looked down. He for his part sets his crier to stun the ears of his drowsy detractors; though envy goads them to hostility they always find a friendly bench reserved for them in court.

[3] You too had best make good the loss of your old office by the membership of the prefect's council now offered you; if you fail to do so, if you sit without the advantage which such a position confers, you will be set down as one only fit to represent a Vicarius. Farewell.

IV.

To his friend Gaudentius A. D. 467

[1] CONGRATULATIONS, most honoured friend; the rods of office are yours by merit. To win your dignities you did not parade your mother's income, or the largess of your ancestors, your wife's jewels, or your paternal inheritance. In place of all this, it was your obvious sincerity, your proven zeal, your admitted social charm which won you favour in the imperial household. O thrice and four times happy man, whose rise means joy to friends, gall to enemies, and glory to your own posterity, to say nothing of the example given to the active and alert, and the spur applied to the listless and the slow. The man who tries to emulate you, be his spirit what it will, may haply owe the last success to his own exertions, but will certainly owe his start to your example. [2] I fancy I see among the envious, with all deference to better citizens be it said, the old miserable arrogance, the old scorn of service affected by men too slack to serve, men lost to all ambition, who crown their cups with sophistries about the charm of a free life out of office, their motive a base indolence, and not the love of the ideal which they pretend. . . .

[3] [Such a] taste the wisdom of our fathers rejected, for fear that boys might take advantage of it; they likened school orations to a textile fabric, and perfectly understood that, in the case of youthful eloquence, it is harder to spin out the terse than cut the exuberant short. So much for this subject; for the rest, remember that if Providence approves my endeavours and brings me back safe and sound, I mean to repay your goodness with equal measure.

V.

*To his friend Herenius * A. D. 467*

[1] YOUR letter finds me at Rome. You are solicitous to know whether the affairs which have brought me so far go forward as we hoped, what route I took, and how I fared on it, what rivers celebrated in song I saw, what towns famed for their fair sites, what mountains reputed as the haunt of gods, what glorious battlefields; for it is your delight to check the descriptions you have read by the more accurate relation of the eye-witness. I am rejoiced that you inquire about my doings, because I know that your interest springs from the heart. Well then, though little accidents there were, I will begin, under kind Providence, with things of good event; it was the wont of our ancestors, as you know, to develop even a tale of mishap from fortunate beginnings. [2] As bearer of the imperial letter, I was able to avail myself of the public post on leaving our beloved Lyons +; my path lay amid the homes of kinsmen and acquaintances; and I lost less time from scarcity of horses than from multiplicity of friends, so closely did every one cling about me, shouting each against the other best wishes for a happy journey and safe return. In this way I drew near the Alps, which I ascended easily and without delay; formidable precipices rose on either side, but the snow was hollowed into a track, and the way thus smoothed before me. [3] Such rivers, too, as could not be crossed in boats, had convenient fords or traversable bridges with covered arches, built by the art of old time from the foundations to the stoned road above. On the Ticino I boarded the packet known as the *cursoria*, which soon bore me to the Po; be sure I laughed over those convivial songs of ours about Phaethon's sisters and their unnatural tears of amber gum. [4] I passed the mouth of many a tributary from Ligurian or Euganean heights, sedgy Lambro, blue Adda, swift Adige, slow Mincio, borne upon their very eddies as I looked; their margins and high banks were clothed with groves of oak and maple. Everywhere sweetly resounded the harmony of birds, whose loose-piled nests swayed on the hollow canes, or amid the pointed rushes and smooth reed-grass luxuriantly flourishing in the moisture of this wet riverain soil. [5] The way led past Cremona, over whose proximity the Mantuan Tityrus so deeply sighed. We just touched at Brescello to take on Aemilian boatmen in place of our Venetian rowers, and, bearing to the right, soon reached Ravenna, where one would find it hard to say whether Caesar's road, passing between the two, separates or unites the old town and the new port. The Po divides above the city, part flowing through, part round the place. It is diverted from its main bed by the State dykes, and is thence led in diminished volume through derivative channels, the two halves so disposed that one encompasses and moats the walls, the other penetrates them and brings them trade — [6] an admirable arrangement for commerce in general, and that of provisions in

particular. But the drawback is that, with water all about us, we could not quench our thirst; there was neither pure-flowing aqueduct nor filterable cistern, nor trickling source, nor unclouded well. On the one side, the salt tides assail the gates; on the other, the movement of vessels stirs the filthy sediment in the canals, or the sluggish flow is fouled by the bargemen's poles, piercing the bottom slime. [7] From Ravenna we came to the Rubicon, which borrows its name from the red colour of its gravels, and formed the frontier between the old Italians and the Cisalpine Gauls, when the two peoples divided the Adriatic towns. Thence I journeyed to Rimini and Fano, the first famed for its association with Caesar's rebellion, the second tainted by the fate of Hasdrubal; for hard by flows Metaurus, more durably renowned through the fortune of a single day than if it had never ceased to run red to this hour, and roll down the dead on blood-stained waters to the Dalmatian Sea. [8] After this I just traversed the other towns of the Flaminian Way — in at one gate, out at the other — leaving the Picenians on the left and the Umbrians on the right; and here my exhausted system succumbed either to Calabrian Atabulus or to air of the insalubrious Tuscan region, charged with poisonous exhalations, and blowing now hot, now cold. Fever and thirst ravaged the very marrow of my being; in vain I promised to their avidity draughts from pleasant fountain or hidden well, yes, and from every stream present or to come, water of Velino clear as glass, of Clitunno ice-cold, cerulean of Teverone, sulphureous of Nera, pellucid of Farfa, muddy of Tiber; I was mad to drink, but prudence stayed the craving. [9] Meanwhile, Rome herself spread wide before my view, but I felt like draining down her aqueducts, or even the water of her naval spectacles. Before I reached the city limits I fell prostrate at the triumphal threshold of the Apostles, and in a flash I felt the languor vanish from my enfeebled limbs. After which proof of celestial protection, I alighted at the inn of which I have engaged a part, and there I am trying to get a little rest, writing as I lie upon my couch. [10] As yet I have not presented myself at the bustling gates of Emperor or Court official. For my arrival coincided with the marriage of the patrician Ricimer, to whom the hand of the Emperor's daughter was being accorded in the hope of securer times for the State. Not individuals alone, but whole classes and parties are given up to rejoicing; you have the best of it on your side of the Alps. While I was writing these lines, scarce a theatre, provision-market, praetorium, forum, temple, or gymnasium but echoed to the passage of the cry *Thalassio!* and even at this hour the schools are closed, no business is doing, the Courts are voiceless, missions are postponed; there is a truce to intrigue, and all the serious business of life seems merged in the buffooneries of the stage. [11] Though the bride has been given away, though the bridegroom has put off his wreath, the consular his palm-broidered robe, the brideswoman her wedding gown, the distinguished senator his toga, and the plain man his cloak, yet the noise of the great gathering has not died away in the palace chambers, because the bride still delays to start for her husband's house. When this merrymaking has run out

its course, you shall hear what remains to tell of my proceedings, if indeed these crowded hours of idleness to which the whole State seems now surrendered are ever to end, even when the festivities are over. Farewell.

* Paraphrased by Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, ii. 454; For the occasion of Sidonius' visit to Rome, see Introduction, p. xxvii.

+ *Rhodanusiae nostrae*.

[1] I HAVE long wished to write, but feel the impulse more than ever now, when by the Christ's preventing grace, I am actually on the way to Rome. My sole motive, or at least my chief one, is to drag you from the slough of your domestic ease by an appeal to you to enter the imperial service. . . .

[2] Moreover, by the goodness of God, your age, your health of body and mind concur to fit you for the task; you have horses, arms, wardrobe, establishment, slaves in plenty; the one thing lacking, unless I greatly err, is the courage to begin. In your own home you are energetic enough; it is only at the idea of exile from it that a dull despondency intimidates you. How can it fairly be described as exile, for one with blood of senators in his veins and with the effigies of ancestors in the trabea daily forced upon his sight, to visit Rome once in his prime — Rome the abode of law, the training-school of letters, the fount of honours, the head of the world, the motherland of freedom, the city unique upon earth, where none but the barbarian and the slave is foreign?

[3] Shame on you now if you bury yourself among cow-keeping rustics, or grunting swineherds, as if it were the height of your felicity to feel the plough-handle tremble above the cleft furrow, or, bowed over your scythe, to spoil the meadow of its flowery wealth, or hoe the luxuriant vines with a face bent earthwards. Have done! awake! sleek ease has unstrung the sinews of your mind; raise it to higher things. Is it a less duty in a man of your descent to cultivate himself than his estate? [4] In fine, what you are pleased to call a young man's exercise is really a relaxation only fit for broken soldiers, when their feeble hands exchange rusty sword for belated mattock. Suppose you achieve your end; suppose that vineyard upon vineyard foams with purple juice, while piled granaries collapse under endless mounds of grain; suppose plump neatherds drive the crowding cows with their swollen udders into the reeking yards to milk: what then? What use will it be to have enlarged your patrimony by sordid gains like these, to have lived recluse not only among such things, but, O deeper shame! for such things' sake? You will have only yourself to thank if one day you stand, you a nobleman born, obscure in your white hairs behind your juniors seated in debate, if you smart under the speech of some poor man risen to honour by office, and with anguish see yourself distanced by those in whom it would once have been presumption to follow in our train. [5] But why say more? 'Take my appeal as it is meant, and you shall find me at your side ready to anticipate and share your every effort. But if you let yourself be caught in the insidious nets of pleasure; if you choose to yoke yourself, as the saying is, with the tenets of Epicurus, who frankly sacrifices virtue, and defines the chief good as physical delight, then, be our posterity my witness, I wash my hands of the disgrace. Farewell.

* Partly translated by Chaix; p. 264. For the effect of the letter on Eutropius, see III. vi.

VII.

To his friend Vincentius A. D. 468

[1] THE case of Arvandus distresses me, nor do I conceal my distress, for it is our emperor's crowning praise that a condemned prisoner may have friends who need not hide their friendship. I was more intimate with this man than it was safe to be with one so light and so unstable, witness the odium lately kindled against me on his account, the flame of which has scorched me for this lapse from prudence. [2] But since I had given my friendship, honour bound me fast, though he on his side has no steadfastness at all; I say this because it is the truth and not to strike him when he is down. For he despised friendly advice and made himself throughout the sport of fortune; the marvel to me is, not that he fell at last, but that he ever stood so long. How often he would boast of weathering adversity, when we, with a less superficial sense of things, deplored the sure disaster of his rashness, unable to call happy any man who only sometimes and not always deserves the name. [3] But now for your question as to his government; I will tell you in few words, and with all the loyalty due to a friend however far brought low. During his first term as prefect his rule was very popular; the second was disastrous. Crushed by debt, and living in dread of creditors, he was jealous of the nobles from among whom his successor must needs be chosen. He would make fun of all his visitors, profess astonishment at advice, and spurn good offices; if people called on him too rarely, he showed suspicion; if too regularly, contempt. At last the general hate encompassed him like a rampart; before he was well divested of his authority, he was invested with guards, and a prisoner bound for Rome. Hardly had he set foot in the city when he was all exultation over his fair passage along the stormy Tuscan coast, as if convinced that the very elements were somehow at his bidding. [4] At the Capitol, the Count of the Imperial Largess, his friend Flavius Asellus, acted as his host and jailer, showing him deference for his prefectship, which seemed, as it were, yet warm, so newly was it stripped from him. Meanwhile, the three envoys from Gaul arrived upon his heels with the provincial decrees empowering them to impeach in the public name. They were Tonantius Ferreolus, the ex-prefect, and grandson, on the mother's side, of the Consul Afranius Syagrius, Thaumastus, and Petronius, all men practised in affairs and eloquent, all conspicuous ornaments of our country. [5] They brought, with other matters entrusted to them by the province, an intercepted letter, which Arvandus' secretary, now also under arrest, declared to have been dictated by his master. It was evidently addressed to the King of the Goths,* whom it dissuaded from concluding peace with 'the Greek Emperor', + urging that instead he should attack the Bretons north of the Loire, and asserting that the law of nations called for a division of Gaul between Visigoth and Burgundian. There was

more in the same mad vein, calculated to inflame a choleric king, or shame a quiet one into action. Of course the lawyers found here a flagrant case of treason. [6] These tactics did not escape the excellent Auxanius and myself; in whatever way we might have incurred the impeached man's friendship, we both felt that to evade the consequences at this crisis of his fate would be to brand us as traitors, barbarians, and poltroons. We at once exposed to the unsuspecting victim the whole scheme which a prosecution, no less astute than alert and ardent, intended to keep dark until the trial; their scheme was to noose in some unguarded reply an adversary rash enough to repudiate the advice of all his friends and rely wholly on his own unaided wits. We told him what to us and to more secret friends seemed the one safe course; we begged him not to give the slightest point away which they might try to extract from him on pretence of its insignificance; their dissimulation would be ruinous to him if it drew incautious admissions in answer to their questions. [7] When he grasped our point, he was beside himself; he suddenly broke out into abuse, and cried: 'Begone, you and your nonsensical fears, degenerate sons of prefectorian fathers; leave this part of the affair to me; it is beyond an intelligence like yours. Arvandus trusts in a clear conscience; the employment of advocates to defend him on the charge of bribery shall be his one concession.' We came away in low spirits, disturbed less by the insult to ourselves than by a real concern; what right has the doctor to take offence when a man past cure gives way to passion? [8] Meanwhile, our defendant goes off to parade the Capitol square, and in white raiment too; he finds sustenance in the sly greetings which he receives; he listens with a gratified air as the bubbles of flattery burst about him. He casts curious eyes on the gems and silks and precious fabrics of the dealers, inspects, picks up, unrolls, beats down the prices as if he were a likely purchaser, moaning and groaning the whole time over the laws, the age, the senate, the emperor, and all because they would not right him then and there without investigation. [9] A few days passed, and, as I learned afterwards (I had left Rome in the interim), there was a full house in the senate-hall. Arvandus proceeded thither freshly groomed and barbered, while the accusers waited the decemvirs' summons unkempt and in half-mourning, snatching from him thus the defendant's usual right, and securing the advantage of suggestion which the suppliant garb confers. The parties were admitted and, as the custom is, took up positions opposite each other. Before the proceedings began, all of prefectorian rank were allowed to sit; instantly Arvandus, with that unhappy impudence of his, rushed forward and forced himself almost into the very bosoms of the judges, while the ex-prefect* gained subsequent credit and respect by placing himself quietly and modestly amidst his colleagues at the lowest end of the benches, to show that his quality of envoy was his first thought, and not his rank as senator. [10] While this was going on, absent members of the house came in; the parties stood up and the envoys set forth their charge. They first produced their mandate from the province, then the already-mentioned letter; this was

being read sentence by sentence, when Arvandus admitted the authorship without even waiting to be asked. The envoys rejoined, rather cruelly, that the fact of his dictation was obvious. And when the madman, blind to the depth of his fall, dealt himself a deadly blow by repeating the avowal not once, but twice, the accusers raised a shout, and the judges cried as one man that he stood convicted of treason out of his own mouth. Scores of legal precedents were on record to achieve his ruin. [11] Only at this point, and then not at once, is the wretched man said to have turned white in tardy repentance of his loquacity, recognizing all too late that it is possible to be convicted of high treason for other offences than aspiring to the purple. He was stripped on the spot of all the privileges pertaining to his prefecture, an office which by re-election he had held five years, and consigned to the common jail as one not now first degraded to plebeian rank, but restored to it as his own. Eye-witnesses report, as the most pathetic feature of all, that as a result of his intrusion upon his judges in all that bravery and smartness while his accusers dressed in black, his pitiable plight won him no pity when he was led off to prison a little later. How, indeed, could any one be much moved at his fate, seeing him haled to the quarries or hard labour still all trimmed and pomaded like a fop? [12] Judgement was deferred a bare fortnight. He was then condemned to death, and flung into the island of the Serpent of Epidaurus. There, an object of compassion even to his enemies, his elegance gone, spewed, as it were, by Fortune out of the land of the living, he now drags out by benefit of Tiberius' law his respite of thirty days after sentence, shuddering through the long hours at the thought of hook and Gemonian stairs, and the noose of the brutal executioner. [13] We, of course, whether in Rome or out of it, are doing all we can; we make daily vows, we redouble prayers and supplications that the imperial clemency may suspend the stroke of the drawn sword, and rather visit a man already half dead with confiscation of property, and exile. But whether Arvandus has only to expect the worst, or must actually undergo it, he is surely the most miserable soul alive if, branded with such marks of shame, he has any other desire than to die. Farewell.

* Euric.

+ Anthemius.

* Tonantius Ferreolus.

VIII.

*To his friend Candidianus** A. D. 468

[1] You congratulate me on my prolonged stay at Rome, though I note the touch of irony, and your wit at my expense. You say you are glad your old friend has at last seen the sun, since on the Saône his chances of a good look at it are few and far between. You abuse my misty Lyons, and deplore the days so cloaked by morning fog that the full heat of noon can scarcely unveil them. [2] Now does this nonsense fitly come from a native of that oven of a town Cesena? You have shown your real opinion of your charming and convenient natal soil by leaving it. The midges of Po may pierce your ears; the city frogs may croak and swarm on every side, but you know very well that you are better off in exile at Ravenna than at home. In that marsh of yours the laws of everything are always the wrong way about; the waters stand and the walls fall, the towers float and the ships stick fast, the sick man walks and the doctor lies abed, the baths are chill and the houses blaze, the dead swim and the quick are dry, the powers are asleep and the thieves wide awake, the clergy live by usury and the Syrian chants the Psalms, business men turn soldiers and soldiers business men, old fellows play ball and young fellows hazard, eunuchs take to arms and rough allies to letters. [3] And that is the kind of city you choose to settle in, a place that may boast a territory but little solid ground. Be kinder, therefore, to Transalpines who never provoked you; their climate wins too cheap a triumph if it shines only by comparison with such as yours. Farewell.

* Partly translated by Hodgkin, i. 860, and by Chaix, i. 273. Cf. Letter V.

IX.

To his friend Herenius A. D. 468

[1] THE patrician Ricimer well married, and the wealth of both empires blown to the winds in the process, the community has at last resumed its sober senses and opened door and field again to business. Even before this happened I had already been made welcome to the home of the prefectorian Paul, and enjoyed the friendliest and most hospitable treatment in a house no less respectable for piety than learning. I do not know the man more eminent in every kind of accomplishment than my host. I am amazed when I think of the subtleties which he propounds, the figures of rhetoric adorning his judgements, the polish of his verses, the wonders which his fingers can perform. And over and above this encyclopaedic knowledge, he has a still better possession, a conscience superior even to all this science. Naturally, my first inquiries as to possible avenues to court-favour were addressed to him; with him I discuss the likeliest patrons for the advancement of our hopes. [2] There is, however, little need to hesitate; the number of those whose influence merits our consideration is so small. There are, indeed, many senators of wealth and birth, ripe in experience, helpful in counsel, all of the highest rank, and equal in real consideration. But without disparagement to others, we found two consulars, Gennadius Avienus and Caecina Basilius, in enjoyment of a peculiar eminence, and conspicuous above the rest; if you leave out of the account the great military officers, these two members of the exalted order easily come next to the emperor himself. We found them both deserving of the highest admiration; but their characters were very different; what resemblance there was rested rather on inborn than acquired qualities. Let me give you a short description of the pair. [3] Avienus reached the consulate by luck, Basilius by merit. It was observed that the former attained his dignities with enviable rapidity, but that although the latter was slower, he won the greater number of distinctions in the end. If either chanced to leave his house, a whole populace of clients was afoot to escort him, and pressed about him like a human tide. But though the two were in so far on a level, the spirits and expectations of their friends were very far from equal. Avienus would do all that in him lay for the advancement of his sons, or sons-in-law, or brothers, but was so absorbed in family candidates that his energy in the interest of outside aspirants was proportionately impaired. [4] There was a further reason for preferring the Decian to the Corvinian family. What Avienus could only obtain for his own connexions while in office, Basilius obtained for strangers while he was in a private station. Avienus opened his mind freely, and at once, but little came of it; Basilius rarely and not for some time, but to the petitioner's advantage. Neither of the two was inaccessible or costly of approach; but in the one case cultivation reaped mere affability, in the other,

solid gain. [5] After long balancing of alternatives, we finally compromised in this sense; we would preserve all due respect for the older consular, whose house we were duly frequenting, but devote our real attention to the habitué's of Basilius' house. Now while, with the assistance of this right honourable friend, I was considering how best to advance the matter of our Arvernian petition, the Kalends of January came round, on which day the emperor's name was to be enrolled in the Fasti as consul for a second year. [6] 'The very thing,' cried my patron. 'My dear Sollius, I well know that you are engaged in an exacting duty, but I do wish you would bring out your Muse again in honour of the new consul; let her sing something appropriate to the occasion, in whatever haste composed. I will obtain you an audience, be there to encourage you before you begin to recite, and guarantee you a good reception when you have done. I have some experience in these matters; trust me when I say that serious advantage may accrue from this little scheme.' I took the hint; he did not withdraw from the suggested plan, but gave me the support of an invincible ally in the act of homage imposed upon me, and managed so to influence my new consul, that I was incontinently named president of his senate. [7] But I expect you are tired to death of this prolix letter, and would much rather peruse my little work itself at your leisure. Indeed, I am sure you would, so the eloquent pages bear you the verses herewith, and must do duty for me until I come to speak for myself a few days hence. If my lines win the suffrage of your critical judgement, I shall be just as delighted as if a speech of mine in the assembly or from the rostra called forth the 'bravos' not of senators alone but of all the citizens. I warn you, nay, I insist with you, not to think of setting this slight piece of mine on the same plane as the hexameters of your own Muse, for by the side of yours my lines will suggest the triviality of epitaph-mongers rather than the grandeur of heroic verse. [8] Rejoice, all the same, with the panegyrist; he cannot claim the credit of a fine performance, but at least he has the reward of one. And so, if gay may enliven grave, I will imitate the Pyrgopolinices of Plautus, and conclude in a robustious and Thrasonical vein. And since, by Christ's aid, I have got the prefecture by a lucky pen, I bid you treat me as my new state demands; pile up all conceivable felicitations and exalt to the stars my eloquence or my luck, according as I please, or fail to please, your judgement. I can imagine your smile when you see your friend carrying it off in this style with the braggart airs of the old stage-soldier. Farewell.

X.

To his friend Campanianus A. D. 468

[1] THE Intendant of Supplies has personally presented the letter in which you commend him as your old friend to my new judgement. I am greatly indebted to him, but most of all to yourself for this evidence of your resolve to assume my friendship certain and proof against all suspicion. I welcome, I eagerly embrace this opportunity of acquaintance, and of intimacy, since my desire to oblige you cannot but draw closer the bonds which already unite us. [2] But please commend me in my turn to his vigilant care, commend, that is, my cause and my repute. For I rather fear that there may be an uproar in the theatres if the supplies of grain run short, and that the hunger of all the Romans will be laid to my account. I am on the point of dispatching him immediately to the harbour in person, because news is to hand that five ships from Brindisi have put in at Ostia laden with wheat and honey. A stroke of energy on his part, and we should have these cargoes ready in no time for the expectant crowds; he would win my favour, I the people's, and he and I together yours. Farewell.

XI.

To his friend Montius About A. D. 461-7

[1] ON the eve of your departure to visit your people of Franche-Comté, most eloquent of friends, you ask me for a copy of a certain satire, assuming it really of my composition. I must say the request surprises me; it is not nice to jump to a false conclusion about a friend's conduct in this manner. It is so likely — is it not? — that at my then age and with my total lack of leisure, I should devote my energies to a kind of literature which it would have been presumptuous in a young man doing his service to compose, and assuredly perilous to publish. Why, a mere nodding acquaintance with a grammarian would suffice to recall the advice of the Calabrian:

‘Against the libellous poet, is there not remedy of law and sentence?’

[2] To prevent any more credulity of this sort as regards your old friend, I will set forth at some length, and from the beginning, the events which brought on my head the sound and smoke of public odium. In the reign of Majorian, an anonymous but very mordant satire in verse was circulated at court; gross in its invective, it took advantage of unprotected names, though it lashed vice, its attack was above all personal. The inhabitants of Aries (that city was the scene of these events) were much excited; they wanted to know on which of our poets the weight of public indignation was to fall; at their head were the men whom the invisible author had most visibly branded. [3] It chanced that the illustrious Catullinus arrived at this juncture from Clermont; always a close friend of mine, he was then nearer to me than ever, as we had just served together; a common duty away from home brings (you know how) fellow citizens nearer. Well, Paeonius and Bigerrus set a trap for the unsuspecting visitor: they took him off his guard, and asked him, before numerous witnesses, whether he was familiar with the new poem. ‘Let me hear some of it,’ said Catullinus. But when they went on jestingly to quote various passages from the satire, he burst out laughing, and asseverated, rather inopportunistly, perhaps, that such verses deserved to be immortalized, and set up in letters of gold on the rostra or the Capitol. [4] At this Paeonius flamed out, for he was the man whom the fiery tooth of the satirist had most sharply bitten. ‘Ha!’ he cried to the crowd attracted to the spot, ‘I have found out the author of this public outrage. Just look at Catullinus half dead with laughter there; obviously he knew all the points beforehand. How could he thus anticipate, and conclude from a mere part, unless he were already acquainted with the whole? We know that Sidonius is in Auvergne. It is easy to infer that he wrote the thing and that Catullinus was the first to hear it from his lips.’ Now I was not only absent, but ignorant and innocent as a babe; that did not prevent a tempest of fury and abuse against me; they cast to the winds loyalty, fair play, and fair inquiry; [5] such power had this popular favourite to draw the

fickle crowd whither he would. As you know, Paeonius was a demagogue well versed in the tribune's art of troubling the waters of faction. But if you asked 'whence his descent and where his home?' 'tis known he was nothing more than a plain citizen, whom the eminence of his stepfather more than any distinction of his own house first brought to public notice. He was bent on rising, and more than once let it be seen that he would stick at nothing to attain his end; though mean by nature he would spend freely for his own advancement. For example, when the engagement of his daughter (against whom I would not breathe a word) brought him the alliance of a family above his own, our Chremes, if rumour does not lie, announced to his Pamphilus a dower magnificently beyond the strict civic standard. [6] Again, when the Marcellian conspiracy to seize the diadem was brewing, what did our friend do? A *novus homo*, and in his grey hairs, he must needs constitute himself the leader of the young nobility until in the fullness of time the efforts of a lucky audacity were rewarded, for the interregnum, like a rift in clouds, threw a flash of splendour on the obscurity of his birth. The throne was vacant, the State in confusion; but he, and only he, had the face, without waiting for credentials, to assume the fasces as prefect in Gaul, and for months together climb, in the sight of gods and men, the tribunal distinguished by so many illustrious magistrates. Like a public accountant or advocate promoted to honours at the close of a professional career, he just managed to get recognition at the very end of his official term. [7] A prefect and senator in such wise that only my respect for the character of his son-in-law prevents me from exposing him as utterly as he deserves, behold him unashamed to fan the odium of good and bad alike against one still nominally his friend, as if I were the only man of my epoch competent to string a verse or two together. I came to Aries suspecting nothing — how should I? — though my enemies were good enough to believe I dared not venture. The next day I paid my duty to the emperor, and went down to the forum, as I always do. As soon as I appeared, the conspiracy was at once confounded, being of the sort which, as Lucan says, dares put nothing to the touch. Some fell cringing at my knees, abasing themselves beyond propriety; others hid behind statues or columns to avoid the necessity of salutation; others, again, with looks of affected sorrow, walked closely at my sides. [8] I was wondering all the time what might be the meaning of this excess, first in insolence and now in abasement, but was determined not to ask, when one of the gang, put up, no doubt, to play the part, came forward to exchange greeting. We talked, and incidentally he remarked: 'You see these people?' 'I do indeed,' I answered, 'and I may say that their proceedings astonish me as much as they impress me little.' To which my kind interpreter rejoined: 'It is in your quality of satirist that they show this fear or detestation of you.' 'How so,' I cried, 'on what grounds? when did I give them the excuse? who detected the offence? who brought the charge and who the proof?' Then, with a smile, I continued thus: 'My dear sir, if you don't mind, oblige me by asking these excited persons from me,

whether it was a professed informer or spy who got up this imaginative story about my writing a satire. If they have to make the inevitable apology later, it will be better for them to give up this outrageous behaviour at once.’ [9] No sooner had he conveyed the message, than they all came to offer their hands and salutations, not man by man, and with decorum, but the whole herd with a rush. Our Curio was left all alone to breathe imprecations on the base deserters, until at fall of evening he was hurried off home on the shoulders of bearers gloomier than mutes. [10] The next day the emperor commanded my presence at the banquet he was giving on the occasion of the Games. At the left end of the couch was Severinus, the consul of the year, who managed to trim his sails to a wind of even favour throughout our vast dynastic changes and all the uneven fortunes of the State. Next him was the ex-prefect Magnus, who had just laid down the consul’s office, and by virtue of these two dignities was no unworthy neighbour. Beyond Magnus was his nephew Camillus, who had also held two offices, and by his conduct of them added equal lustre to his father’s proconsular rank and his uncle’s consulship. Next to him was Paeonius, and then Athenius, a man versed in every turn of controversy and vicissitude of the times. After them came Gratianensis, a character not to be mentioned in the same breath with evil; and though lower in rank than Severinus, above him in the imperial estimation. I was last, upon the left side of the emperor, who lay at the right extremity of the table. [11] When the dinner was well advanced, the prince addressed a few short remarks to the consul. He then turned to the ex-consul, with whom he talked several times, the subjects being literary. At an early opportunity he addressed himself to Camillus, with the remark: ‘My dear Camillus, you have so admirable an uncle that I pride myself on having conferred a consulship on your family.’ Camillus, who coveted a like promotion, saw his chance, and replied: ‘A consulship, Sire! you surely mean a *first*?’ Even the emperor’s presence did not check the loud applause which greeted this rejoinder. [12] By accident, or of set purpose, I cannot say which, the prince now passed over Paeonius, and addressed some question or other to Athenius. Paeonius had the bad manners to take the oversight ill, and made matters worse by answering before the other had time to speak. The emperor only laughed; it was his way to be very genial in society so long as his own dignity was observed. To Athenius the laugh came as compensation for the slight he had suffered. That craftiest of all the elders had been boiling with suppressed resentment all the time because Paeonius had been placed above him, but he calmed himself enough to say: ‘It no longer surprises me, Sire, that he should try to push himself into my place, when he has now pushed into your Majesty’s conversation.’ [13] The illustrious Gratianensis here remarked that the episode opened a wide field to a satirist. On this, the emperor turned round to me and said: ‘It is news to me, Count Sidonius, that you are a writer of satires.’ ‘Sire,’ I answered, ‘it is news to me too.’ ‘Anyhow,’ he replied with a laugh, ‘I beg you to be merciful to me.’ ‘I shall spare myself also,’ I rejoined, ‘by refraining

from illegality.’ Thereupon the emperor said: ‘What shall we do, then, to the people who have provoked you?’ ‘This, Sire,’ I answered. ‘Whoever my accuser be, let him come out into the open. If I am proved guilty, let me abide the penalty. But if, as will probably be the case, I rebut the charge, I ask of your clemency permission to write anything I choose about my assailant, provided I observe the law.’ [14] The emperor looked at Paeonius, who was hesitating, and made a sign of inquiry whether he accepted the conditions. But he had not a word to answer, and the prince spared his embarrassment; at last, however, he managed to say: ‘I agree to your conditions, if you can put them in verse on the spot.’ ‘Very well,’ I said; and turning back, as if to call for water for my hands, I remained in that attitude the time occupied by a quick servant in going round the table. I then resumed my former position, and the emperor said: ‘Your undertaking was to ask in an impromptu our sanction for writing satire.’ I replied:

‘O mightiest prince, I pray that this be thy decree: let him who calls me libeller or prove his charge, or fear.’

[15] I do not want to seem conceited, but the applause which followed was equal to that which had greeted Camillus; though it was earned, of course, less by the merit of the verse than by the speed with which I had composed. Then the emperor cried: ‘I call God and the common weal to witness that in future I give you licence to write what you please; the charge brought against you was not susceptible of proof. It would be most unjust if the imperial decision allowed such latitude to private quarrels that evident malice might imperil by obscure charges nobles whom conscious innocence puts wholly off their guard.’ At this pronouncement I modestly bent my head and thanked him; the face of my opponent, which had previously shown successive signs of rage and vexation, now grew pale. Indeed, it was almost frozen with terror, as if he had received the order to present his neck to the executioner’s drawn sword.

[16] Little more was said before we rose from the table. We had withdrawn a short distance from the imperial presence, and were in the act of putting on our mantles, when the consul fell upon my bosom, the ex-prefects seized my hands, and my guilty friend abased himself so often and so profoundly, that he aroused universal pity, and bade fair to place me in a more invidious position by his entreaties than he had ever done by his insinuations. Urged to speak by the throng of nobles round me, I closed the episode by telling him that he might set his mind at rest; I should write no satire on his base intrigue so long as he abstained henceforward from the misrepresentation of my actions. It should be punishment enough for him to know that his ascription of the lampoon to me had added to my credit and brought nothing but discredit on himself. [17] In fine, honoured lord, the man whom I thus confounded had not been loudest in calumny; he was a mere whisperer. But since, by his offence, I had the satisfaction of being so warmly greeted by so many men of the highest influence and position, I confess that it was almost worth while to have borne the scandal of the exordium for the sake of so triumphant a conclusion.

Farewell.

BOOK II

[1] YOUR countrymen of Auvergne suffer equally from two evils. 'What are those?' you ask. Seronatus' presence, and your own absence. Seronatus — his very name first calls for notice; I think that when he was so named, a prescient fortune must have played with contradictions, as our predecessors did, who by antiphrasis used the root of 'beautiful' in their word for war, the most hideous thing on earth; and, with no less perversity, the root of mercy in their name for Fate, because Fate never spares. This Catiline of our day is just returned from the region of the Adour to blend in whole confusion the fortune and the blood of unhappy victims which down there he had only pledged himself in part to shed. [2] You must know that his long-dissembled savagery comes daily further into the light. His spite affronts the day; his dissimulation was abject as his arrogance is servile. He commands like a despot; no tyrant more exacting than he, no judge more peremptory in sentence, no barbarian falsier in false witness. The livelong day he goes armed from cowardice, and starving from pure meanness. Greed makes him formidable, and vanity cruel; he continually commits himself the very thefts he punishes in others. To the universal amusement he will rant of war in a civilian company, and of literature among Goths. Though he barely knows the alphabet, he has the conceit to dictate letters in public and the impudence to revise them under the same conditions.

[3] All property he covets he makes a show of buying; but he never thinks of paying, nor does he trouble to furnish himself with deeds, knowing it hopeless to prove a title. In the council-chamber he commands, but in counsel he is mute. He jests in church and preaches at table; snores on the bench, and breathes condemnation in his bedroom. His actions are filling the woods with dangerous fugitives from the estates, the churches with scoundrels, the prisons with holy men. He cries the Goths up and the Romans down; he prepares illusions for prefects and collusions with public accountants. He tramples under foot the Theodosian Code to set in its place the laws of a Theodoric, raking up old charges to justify new imposts. [4] Be quick, then, to unravel the tangle of affairs that makes you linger; cut short whatever causes your delay. Our people are at the last gasp; freedom is almost dead. Whether there is any hope, or whether all is to be despair, they want you in their midst to lead them. If the State is powerless to succour, if, as rumour says, the Emperor Anthemius is without resource, our nobility is determined to follow your lead, and give up their country or the hair of their heads. Farewell.

* Partly translated by Fertig, Part i, p. 20.

II.

To his friend Domitius A.D. 461-7(?)

[1] You attack me for staying in the country; I might with greater reason complain of you for lingering in town. Spring already gives place to summer; the sun has travelled his full range to the Tropic of Cancer and now advances on his journey towards the pole. Why should I waste words upon the climate which we here enjoy? The Creator has so placed us that we are exposed to the afternoon heats. Enough said; the whole world glows; the snow is melting on the Alps; the earth is seamed with gaping heat-cracks. The fords are nothing but dry gravel, the banks hard mud, the plains dust; the running streams languish and hardly drag themselves along; as for the water, hot is not the word; it boils. [2] We are all perspiring in light silks or linens; but there you stay at Ameria all swathed up under your great gown, buried in a deep chair, and setting with many yawns 'My mother was a Samian' to pupils paler from the heat than from any fear of you. As you love your health, get away at once from your suffocating alleys, join our household as the most welcome of all guests, and in this most temperate of retreats evade the intemperate dog-star.

[3] You may like to know the kind of place to which you are invited. We are at the estate known as Avitacum, a name of sweeter sound in my ears than my own patrimony because it came to me with my wife. Infer the harmony which established between me and mine; it is God's ordinance; but you might be pardoned for fearing it the work of some enchantment. On the west rises a big hill, pretty steep but not rocky, from which issue two lower spurs, like branches from a double trunk, extending over an area of about four jugera. But while the ground opens out enough to form a broad approach to the front door, the straight slopes on either side lead a valley right to the boundary of the villa, which faces north and south. [4] On the south-west are the baths, which so closely adjoin a wooded eminence that if timber is cut on the hill above, the piles of logs slide down almost by their own weight, and are brought up against the very mouth of the furnace. At this point is the hot bath, which corresponds in size with the adjoining *unguentarium*, except that it has an apse with a semicircular basin; here the hot water pressing through the sinuous lead pipes that pierce the wall issues with a sobbing sound. The chamber itself is well heated from beneath; it is full of day, and so overflowing with light that very modest bathers seem to themselves something more than naked. [5] Next come the spacious *frigidarium*, which may fairly challenge comparison with those in public baths. The roof is pyramidal, and the spaces between the converging ridges are covered with imbricated tiles; the architect has inserted two opposite windows about the junction of walls and dome, so that if you look up, you see the fine coffering displayed to the best advantage. The interior walls are unpretentiously covered with plain

white stucco, and the apartment is designed by the nicest calculation of space to contain the same number of persons as the semicircular bath holds bathers, while it yet allows the servants to move about without impeding one another. [6] No frescoed scene obtrudes its comely nudities, gracing the art to the disgrace of the artist. You will observe no painted actors in absurd masks, and costumes rivalling Philistio's gear with colours gaudy as the rainbow. You will find no pugilists or wrestlers intertwining their oiled limbs in those grips which, in real bouts, the gymnasiarch's chaste wand unlocks the moment the enlaced limbs look indecent. [7] Enough you will see upon these walls none of those things which it is nicer not to look upon. A few verses there are, harmless lines enough, since no one either regrets perusal or cares to peruse again. If you want to know what marbles are employed, neither Paros nor Carystos, nor Proconnesos, nor Phrygia, nor Numidia, nor Sparta have contributed their diverse inlays. I had no use for stone that simulates a broken surface, with Ethiopic crags and purple precipices stained with genuine murex. Though enriched by no cold splendour of foreign marble, my poor huts and hovels do not lack the coolness to which a plain citizen may aspire. But now I had really better talk about the things I have, than the things I lack. [8] With this hall is connected on the eastern side an annexe, a piscina, or, if you prefer the Greek word, baptistery, with a capacity of about twenty thousand modii. Into this the bathers pass from the hot room by three arched entrances in the dividing wall. The supports are not piers but columns, which your experienced architect calls the glory of buildings. Into this piscina, then, a stream lured from the brow of the hill is conducted in channels curving round the outside of the swimming basin; it issues through six pipes terminating in lions' heads which, to one entering rapidly, seem to present real fangs, authentic fury of eyes, indubitable manes. [9] When the master of the house stands here with his household or his guests about him, people have to shout in each other's ears, or the noise of falling water makes their words inaudible; the interference of this alien sound forces conversations which are quite public to assume an amusing air of secrecy. On leaving this chamber you see in front of you the withdrawing-room; adjoining it is the storeroom, separated only by a movable partition from the place where the maids do our weaving.

[10] On the east side a portico commands the lake, supported by simple wooden pillars instead of pretentious monumental columns. On the side of the front entrance is a long covered space unbroken by interior divisions; it may be incorrect to call this a hypodrome, but I may fairly award it the name of cryptoporticus. At the end it is curtailed by a section cut off to form a delightfully cool bay, and here when we keep open festival, the whole chattering chorus of nurses and dependants sounds a halt when the family retires for the siesta.

[11] The winter dining-room is entered from this cryptoporticus; a roaring fire on an arched hearth often fills this apartment with smoke and smuts. But

that detail I may spare you; a glowing hearth is the last thing I am inviting you to enjoy just now. I pass instead to things which suit the season and your present need. From here one enters a smaller chamber or dining-room, all open to the lake and with almost the whole expanse of lake in its view. This chamber is furnished with a dining-couch and gleaming sideboard upon a raised area or dais to which you mount gradually, and not by abrupt or narrow steps from the portico below. Reclining at this table you can give the idle moments between the courses to the enjoyment of the prospect. [12] If water of our famous springs is served and quickly poured into the cups, one sees snowy spots and clouded patches form outside them; the sudden chill dulls the fugitive reflections of the surface almost as if it had been greased. Such cups restrict one's draughts; the thirstiest soul on earth, to say nothing of Your Abstemiousness, would set lip to the freezing brims with caution. From table you may watch the fisherman row his boat out to mid-lake, and spread his seine with cork floats, or suspend his lines at marked intervals to lure the greedy trout on their nightly excursions through the lake with bait of their own flesh and blood: what phrase more proper, since fish is literally caught by fish? [13] The meal over, we pass into a withdrawing-room, which its coolness makes a perfect place in summer. Facing north, it receives all the daylight but no direct sun: a very small intervening chamber accommodates the drowsy servants, large enough to allow them forty winks but not a regular sleep. [14] It is delightful to sit here and listen to the shrill cicada at noon, the croak of frogs in the gloaming, the clangour of swans and geese in the earlier night or the crow of cocks in the dead of it, the ominous voice of rooks saluting the rosy face of Dawn in chorus, or, in the half-light, nightingales fluting in the bushes and swallows twittering under the eaves. To this concert you may add the seven-stopped pipe of the pastoral Muse, on which the very wakeful Tityri of our hills will often vie one with another, while the herds about them low to the cow-bells as they graze along the pastures. All these tuneful songs and sounds will but charm you into deeper slumbers. [15] If you leave the colonnade and go down to the little lakeside harbour, you come to a greensward, and, hard by, to a grove of trees where every one is allowed to go. There stand two great limes, with roots and trunks apart, but the boughs interwoven in one continuous canopy. In their dense shade we play at ball when my Ecdicius honours me with his company; but the moment the shadow of the trees shrinks to the area covered by the branches we stop for want of ground, and repose our tired limbs at dice.

[16] I have described the house; I now owe you a description of the lake. It extends in a devious course towards the east, and when violent winds lash it to fury, drenches the lower part of the house with spray. At its head the ground is marshy and full of bog-holes, impassable to the explorer; a slimy and saturated mud has formed there, and cold springs rise on all sides; the edges are fringed with weed. When the wind drops, small boats cleave its changeful surface in all directions. But if dirty weather comes up from the south the

whole lake is swollen into monstrous waves and a rain of spray comes crashing over the tree-tops upon the banks. [17] By nautical measure, it is seventeen stadia in length. Where the river comes in, the broken water foams white against the rocky barriers; but the stream soon wins clear of the overhanging crags, and is lost in the smooth expanse. Whether the river itself makes the lake, or is only an affluent, I know not; certain it is that it reaches the other end, and flows away through subterranean channels which only deprive it of its fish, and leave it intact in volume. The fish, driven into more sluggish waters, increase in size, red bodied and white under the belly. They cannot either return or escape; they fatten, and go self-contained as it were in portable jails of their own composition. [18] On the right, a wooded shore curves with an indented line; on the left, it opens to a level sweep of grass. On the southwest the shallows along the banks look green; overarching boughs lend the water their own hue, and the water transmits it to the pebbles at the bottom; on the east, a similar fringe of foliage produces a like tint. On the north, the water preserves its natural colour; on the west, the shore is covered with a tangle of common growths crushed in many places where boats have rowed over them; close by, tufts of smooth reeds bend to the wind, and pulpy flat leaves of aquatic plants float upon the surface; the sweet waters nourish the bitter sap of the grey-green willows growing near. [19] In the deep middle of the lake is an islet, at one end of which projects a turning post upon boulders naturally piled, worn by contact with oar-blades during our aquatic sports; at this point competitors often collide and come to cheerful grief. Our fathers used to hold boat-races here in imitation of the Trojan ceremonial games at Drepanum.

It is not in my bond to describe the estate itself; suffice it to say that it has spreading woods and flowery meadows, pastures rich in cattle and a wealth of hardy shepherds. [20] Here I must conclude. Were my pen to run on much further the autumn would overtake you before you reached the end. Accord me, then, the grace of coming quickly; your return shall be as slow as ever you choose. And forgive me if, in my fear of overlooking anything about our situation here, I have given you facts in excess and beyond the fair limits of a letter. As it is, there are points which I have left untouched for fear of being tedious. But a reader of your judgement and imagination will not exaggerate the size of the descriptive page, but rather that of the house so spaciouly depicted. Farewell.

III.

To [his friend Magnus] Felix c. A.D. 472

[1] I REJOICE, honoured lord, to see you win the distinction of this most exalted title; and all the more because the news is announced to me by special messenger. For though you are now high among the powers, and after all these years the patrician dignity comes back to the Philagrian house by your felicity, you will discover, most loyal of friends, how much your honours grow by being shared, and how far so rare a modesty as yours exalts a lofty station. [2] It was for these qualities that the Roman people once preferred Quintus Fabius the Master of the Horse to Cursor with his dictatorial rigour and his Papirian pride; for these that Pompey surpassed all rivals in a popularity which he was too wise to scorn. By these Germanicus won the whole world's favour and forced Tiberius to repress his envy. For these reasons I will not concede all the credit for your promotion to the imperial pleasure. It has only one advantage over ours; were we to oppose your claims, it has the power to override us. Your peculiar privilege, your unique advantage is this: you have neither actual rival nor visible successor. Farewell.

IV.

To his friend Sagittarius A.D. 461-7*

[1] THE honourable § Projectus is ardently bent upon your friendship; I trust that you will not repel his advances. He is of noble lineage; the reputation of his father and his uncle, and his grandfather's eminence in the Church unite to lend a lustre to his name; he has indeed all that conduces to distinction; family, wealth, probity, energetic youth; but not till he is assured of your good graces, will he consider himself to have attained the culminating point of his career. [2] Although he has already asked and obtained from the widow of the late honourable Optantius her daughter's hand — may God speed his hopes — he fears that little will have been gained by all his vows, unless his own solicitude, or my intercession gains him your support as well. For you have taken the place of the girl's dead father; you have succeeded to his share in the responsibility for her upbringing; it is to you that she looks for a father's love, a patron's guidance, a guardian's bounden care. [3] And since it is but natural that your admirable government of your household should attract men of the right stamp even from distant places, reward the modesty of this suppliant wooer by a kindly response. In the usual course of events it would have fallen to you to obtain him the mother's consent; as it is, he saves you this trouble, and you have only to sanction a troth already approved. Your reputation gives you in effect a parental authority in regard to this match; the father himself, if he had lived, could not have claimed a greater. Farewell.

* Or to Syagrius, as C.

§ *Clarissimus*.

V.

To his friend Petronius A.D. 461-7

[1] JOHN, my friend, is caught inextricably in the labyrinth of a complex business, and is at a loss what to hope and what abandon until your experienced eye, or another as good (if such there be), has looked into his titles to determine their validity. The case is confusing in that it has more than one side, and he does not see whether his statement should maintain one line of action or impugn another. [2] I most earnestly beg you, therefore, to examine his documents and tell him what his rights are, what he ought to allege or refute, and what his procedure should be. Let but the stream of this affair flow from the springs of your advice, and I have no fear that the other side will manage to reduce its volume by any unfair diversion. Farewell.

VI.

To his friend Pegasus A.D. 461-7

[1] THERE is a proverb that delay is often best; I have just had proof that it is true. We have had your friend Menstruanus long enough among us, to find him worthy of a place among our dearest and most intimate friends. He is agreeable, and of refined manners, moderate, sensible, religious, and no spendthrift; his is a personality which confers as much as it obtains when admitted to the most approved of friendships. [2] I tell you this for my own satisfaction, and not to inform you of what you already know. As a result, content will now reign in three separate quarters. You will be pleased at this seal set on your judgement in the choice and adoption of your friends; the Arvenians will be pleased, since to my certain knowledge they liked him for the very qualities which, I am sure, commended him to you; lastly Menstruanus himself will be gratified at receiving the good opinion of honourable men. Farewell.

VII.

To his friend Explicius A.D. 461-7

[1] You have given so many proofs of your impartiality that you have won universal respect, and for that reason I am always more than eager to send all seekers after justice to your judgement-seat; by so doing I ease the disputants from their burden, and myself from all necessity of argument. These ends I shall attain in the present case, unless your diffidence should prompt you to refuse the parties audience; but your very inaccessibility is the best proof of your impartiality. For almost every one else intrigues to be chosen as an arbitrator, expecting to gain something in influence or advantage. [2] Be indulgent, therefore, to men who press on each other's heels to enjoy the privilege of pleading before so fair a judge; your reputation is such that the loser can never be so stupid as to impugn your verdict, or the winner so over-subtle as to deride it. Both sides respect the truth; those against whom the verdict goes respect you; those whom it favours show their gratitude. Therefore I implore your early decision on the matter in dispute between Alethius and Paulus. I believe your sound sense and healthy judgement can alone heal the malady of this interminable quarrel, and that they will be far more effective than any decrees of decemvirs or of pontiffs. Farewell.

VIII.

To his friend Desideratus A.D. 461-7

[1] I WRITE oppressed by a great sorrow. Three days ago Filimatia died, and all business was suspended out of respect to her memory. She was an obedient wife, a kindly mistress, a capable mother, a dutiful daughter, whether at home or abroad, earning the willing service of her inferiors, the affection of her equals, and the consideration of the great. Left an only daughter at her mother's death, she so bewitched her father by her charming ways, that though he was still a young man, he never longed for a male heir. And now her sudden death pierces two hearts, leaving a husband desolate and a father childless. The mother of five children has been snatched away before her time, her very fertility her worst misfortune; had she been left, and the invalid father taken, the little ones would seem less helpless than now. [2] The tributes of affection which we pay the dead are not vain; it was not the sinister train of bearers who buried her; all present were dissolved in tears, and the very strangers hung upon the bier as if they would hold it back. They imprinted kisses on it, until more like one in slumber than one dead, she was received by her relatives and the clergy, to be laid to rest in her long home. When the rites were done, the bereaved father begged me to write an elegy for her tombstone; I did it while my tears were still almost warm, choosing the hendecasyllabic in place of the elegiac measure. If you do not think the lines too bad, my bookseller shall include them in the volumes of my selected poems; if you do, the heavy verse shall be confined to the heavy stone.

[3] Here is my epitaph:

'In this tomb a mourning country's hands have laid the matron Filimatia, whom with fierce stroke and swift, fate snatched from spouse, from sire, from five orphaned children. O pride of thy house, O glory of thy consort, O wise and pure and seemly, O strict and tender, and worthy to precede even the aged, by what art of thy gentle nature didst thou unite the qualities which seem at discord with each other? For a grave ease and a modesty not too severe for gaiety were ever the companions of thy life. Therefore we mourn thee taken, thy sixth lustre hardly run, and the due rites paid in this undue season of thy prime.'

Whether you like the verses or not, hasten back to the city. You owe the bereaved homes of two fellow townsmen the duty of consolation. Pray God you so act that the manner of your action may never be your reproach hereafter. Farewell.

IX.

*To his friend Donidius * A.D. 461-7*

[1] To your question why, having got as far as Nimes, I still leave your hospitality expectant, I reply by giving the reason for my delayed return. I will even dilate upon the causes of my dilatoriness, for I know that what I enjoy is your enjoyment too. The fact is, I have passed the most delightful time in the most beautiful country in the company of Tonantius Ferreolus and Apollinaris, the most charming hosts in the world. Their estates march together; their houses are not far apart; and the extent of intervening ground is just too far for a walk and just too short to make the ride worth while. The hills above the houses are under vines and olives; they might be Nysa and Aracynthus, famed in song. The view from one villa is over a wide flat country, that from the other over woodland; yet different though their situations are, the eye derives equal pleasure from both. [2] But enough of sites; I have now to unfold the order of my entertainment. Sharp scouts were posted to look out for our return; and not only were the roads patrolled by men from each estate, but even winding short-cuts and sheep-tracks were under observation, to make it quite impossible for us to elude the friendly ambush. Into this of course we fell, no unwilling prisoners; and our captors instantly made us swear to dismiss every idea of continuing our journey until a whole week had elapsed. [3] And so every morning began with a flattering rivalry between the two hosts, as to which of their kitchens should first smoke for the refreshment of their guest; nor, though I am personally related to one, and connected through my relatives with the other, could I manage by alternation to give them quite equal measure, since age and the dignity of prefectorian rank gave Ferreolus a prior right of invitation over and above his other claims. [4] From the first moment we were hurried from one pleasure to another. Hardly had we entered the vestibule of either house when we saw two opposed pairs of partners in the ball-game repeating each other's movements as they turned in wheeling circles; in another place one heard the rattle of dice boxes and the shouts of the contending players; in yet another, were books in abundance ready to your hand; you might have imagined yourself among the shelves of some grammarian, or the tiers of the Athenaeum, or a bookseller's towering cases. They were so arranged that the devotional works were near the ladies' seats; where the master sat were those ennobled by the great style of Roman eloquence. The arrangement had this defect, that it separated certain books by certain authors in manner as near to each other as in matter they are far apart. Thus Augustine writes like Varro, and Horace like Prudentius; but you had to consult them on different sides of the room. [5] Turranius Rufinus' interpretation of Adamantius Origen was eagerly examined by the readers of theology among us; according to our several

points of view, we had different reasons to give for the censure of this Father by certain of the clergy as too trenchant a controversialist and best avoided by the prudent; but the translation is so literal and yet renders the spirit of the work so well, that neither Apuleius' version of Plato's *Phaedo*, nor Cicero's of the *Ctesiphon* of Demosthenes is more admirably adapted to the use and rule of our Latin tongue. [6] While we were engaged in these discussions as fancy prompted each, appears an envoy from the cook to warn us that the moment of bodily refreshment is at hand. And in fact the fifth hour had just elapsed, proving that the man was punctual, had properly marked the advance of the hours upon the water-clock. The dinner was short, but abundant, served in the fashion affected in senatorial houses where inveterate usage prescribes numerous courses on very few dishes, though to afford variety, roast alternated with stew. Amusing and instructive anecdotes accompanied our potations; wit went with the one sort, and learning with the other. To be brief, we were entertained with decorum, refinement, and good cheer. [7] After dinner, if we were at Vorocingus (the name of one estate) we walked over to our quarters and our own belongings. If at Prusianum, as the other is called, [the young] Tonantius and his brothers turned out of their beds for us because we could not be always dragging our gear about: they are surely the elect among the nobles of our own age. The siesta over, we took a short ride to sharpen our jaded appetites for supper. [8] Both of our hosts had baths in their houses, but in neither did they happen to be available; so I set my own servants to work in the rare sober interludes which the convivial bowl, too often filled, allowed their sodden brains. I made them dig a pit at their best speed either near a spring or by the river; into this a heap of red-hot stones was thrown, and the glowing cavity then covered over with an arched roof of wattled hazel. This still left interstices, and to exclude the light and keep in the steam given off when water was thrown on the hot stones, we laid coverings of Cilician goats' hair over all. [9] In these vapour-baths we passed whole hours with lively talk and repartee; all the time the cloud of hissing steam enveloping us induced the healthiest perspiration.

When we had perspired enough, we were bathed in hot water; the treatment removed the feeling of repletion, but left us languid; we therefore finished off with a bracing douche from fountain, well or river. For the river Garden runs between the two properties; except in time of flood, when the stream is swollen and clouded with melted snow, it looks red through its tawny gravels, and flows still and pellucid over its pebbly bed, teeming none the less with the most delicate fish. [10] I could tell you of suppers fit for a king; it is not my sense of shame, but simply want of space which sets a limit to my revelations. You would have a great story if I turned the page and continued on the other side; but I am always ashamed to disfigure the back of a letter with an inky pen. Besides, I am on the point of leaving here, and hope, by Christ's grace, that we shall meet very shortly; the story of our friends' banquets will be better told at my own table or yours — provided only that a good week's

interval first elapses to restore me the healthy appetite I long for. There is nothing like thin living to give tone to a system disordered by excess. Farewell.

* Translated by Hodgkin, ii. 324 f.

X.

To his friend Hesperius c. A. D. 470

[1] WHAT I most love in you is your love of letters, and I strive to enhance the generous devotion by the highest praises I can give; your firstfruits please the better for it, and even my own work begins to rise in my esteem. For the richest reward of a man's labours is to see promising young men growing up in that discipline of letters for which he in his own day smarted under the cane. The numbers of the indifferent grow at such a rate that unless your little band can save the purity of the Latin tongue from the rust of sorry barbarisms we shall soon have to mourn its abolition and decease. All the fine flowers of diction will lose their splendour through the apathy of our people. [2] But of that another time. My present duty is to send you what you asked, namely, any verses I might have written since we saw each other last, to compensate you for my absence. I now satisfy your desire; young though you are, your judgement is already so matured that even we seniors like to obey your wishes.

A church has recently been built at Lyons, and carried to a successful completion by the zeal of Bishop Patiens; you know his holy, strenuous, and ascetic life, how by his abounding liberality and hospitable love towards the poor he erects to an equal height the temple of a spotless reputation. [3] At his request I wrote a hurried inscription for the end of the church in triple trochaic, a metre by this time as familiar to you as it has long been to me. Hexameters by the illustrious poets Constantius and Secundinus adorn the walls by the altar; these mere shame forbids me to copy here for you. It is with diffidence that I let my verse appear at all; comparison of their accomplished work with the poor efforts of my leisure would be too overwhelming. Just as a too beautiful bridesmaid makes the worst escort for a bride, and a dark man looks his swarthiest in white, so does my scrannel pipe sound common and is drowned by the music of their nobler instruments. Holding the middle post in space and the last in merit, my composition stands condemned as a poor thing, no less for its faulty art than for the presumption which has set it where it is. Their inscriptions properly outshine mine, which is but a sketchy and fanciful production. But excuses are of little use: let the wretched reed warble the lines demanded of me:

[4] 'O thou * who here applaudest the labours of Patiens our pontiff and father, be it thine to receive of heaven an answer to a prayer according with thy desire. High stands the church in splendour, extending neither to right nor left, but with towering front looking towards the equinoctial sunrise. Within is shining light, and the gilding of the coffered ceiling allures the sunbeams golden as itself. The whole basilica is bright with diverse marbles, floor vaulting and windows all adorned with figures of most various colour, and

mosaic green as a blooming mead shows its design of sapphire cubes winding through the ground of verdant glass. The entrance is a triple portico proudly set on Aquitanian columns; a second portico of like design closes the atrium at the farther side, and the mid-space is flanked afar by columns numerous as forest stems. On the one side runs the noisy highway, on the other leaps the Saône; here turns the traveller who rides or goes afoot, here the driver of the creaking carriage; here the towers, bowed over the rope, raise their river-chant to Christ till the banks re-echo Alleluia. So raise the psalm, O wayfarer and boatman, for here is the goal of all mankind, hither runs for all the way of their salvation.'

[5] You see I have done your bidding as if you were the older and I the younger man. But mind not to forget that I expect repayment with compound interest; and to make the payment easy and positively delightful, there is only one thing to do: read shamelessly; never stop longing for your books. The auspicious event, now so near, I mean the home-coming of your bride, must not distract you; keep steadily before your mind how many wives have held the lamp for studious or meditative lords — Marcia for Hortensius, Terentia for Tullius, Calpurnia for Pliny, Pudentilla for Apuleius, Rusticana for Symmachus. [6] When you are inclined to complain that feminine companionship may deaden not only your eloquence but your poetic talent as well, and dull the fine edge which long study has set upon your diction, remember how often Corinna helped her Ovid to round off a verse, Lesbia her Catullus, Caesennia her Gaetulicus, Argentaria her Lucan, Cynthia her Propertius, or Delia her Tibullus. Why, it is as clear as day that, to the studious, marriage is opportunity, and only to the idle an excuse. Set to, then; do not permit a mob of the unlettered to discourage your zeal for letters. For it is Nature's law in all the arts that the rarer the accomplishment, the higher the value. Farewell.

* Translated by Hodgkin, ii. 328 ff., who uses a corresponding English metre; also by Fertig, ii. 37.

XI.

To his friend Rusticus A. D. 461-7

[1] IF only we lived nearer to each other, and the distance which sunders us were less vast, I should allow no remissness in correspondence to affect the duties of our established intimacy. I should not cease, the foundations of our mutual friendship once laid, to raise thereon a noble structure by all honourable attention. The distance of our homes from each other may hardly affect the union of hearts linked once for all, yet it interferes with the intercourse of minds. [2] The remoteness of our cities is really responsible for the rarity of our letters; but so close is our friendship that we keep accusing ourselves, though all the time the obstacles are purely natural, and afford no real ground either for blame or for excuse. I opened my gates in a good hour, illustrious lord, to your messengers, in whom I marked the effect of your training and the influence of their master's unassuming manners. I heard with pleasure all they had to say, and finally dismissed them as the event required. Farewell.

XII.

To his brother-in-law Agricola A. D. 461-7

[1] WHAT a fast and well-built boat you have sent, roomy enough to hold a couch; and a present of fish too! In addition, a steersman who knows the whole river well, with sturdy and expert oarsmen who seem able to shoot upstream just as fast as down. But you must hold me excused if I decline your invitation to join your fishing; stronger nets than yours detain me here, nets of anxiety for our invalids, a source of concern not merely to our own circle but to many beyond its limits. If the natural feelings of a brother awaken in you the moment you open this, you too will give up the expedition and return. [2] The cause of this general solicitude is our Severiana. At first she was troubled by a shattering intermittent cough; upon this an exhaustive fever supervened which has grown worse during successive nights. She longs to get away into the country; when your letter came, we were actually preparing to leave town for the villa. Whether you decide to stay where you are, or to come to us, join your prayers to ours that Nature with her vigorous growth may bring back health to one pining for country air. Your sister and I have been living in suspense between hope and fear; we thought that to oppose the invalid's wish would only make her fret the more. So under Christ's guidance we are determined to fly the languor and heat of town with all our household, and incidentally escape the doctors also, who disagree across the bed, and by their ignorance and endless visits conscientiously kill off their patients. Only Justus shall be of our party, but in the quality of friend, not as physician; Justus, who, if this were a time for jesting, I could easily prove a Chiron rather than a Machaon. Let us then with all the more diligence entreat and beseech the Lord that the cure which our efforts fail to effect may come down to our invalid from above. Farewell.

XIII.

To Senanus A. D. 461-7*

[1] THE advocate Marcellinus has brought your letter; I find him a man of experience; he is of the sort that makes friends. The consecrated words of greeting over, you give all the rest of your space, no trifling amount, to laudation of Petronius Maximus, your imperial patron. With more persistence (or shall I call it amiability?) than truth and justice, you style him 'the most fortunate', because, after holding all the most honourable offices of state, he at last attained the diadem. Personally, I shall always refuse to call that man fortunate who is poised on the precipitous and slippery peak of office. [2] O the unspeakable miseries of that life, the life of your fortunates! And are they who usurp the title, as Sulla did, really to be so styled for trampling upon all law and justice, and believing power the only happiness? Does not their blindness to their own most harassing servitude alone prove them more wretched than other men? For as kings rule their subjects, so desire of domination dominates kings. [3] Were the fate of all princes before and after him left out of the account, this Maximus of yours would alone provide the maximum of warnings. He had scaled with intrepidity the prefectorian, the patrician, the consular citadels; with an unsated appetite for office, he took for a second term posts which he had already held. But when the supreme effort brought him to the yawning gulf of the imperial dignity, his head swam beneath the diadem at sight of that enormous power, and the man who once could not bear to have a master could not now endure to be one. [4] Imagine how much was left in all this of the influence, the power, and the stability of the old life; then think of this two-months' principate, its beginning, its whirlwind course, its end. Is it not plain that his real happiness was over and done before this epithet of 'fortunate' was ever given him? The man who once was so great a figure, with his conspicuous way of life, his banquets, his lavish expense, his retinues, his literary pursuits, his official rank, his estates, his extensive patronage; who so jealously watched the flight of time that the clock must set before his eyes the passage of every hour; this man, once made emperor, and prisoned in the palace walls, was rueing his own success before the first evening fell. And when his mountainous cares forbade him to mete the hours in his former tranquil way, he had to make instant renunciation of the old regular life; he soon discovered that the business of empire and a senatorial ease are inconsistent with each other. [5] The future did not deceive his sad forebodings; it was no help to him to have traversed all other offices of the court in the fairest of fair weather; his rule of it was from the first tempestuous, with popular tumults, tumults of soldiery, tumults of allies. And the climax was unprecedentedly swift and cruel; Fortune, who had long cozened him, showed now all her faithlessness and made a bloody end; it was

the last of her that stung him, as the tail of the scorpion stings. A prominent, noble man of high culture, whose talents raised him to quaestor's rank, a man of great influence among the nobility, I mean Fulgentius, used to say that whenever the thrice-loathed burden of a crown set Maximus longing for his ancient ease, he would often hear him exclaim: 'Happy thou, O Damocles, whose royal duress did not outlast a single banquet!' [6] History tells us that Damocles was a Sicilian of Syracuse, and an acquaintance of the tyrant Dionysius. One day, when he was extolling to the skies the privileges of his patron's life without any comprehension of its drawbacks, Dionysius said to him: 'Would you like to see for yourself, at this very board, what the blessings and the curses of royalty are like?' 'I should think I would,' replied the other. Instantly the dazzled and delighted creature was stripped of his commoner's garb and made resplendent with robes of Tyrian and Tarentine dye; they set him on a gold couch with coverings of silk, a figure glittering with gems and pearls. [7] But just as a Sardanapalian feast was about to begin, and bread of fine Leontine wheat was handed round; just as rare viands were brought in on plate of yet greater rarity; just as the Falernian foamed in great gem-like cups and unguents tempered the ice-cold crystal; just as the whole room breathed cinnamon and frankincense and exotic perfumes floated to every nostril; just as the garlands were drying on heads drenched with nard, — behold a bare sword, swinging from the ceiling right over his purple-mantled shoulders, as if every instant it must fall and pierce his throat. The menace of that heavy blade on that horsehair thread curbed his greed and made him reflect on Tantalus; the awful thought oppressed him that all he swallowed might be rendered through gaping wounds. [8] He wept, he prayed, he sighed in every key; and when at last he was let go, he was off like a flash, flying the wealth and the delights of kings as fast as most men follow after them. A horror of high estate brought him back with longing to the mean, nicely cautioned never again to think or call the mortal happy who lives ringed round with army and guards, or broods heavy over his spoils while the steel presses no less heavily upon him than he himself upon his gold. If such a state be the goal of happiness I know not my lord brother; but that those who attain it are the most miserable of men is proved beyond dispute. Farewell.

* Partly translated by Hodgkin, ii. 200-3.

XIV.

To his friend Maurusius A. D. 461-7

[1] I HEAR that your vines have responded to your hard work and our general hopes with a more abundant harvest than a threatening and lean year promised. I expect that you will consequently stay longer at the village of Vialoscum; was not the place formerly called Martialis, from the time when it formed Caesar's winter quarters? Of course you have a rich vineyard there, and a large farm besides worthy of its great proprietor, both of which will keep you and yours busy harvesting the various crops and always in fresh quarters. [2] When your granaries and stores are full, you may decide to pass the snowy months of Janus and Numa in rural ease by your smoking hearth until swallow and stork reappear; if so, we too shall cut short engagements hardly promising enough to keep us in town, and while you enjoy your country life we shall enjoy your society. You know me well enough to be aware that even the sight of a fine estate with ample revenues could never give me half the satisfaction or the keen pleasure which I derive from intercourse with a neighbour of my own years and so worthy of my esteem. Farewell.

BOOK III

[1] FROM our earliest boyhood and through our youth you and I have been linked by many bonds of mutual affection. To begin with, our mothers were very near relations. Then we were born about the same time and were contemporaries at school; we were together initiated into the study of the arts and employed our leisure in the same amusements; we were promoted by the same imperial favour; we were colleagues in the service of the state. Lastly, in personal likings and antipathies our judgement has always agreed — perhaps a stronger and more efficient factor this, in widening the scope of friendship than all the rest together. [2] The outward resemblance of our careers drew us together by the bond of similar occupation; inwardly we were less alike, for yours was by far the higher and more excellent nature. And now I gladly recognize that yours is the hand to crown the edifice of our long mutual regard by this most timely endowment of the church in our poor town of Clermont, whose unworthy bishop I am. In this estate of Cutiacum, lying almost at its gates, you have indeed made an important addition to its property; to the members of our sacred profession whom your generosity has thus enriched, the convenience of access counts for almost as much as the revenue which the place yields. [3] Under your late sister's will, you were only a co-heir, but the example of your piety has already moved your surviving sister to emulate your good works. And heaven has already repaid you as you deserve for your own deed and its effect upon her; God has chosen you out to be exalted by unusual good fortune in inheritances. He did not long delay to reward your devotion a hundredfold, and it is our sure belief that these earthly gifts will be followed by heavenly gifts hereafter. I may tell you, if you are really unaware of it, that the Nicetian succession is heaven's repayment for Cutiacum surrendered. [4] We pray you in the future to extend to the city itself the interest you have already shown its church; henceforward it should be more than ever the object of your protection since you have inherited a property there. You may conclude from the attitude of the Goths how valuable the place might become if you would only make it frequent visits; they are always depreciating their own Septimania, and even talking of returning it to the empire, all because they covet this land of yours, which they would like to annex even if everything upon it were laid waste. [5] But by God's grace and your mediation a more tranquil outlook lies before us. For though the Goths have broken their old bounds, though their valour and the impetus of a vague greed have pushed their frontiers to the Rhône and Loire, yet the esteem in which you are held and the weight your opinion carries, should so influence both sides that we shall learn to refuse when we ought, and they to refrain from further demands when met with a firm denial. Farewell.

II.

To his friend Constantius A. D. 474

[1] THE people of Clermont salute you, a great guest in their lowly homes, coming without ambitious retinue and simply environed by their love. Merciful God, what joy they felt amid their tribulation when you set your venerated foot within their half-ruined walls. How dense was the crowd of both sexes, and of every rank and age about you; how impartially you gave a cheering word to one and all; how kind the small boys found you, how considerate the young men, how helpful in advice the older among us. What tears you shed over our buildings ruined by the flames and our homes half burned to the ground, as if you had been the father of us all. What grief you showed at the sight of fields buried under the bones of the unburied dead. And afterwards what a power of encouragement you were, with what spirit you urged the people to repair their loss. [2] Over and above this, you found the city no less desolated by internal dissension than by the barbarian onslaught; but you conciliated all; you renewed their harmony; you gave the country back her sons. The walls are re-manned, the people restored to them at unity, all thanks to you; your counsel it was which brought them back into one mind as into one city. They all regard you as their father and themselves as your children; they perceive with an infallible eye wherein lies your greatest title to praise. [3] For day by day it is borne in upon their minds what a magnificent thing this is that you have done at so advanced an age and in so delicate and infirm a state of health. Despite your noble birth and the veneration with which you are regarded, you broke down every barrier by sheer force of love; all the difficulties of the journey were nothing to you, long ways and short days, thick snows and thin fare, wide wastes and narrow lodging, roads full of holes, now sodden with rain, now ribbed with frost, highways covered with rough stones, rivers slippery with ice; you had steep hills to climb, valleys choked with continual landslides to pass; through every discomfort you came triumphant with the love of a whole people for your reward because your own comfort was the last thing of which you thought. [4] And now we beseech the Lord that he may hear our prayer and set far the term of your life; that the friendship of all good men may be yours to have and hold; that our affection which you seem to be leaving behind may ever be about your path; and finally, that the fair structure of our concord which you began to restore, may be regarded from foundation to summit as your peculiar work. Farewell.

III.

To his brother-in-law Ecdicius A. D. 474

[1] THERE never was a time when my people of Clermont needed you so much as now; their affection for you is a ruling passion for more than one reason. First, because a man's native soil may rightly claim the chief place in his affection; secondly, because you were not only your countrymen's joy at birth, but the desire of their hearts while yet unborn. Perhaps of no other man in this age can the same be said; but the proof of the statement is that as your mother's time advanced, the citizens with one accord fell to checking every day as it went by. [2] I will not dwell on those common things which yet so deeply stir a man's heart, as that here was the grass on which as an infant you crawled, or that here were the first fields you trod, the first rivers you swam, the first woods through which you broke your way in the chase. I will not remind you that here you first played ball and cast the dice, here you first knew sport with hawk and hound, with horse and bow. I will forget that your schooldays brought us a veritable confluence of learners and the learned from all quarters, and that if our nobles were imbued with the love of eloquence and poetry, if they resolved to forsake the barbarous Celtic dialect, it was to your personality that they owed all. [3] Nothing so kindled their universal regard for you as this, that you first made Romans of them and never allowed them to relapse again. And how should the vision of you ever fade from any patriot's memory as we saw you in your glory upon that famous day, when a crowd of both sexes and every rank and age lined our half-ruined walls to watch you cross the space between us and the enemy? At midday, and right across the middle of the plain, you brought your little company of eighteen safe through some thousands of the Goths, a feat which posterity will surely deem incredible. [4] At the sight of you, nay, at the very rumour of your name, those seasoned troops were smitten with stupefaction; their captains were so amazed that they never stopped to note how great their own numbers were and yours how small. They drew off their whole force to the brow of a steep hill; they had been besiegers before, but when you appeared they dared not even deploy for action. You cut down some of their bravest, whom gallantry alone had led to defend the rear. You never lost a man in that sharp engagement, and found yourself sole master of an absolutely exposed plain with no more soldiers to back you than you often have guests at your own table. [5] Imagination may better conceive than words describe the procession that streamed out to you as you made your leisurely way towards the city, the greetings, the shouts of applause, the tears of heartfelt joy. One saw you receiving in the press a veritable ovation on this glad return; the courts of your spacious house were crammed with people. Some kissed away the dust of battle from your person, some took from the horses the bridles slimed with

foam and blood, some inverted and ranged the sweat-drenched saddles; others undid the flexible cheek-pieces of the helmet you longed to remove, others set about unlacing your greaves. One saw folk counting the notches in swords blunted by much slaughter, or measuring with trembling fingers the holes made in cuirasses by cut or thrust. [6] Crowds danced with joy and hung upon your comrades; but naturally the full brunt of popular delight was borne by you. You were among unarmed men at last; but not all your arms would have availed to extricate you from them. There you stood, with a fine grace suffering the silliest congratulations; half torn to pieces by people madly rushing to salute you, but so loyally responsive to this popular devotion that those who took the greatest liberties seemed surest of your most generous acknowledgements. [7] And finally I shall say nothing of the service you performed in raising what was practically a public force from your private resources, and with little help from our magnates. I shall not tell of the chastisement you inflicted on the barbaric raiders, and the curb imposed upon an audacity which had begun to exceed all bounds; or of those surprise attacks which annihilated whole squadrons with the loss of only two or three men on your side. Such disasters did you inflict upon the enemy by these unexpected onsets, that they resorted to a most unworthy device to conceal their heavy losses. They decapitated all whom they could not bury in the short night-hours, and let the headless lie, forgetting in their desire to avoid the identification of their dead, that a trunk would betray their ruin just as well as a whole body. [8] When, with morning light, they saw their miserable artifice revealed in all its savagery, they turned at last to open obsequies; but their precipitation disguised the ruse no better than the ruse itself had concealed the slaughter. They did not even raise a temporary mound of earth over the remains; the dead were neither washed, shrouded, nor interred; but the imperfect rites they received befitted the manner of their death. Bodies were brought in from everywhere, piled on dripping wains; and since you never paused a moment in following up the rout, they had to be taken into houses which were then hurriedly set alight, till the fragments of blazing roofs, falling in upon them, formed their funeral pyres. [9] But I run on beyond my proper limits; my aim in writing was not to reconstruct the whole story of your achievements, but to remind you of a few among them, to convince you how eagerly your friends here long to see you again; there is only one remedy, at once quick and efficacious, for such fevered expectancy as theirs, and that is your prompt return. If, then, the entreaties of our people can persuade you, sound the retreat and start homeward at once. The intimacy of kings is dangerous; court it no more; the most distinguished of mankind have well compared it to a flame, which illuminates things at a short distance but consumes them if they come within its range. Farewell.

IV.

To his friend Magnus Felix A.D. 473

[1] THE bearer of this is Gozolas, a Jew, and a client of your excellency, a man I should like if I could only overcome my contempt for his sect. I write in great anxiety. Our town lives in terror of a sea of tribes which find in it an obstacle to their expansion and surge in arms all round it. We are exposed as a pitiful prey at the mercy of rival peoples, suspected by the Burgundians, almost in contact with the Goths; we have to face at once the fury of our assailants and the envy of our defenders. [2] But of this more later. Only let me know that all goes well with you, and I shall be content. For though we may be punished in the sight of all men for some obscure offence, we are still generous enough of heart to desire for others all prosperity. If a man cannot wish others well in evil times he is no better than a captive; the enemy that takes him is his own unworthy nature. Farewell.

V.

To his friend Hypatius A.D. 473

[1] THE excellent Donidius admires and respects your character; and had he no other aim than his own family advantage, he might safely confide in your acknowledged reputation, and feel no need of another's advocacy. But he thinks so well of me, that he would have me ask for him what he could certainly obtain alone. Consequently, you will acquire a crowning title of distinction in making both of us your debtors, though one alone will reap the material benefit. [2] He seeks to acquire the other moiety of the estate of Eborolacum, abandoned even before the barbarian came, but now in possession of a patrician family; his rights are clear, but the added weight of your support would be very welcome. Respect for the memory of his ancestors, and no mere greed, inclines him to this purchase, for down to the recent death of his stepfather the whole property belonged to his family. He is of an economical turn of mind, but not the man to covet his neighbour's goods; the loss of a former possession in itself troubles him little; the point of honour decides him; it is not avarice which prompts his action, but the shame of inactivity. [3] Deign therefore to consider what you owe to your own credit, to his honourable desire, to my friendly intercession; help to secure for him this chance of rounding off the estate. These paternal acres are not just casually known to him; he crawled upon them as an infant hardly weaned. He will make little profit by their recovery; but he feels that it would have been too contemptible not to make the effort. Whatever favour you may be able to accord to one whom I regard as a brother in years, a son by profession, a fellow citizen by origin, and a friend by loyalty, I shall be as much beholden as if the matter turned to my own particular advantage. Farewell.

VI.

To his friend Eutropius A. D. 470 (?)

[1] IF kind memories still remain to you of our old comradeship and of an intimacy ever and again renewed, you will readily understand that our soaring wishes will follow your ascent to each new height of office. We rejoice with you over your insignia, believing that thereby your house and our friendship are alike promoted. In proof whereof I remind you of my letter of exhortations, which I think had no small share in this result. [2] But what trouble I had in persuading you that a man might be a philosopher and a prefect at the same time! You were deep in the tenets of Plotinus, and the Platonic school had seduced you into a quietism unsuited to your age. I maintained that only a man without family obligations was free to profess a philosophy of that nature. Most people ascribed your scorn for public service to simple indolence; malignant tongues added that our nobles fail to rise in the state less from disinclination than incapacity. [3] Now, therefore, as a Christian should, I begin by rendering unstinted thanks to Our Lord who has raised you to an official rank befitting your exalted birth; our hopes are also raised, so that we may fairly look for even better things to come. It is a common saying with provincials that a good year really depends less on ample crops than on a good administration; it must be yours, honoured lord, to crown all our expectations by such measures as the present occasion demands. Our nobles do not forget the stock from which you spring; they are sure that so long as the family of Sabinus controls their destinies, they have nothing to fear from the house of Sabinianus. Farewell.

VII.

To his friend [Magnus] Felix A.D. 474

[1] You are very sparing in your correspondence. Each of us obeys his own temperament: I gossip, you hold your peace. And since in other obligations of friendship you are beyond reproach, I am driven to the conclusion that this indefatigable love of ease must itself be a kind of virtue. But, seriously, will no thought of old acquaintance ever lift you from the rut of this interminable silence? Or are you really unaware that it is nothing short of insult to refuse a talkative man an answer? You bury yourself in the depths of a library or office and give no sign of life, yet all the while expect the attention of a line now and then from me; and this though you know quite well that mine is rather a ready than a gifted pen. [2] The apprehensions among which we live ought alone to furnish you with subject enough for letters; write then, and do not fail to entrust a good bulky missive to some one coming our way, to relieve your friends' anxieties and especially to let them know whether the new quaestor Licinianus is likely to open a door of safety out of these mutual alarms. He is described as one who has more than fulfilled the expectations formed of him, proving greater on acquaintance than his great repute; in fine, a man conspicuously endowed with the best gifts of nature and good fortune. [3] A model of judgement, adorned with equal discretion and personal charm, this trusty envoy is worthy of the power which he represents. He is quite free from affectation or pretence; there is nothing feigned in the gravity which lends weight to his words. He does not follow the example of most envoys who seek a reputation as safe men, and are over-timid in diplomacy; on the other hand, he is not to be numbered among those ambassadors to barbarian courts, who sell their master's secrets, and work for their own advantage rather than that of their mission. [4] Such is the character of the man as favourable rumour carries it to us. But let us know at once if the description squares with fact. Then perhaps we may snatch some breathing-space from our unceasing vigils; at present neither a snowy day nor a cloudy moonless night will tempt our people from their watch upon the walls. Even were the barbarian to draw off to winter quarters, their fears are too deep to be eradicated; at the most, they can only be deferred. Encourage us with hope of better times; you may regard our country as remote, but the cause we stand for is as near to your own heart as to ours. Farewell.

VIII.

To his friend Eucherius (No indication of date)

[1] I HAVE the highest respect for the men of antiquity, but mere priority in time shall never lead me to place the virtues and the merits of our contemporaries upon a lower plane of excellence. It may be true that the Roman state has sunk to such extreme misery that it has ceased to reward its loyal sons; but I will not therefore admit that a Brutus or a Torquatus is never born into our age. You ask the purport of this declaration? You yourself shall point my moral, most capable of men; the state owes you the rewards which history applauds when granted to the great men of the past. [2] Men ignorant of the facts had best refrain from carelessly conceived opinions; they had best abandon the obstinate habit of looking up to the men of old time and down on those of our own day. It is abundantly clear that the recognition which the state owes you is now long overdue. Yet what is there to wonder at in this, when a race of uncivilized allies directs the Roman power, yes, and bids fair to bring it crashing to the ground? We have men of rank and valour who excel anything we ourselves could hope, or our enemies believe. Aye, and they do the old deeds; but the reward is not forthcoming. Farewell.

IX.

To his friend Riothamus c. A. D. 472

[1] I WILL write once more in my usual strain, mingling compliment with grievance. Not that I at all desire to follow up the first words of greeting with disagreeable subjects, but things seem to be always happening which a man of my order and in my position can neither mention without unpleasantness, nor pass over without neglect of duty. Yet I do my best to remember the burdensome and delicate sense of honour which makes you so ready to blush for others' faults. [2] The bearer of this is an obscure and humble person, so harmless, insignificant, and helpless that he seems to invite his own discomfiture; his grievance is that the Bretons are secretly enticing his slaves away. Whether his indictment is a true one, I cannot say; but if you can only confront the parties and decide the matter on its merits, I think the unfortunate man may be able to make good his charge, if indeed a stranger from the country unarmed, abject and impecunious to boot, has ever a chance of a fair or kindly hearing against adversaries with all the advantages he lacks, arms, astuteness, turbulences, and the aggressive spirit of men backed by numerous friends. Farewell.

X.

To his friend Tetradius A. D. 461-7

[1] IT is a most laudable trait in the character of younger men when they resort to more experienced heads in questions of perplexity; as the honourable Theodoras now does. He is a man of good family, but quite as much ennobled by his admirable modesty as by his high descent. My letter introduces him to the source of humane letters, I mean the pure fount of your erudition, to which he is setting out with the most commendable ardour, hoping to learn much himself and perhaps bring away as much to impart to others. [2] Should even an experience like yours fail to give him all the help he needs against such factious and powerful opponents, at all events your skill and advice will stand him in good stead. Unless you wish me to conclude that you regard our joint petition as troublesome and importunate, justify his hopes of you and this testimonial of mine by a favourable reply, so that the cause and wavering fortunes of this suppliant may be fortified by your salutary counsel. Farewell.

XI.

To his friend Simplicius (No indication of date)

[1] A KIND of fatality attends my hopes, and you still grudge us a sight of you. But, most excellent of men, we need not therefore regard you as one whose memorable actions must necessarily escape our notice. For all our people, the notables included, hail you with one accord as the model of all that a father should be, even in the select and critical society in which you move. [2] The manner in which you have brought up your daughter, and chosen a husband for her, confirms the opinion of our friends; and the accomplishment of your desires in this union must have raised in your mind an agreeable uncertainty whether you have most excelled in the choice of the one or the education of the other. On that score, venerable parents, you may wholly set your minds at rest; you surpass every one because your children surpass even you. Please, therefore, excuse my earlier letter; it was negligent of me not to have sent it before I did, but the dispatch of it, I fear, betrayed the chatterer. My officiousness will lose its blemish of loquacity if you condone the impertinence of this greeting by sending me an answer. Farewell.

XII.

To his nephew Secundus c. A. D. 467

[1] I HAVE dreadful news. Yesterday profane hands all but desecrated the grave where my grandsire and your great-grandsire lies, but God's intervening arm stayed the accomplishment of an impious act. The cemetery had for years been overcrowded with burned and unburned burials, and interment there had long ceased. But snows and constant rains had caused the mounds to settle; the raised earth had been dispersed, and the ground had resumed its former even surface. This explained how it was that some undertaker's men presumed to profane the spot with their grave-digging tools just as if it were unoccupied by human bodies. [2] Must I relate what happened? They had already unturfed the ground, so that the soil showed black, and were piling the fresh sods upon the old grave. By a mere chance I happened to be passing on my way to Clermont, and saw this public outrage from the top of a neighbouring hill. I gave my horse his head, and dashed at full speed over the intervening ground, flat or steep was all the same to me; I grudged even those brief moments, and sending a shout before me, stopped the infamy even before I myself reached the scene. The villains, caught in the act, were still hesitating whether to make off or hold their ground, when I was upon them. It was wrong, no doubt, but I could not allow them an instant's impunity; on the very grave of our beloved ancestor I gave them such a trouncing as should in future secure the dead from molestation, and safeguard the pious care of the survivors. [3] I did not reserve the case for the judgement of our good bishop, considering it best for the common advantage not to do so; I knew too well the strength of my own case, and his gentle nature; he was certain to judge me with too much severity, and these fellows with too great a lenience. To satisfy his right to be informed I did explain the whole affair after I had resumed my journey, and this upright and holy man gave me far more than the mere absolution I expected; he extolled my righteous indignation, declaring that in his opinion men who perpetrated so audacious a deed deserved the death our forefathers would have inflicted. [4] The incident should help to prevent any similar mischance in future, and I beg you to see that the disturbed earth is at once raised to a mound again, and to have a smooth flat slab placed upon it at my expense. I have deposited a sum of money with the venerable Gaudentius to cover the cost of the stone and of the mason's labour. The verses which I enclose were composed the night of the occurrence; of course they are not finished to perfection; I was too busy with preparations for the road. [5] Such as they are, please have them carved on the tomb with the smallest possible delay, and be specially careful that the stonemason makes no errors either by negligence or with intention; for whatever the cause, the captious reader will put it all down to me. If you carry out this pious obligation I shall thank you

no less heartily than if you were not certain to receive part of the praise and credit. For were I, your uncle, no longer with you, the whole responsibility of this duty would have devolved on you as the next descendant after myself.

‘A grandson not all unworthy of such a grandsire, I dedicate to him, though all too late, this epitaph, my father and my paternal uncles being dead, that you, O passer by, may never tread on unmounded earth, unwitting of the reverence due to him who is buried in this grave. Here lies Apollinaris, who, having ruled all Gaul, was gathered to the bosom of a mourning country. He was learned in the law and helpful to his kind above all other men. He laboured for the land, and for the State, and in the cause of eloquence; and, example perilous to others, he dared be free under the rule of tyrants. But this stands as his chief title to fame, that of all his race he was the first to purify his brow with the sign of the cross and his limbs with baptismal water; he first abandoned the old sacrilegious rites. This is the highest glory, this the transcendent virtue, if a man outstrip in hope those whom he equals in honours, and is placed by his desert above his fathers though on earth his titles were the same as theirs.’

[6] I know well that this epitaph is unworthy of our accomplished ancestor; yet methinks the souls of the lettered do not refuse a poetic tribute. And neither of us need regard as too belated the pious duty which we have now fulfilled in our quality as heirs in the third and fourth degree. How many revolving years rolled by before Alexander celebrated funeral rites for Achilles’ shade, or Julius Caesar for the shade of that Hector whom he treated as an ancestor of his own? Farewell.

XIII.

To [his son] Apollinaris c. A. D. 469

[1] THE love of purity which leads you to shun the company of the immodest has my whole approval; I rejoice at it and respect it, especially when the men you shun are those whose aptitude for scenting and retailing scandals leaves nothing privileged or sacred, wretches who think themselves enormously facetious when they violate the public sense of shame by shameless language. Hear now from my lips that the standard-bearer of the vile troop is the very Gnatho of our country. [2] Imagine an arch-stringer of tales, arch-fabricator of false charges, arch-retailer of insinuations. A fellow whose talk is at once without end and without point; a buffoon without charm in gaiety; a bully who dares not stand his ground. Inquisitive without insight, and three-times more the boor for his brazen affectation of fine manners. A creature of the present hour, with ever a carping word ready for the past and a sneer for the future. When he is after some advantage, no beggar so importunate as he; when refused, none so bitter in depreciation. Grant his request and he grumbles, using every artifice to get better terms; he moans and groans when called on to refund a debt, and if he pays, you never hear the end of it. But when any one wants a loan of him he lies about his means and pretends he has not the wherewithal; if he does lend, he makes capital out of the loan, and bruits the secret abroad; if debtors delay repayment he resorts to calumny; when they have absolved the debt he tries to deny receipt. [3] Abstinence is his abomination, he loves the table; but a man who lives well wins no praise from him unless he treats well too. Personally, he is avarice itself; the best of bread is not for his digestion unless it is also the bread of others. He only eats at home if he can pilfer his viands, and send them off amid a storm of buffets. He cannot indeed be wholly denied the virtue of frugality; he fasts when he cannot get himself invited. Yet with the light perversity of the parasite, he will often excuse himself when asked; on the other hand, if he sees that men avoid him, he will fish for invitations. [4] If left out he grows abusive; if admitted, unbearably elate: no blow descends on him unexpected. If dinner is served late, he falls like a bandit upon the dishes; if appetite is stilled too soon, he falls to lamentation. Thirst unquenched makes him quarrelsome; drunkenness makes him sick. If he banters others, he grows scurrilous; if others banter him, ungovernable; take him for all in all, he is like the filth in sewers, the fouler the more you stir it. His life brings pleasure to few, love to none, contemptuous mockery to all. He is one to burst bladders or break canes upon, one whose thirst for drink is only excelled by his thirst for scandal; exhaling loathsomeness, frothing wine, uttering venom, he makes one doubt for what to hate him most, his unsavouriness, his drunken habits, or his villany. [5] 'But', you may say, 'perhaps a fair complexion lends a colour to a vile nature;

perhaps his charm of person redeems ineptitude of mind; the man may have elegance or exquisite taste; he may create a good impression on those who meet him.' In point of fact, his person is fouler and more unsightly than a corpse rolled half-burnt from the pyre when the brands have settled — such a thing as a very undertaker's slave could not bring himself to put back. He hardly sees out of his; eyes, which, like the Stygian lake, roll waters down through darkness. [6] His ears are elephantine; an ulcered skin surrounds each aperture with indurated waste, either helix is bossed with suppurating tumours. His nose is broad at the nostril and narrow at the bridge, strait for his own olfactory ends, but for the spectator a cavernous vision of horror. He obtrudes a face with leaden lips and a bestial rictus, with purulent gums and brown teeth; a foul mephitic odour breathes from his decayed and hollow teeth, enhanced by eructations from the feasts of yesterday and the bilge of his excesses at the board. [7] A forehead too he flaunts hideous with creases and distension of the brows. He grows a beard which age vainly whitens, since Sylla's malady keeps it black. His whole face is as pale as if it were ever dolorous with infesting shades. I spare you the hulking residue, gout-ridden, fat and flabby. I spare you his weal-furrowed skull, covered with almost as many scars as hairs. I spare you the description of a nape so short that when his head is thrown back it seems to merge into his shoulder-blades. [8] The sunken carriage, the lost grace and vigour of his arms, the gouty hands bound cestus-like with greasy poultices; all these I spare you, so too the acrid hircine armpits that entrench his sides, and pollute the air for every nostril near him with a reek three times more pestilent than that from Ampsanctus' cave. And breasts collapsed with adiposity horrible on a man's body even in mere protuberance, but now hanging like a mother's. And the pendulous folds of the abdomen about genitals thrice shameful in their debility, a foul creased covering worse than what it hides. [9] Why should I tell of his back and spine? True, the ribs do sweep round from the vertebral joints and cover the chest, but the whole branching structure of bones is drowned under a billowing main of belly. I pass over the fat reins and buttocks which make even his paunch look insignificant in comparison. I pass the bent and withered thigh, the swollen knees, the slender hams, the horny shanks, the weak ankles, the small toes and enormous feet. As I have drawn him, he is horrible enough in his deformity, a monster from whom his infinite noisomeness drains half the blood and life, who cannot sit a litter or walk a yard, however much they prop him. But his tongue is more detestable still than his other members. [10] He keeps it busy in the service of the vilest prurience; but it is most dangerous of all to patrons with anything to hide. For those in luck he belauds, but those who are unfortunate he betrays; let a tempting moment but urge to disclosure of a friend's secret, and instantly this Spartacus will break all bars and open every seal. He will mine with the unseen tunnels of his treachery the houses which the rams of open war have failed to breach. This is the fashion in which our Daedalus crowns the edifice of his friendships, sticking as close as

Theseus in prosperity; but when adversity comes, more elusive than any Proteus. [11] The more you avoid even a first introduction to such company the better you will please me; especially to those so shameless that they talk like degraded players at the booths, and know neither bar nor bridle. For when a man exults in leaving all seemliness and decency behind, and fouls a loose tongue with the dirt of all lawless licence, be sure his heart is no less filthy than his language. You may find an evil liver with a serious tongue; the foul tongue and virtuous life are very rarely allied. Farewell.

XIV.

To his friend Placidus After A. D. 477

[1] **THOUGH** your loved Grenoble holds you far from me, I learn from a sure channel — your former hosts — that you are kind enough to prefer my trifles in prose or verse to all the other volumes on your shelves. It goes without saying that it gave me pleasure to hear how my writings occupy your leisure; but I understand well enough that it is really affection for the author and not the quality of his work which procures you this delight. My debt is all the greater; friendship wins me the honour which you could not honestly give the composition. [2] For the rest, I have not yet considered what definitive reply I shall make to the detractors of my work. The self-appointed critic absorbs a sound or unsound style with equal appetite; he cares no more that the world should exalt his favourite than that it should despise the object of his mockery. And so we see the fine construction, the comeliness and grandeur of our Latin tongue exposed to contemptuous criticism of idle quidnuncs; minds careless and so flippant as this want books only to carp at; their use for literature is a mere abuse. Farewell.

BOOK IV

[1] You married my cousin, whence the first and principal tie between us; the cousinly relationship often leads to a stronger, purer, and more unmixed affection than that between two brothers. For when brothers' quarrels over property are once appeased, their children have no longer cause for disagreement, and so it often happens that cousins are the more deeply attached; the enmities arising from the partition of estates are over, the tie of blood relationship remains. The second link between us is intellectual, and formed by a similarity of studies; our literary taste is identical; we praise and blame the same things; a style approved or disapproved by one produces the same impression on the other. [2] But I am presumptuous in venturing a comparison between my judgement and yours. It is common knowledge among young and old that you were my real master, though we were nominally both pupils of another. You were everybody's teacher in every branch of literature. All of us learned from you, except those who had not the brains, or could not do themselves proper justice: our epic poets derived from you their lofty vein, our comic poets their humour, our lyric poets their musical art; from you the orator drew his rhetoric, the historian his respect for truth, the satirist his pictorial gift, the grammarian his fidelity to rule, the panegyrist his plausibility, the sophist his gravity of style, the writer of epigram his petulance and point, the commentator his lucid method, the lawyer his obscurity. Heavens! how proud our respective fathers used to be when they saw that Christ had given you grace to teach and me to learn, that you not only did what lay within your power but also enjoyed the doing of it, and so deserved a name for goodness no less than a learned reputation. [3] And indeed in your case Eusebius' house proved a veritable mint of the sciences and arts; you were there struck on a philosophical die, and to the delight of your own instructor were able to impart to the rest of us every phase of knowledge and of eloquent expression. Just as Plato the pupil was more expert than Socrates, so did you excel our good Eusebius. While he was maturing our tender, unformed and plastic youth with ruthless floggings, or trying to ground it on wholesome principles, there you were, a dialectician born, moving with Attic ease through all the categories of Aristotle.

[4] Yet how admirable his principles were after all, how precious in possession! If only some migratory philosopher could export them to the Sigambri on their marshes, or the Alans of the Caucasus, or the mare-milking Geloni, the horny hearts of all these stark and brutal folks, yes and all their frozen fibres, were surely thawed and softened, while we should cease to sneer and scoff, and tremble by turns at their stolidity and their ferocious natures, which now brood in bestial dullness, now burst into swift flame. [5] Since, then, our family connexion and our studies thus unite us, preserve the

laws of friendship unshaken, wherever your abode may be; though my home is far from yours, let our hearts draw nearer by virtue of this affection, which I for my part will keep inviolate as long as breath remains in my body. Farewell.

II.

Claudianus [Mamertus] to the Lord Bishop Sidonius A. D. 472

[1] IF I could only meet you now and again, my dear lord, were it only for a short time, I should not have to look about on all sides for any kind of messenger whose goodwill or necessities might help me pay the debt of correspondence owed you. Numerous causes, all sad ones, prevent me from seeing you again; even an opportunity of writing comes rarely or not at all. Whether all this excuses me or not, you yourself must judge.

[2] But in often favouring with your letters persons who either do not expect them, or deserve to get them less than I, you on your side are guilty of an offence against the laws of friendship which may not be committed with impunity. Though I have said little, I confess that it has wounded me never to have received from you any acknowledgement of the book which you have deigned to allow me to publish under the auspices of your illustrious name. But perhaps you cannot spare even a few short moments for a friendship of such long standing as ours?

[3] I wonder if you will ever involve yourself in any interest which does not turn to other folks' advantage. When you propitiate God by prayer, you entreat Him not only for your friends but for men you have never seen; when you search out the mysteries of Holy Writ, the more deeply your own mind is imbued with doctrine, the fuller the stream which you impart to others. When you lavish your goods upon the poor, there is a sense in which you may be said to serve yourself, but your aim is the service of others. Not a single action of yours is so barren as to yield abundant fruit to your sole self and not to a host of other people as well. [4] No possible pretext, then, can be alleged by any stretch of fancy on which an intimate friend like myself should be deprived of his own especial fruit, while strangers in scores are allowed to eat of it in plenty. I suppose you follow the precedent of the giver in the Gospel, and accord to the unworthy but importunate what you deny to a hungry friend. But if you allow yourself to grow hardened in this habit, I shall take measures to assure your repentance. For if your taciturnity exceeds all reason, my communications shall do the same. It is quite evident that you will have to be punished by my letters, as I myself am punished by your silence. Farewell.

III.

To Claudianus [Mamertus] A.D. 472

[1] You declare, most honoured master, that I have offended against the laws of friendship: you allege that though it is my turn to give you epistolary greeting, I have let my tablets and stylus lie, and no traveller's hand has been burdened with papyrus of mine inscribed with my assiduous wishes for your welfare. The suggestion is unfair; you cannot really suppose that any man on earth, with the least devotion to Latin letters, would lightly submit his compositions to the ordeal of being read to you; you, with whose accomplishments, but for the overwhelming privilege of antiquity, I should never rank either Fronto's gravity, or the fulminating force of Apuleius; for compared with you the Varros, both he of the Atax and he of Reate, and the Plinies, uncle and nephew, will always seem provincial. [2] In support of this opinion I have only to mention your new volume on the nature of the Soul, with all its wealth of evidence and mastery of diction. The dedication to me I regarded as an inestimable gift: the fame which my own books would never keep alive, would now be immortalized by yours. Great God! what a wonderful book it is, and of what authority! abstruse in subject, in exposition clear as day; in statement serried, expansive in discussion, and though barbed with many a point of syllogism, yet soft with vernal flowers of eloquence! [3] You have found ancient words which by their very age regain the charm of novelty; compared with these even a classic vocabulary seems obsolete. And what is more, the style, so succinct in its short clauses, has yet an even flow; loaded with facts, concise in comment, these pages do not merely propound — they inform. It was once, and rightly, held the highest part of eloquence to condense much matter into a small space and aim at exhausting the subject before the paper. [4] And what a charming feature it is in your books, when you allow some relaxation in the sustained display of mastery and interpose most welcome graces amid the severities of argument; by this means the reader's attention, strained by following that exhaustive analysis of doctrine and philosophy, is suddenly relieved by the most delightful of digressions, comforting as harbours after open seas. O work of endless excellences! O worthy expression of a genius subtle without tenuity, which neither freshets of hyperbole swell, nor mean terms minish and abase! [5] And then the unrivalled, the unique learning conspicuous in so many fields, and used to hold its own with the great masters in the discussion of every art. It does not hesitate, if need be, to wield the plectrum with Orpheus himself, or the staff with Aesculapius, or the rule with Archimedes, the horoscope with Euphrates, the compasses with Perdix, the plummet with Vitruvius; it never ceases to explore the ages with Thales, or the stars with Atlas; to study weight with Zetus, number with Chrysippus, or measure with Euclid. [6] I can only say that no

man of our times produces his knowledge with more effect, in the stress of conflict with the adversary can point with more justice to his own share in maintaining the spirit and the letters of Greece and Rome. Here is a writer who has the perception of Pythagoras, the clear logic of Socrates; he can unfold a theme with Plato or involve it with Aristotle; the charm of Aeschines is his, and the indignation of Demosthenes; he is as fresh and vivid as Hortensius; he storms like a Cethegus; he is impetuous as Curio, cautious as Fabius; in finesse the equal of Crassus, in reserve of Caesar, in suasion of Cato, in dissuasion of Appius, in persuasion of Tully himself. [7] Compare him now with the holy Fathers; you find him instructive as Jerome, destructive as Lactantius, constructive as Augustine; soaring in flight like Hilary, in humility meek as John; a Basil in rebuke, in consolation a Gregory. He is fluent as Orosius, terse as Rufinus; he has Eusebius' gift of narrative and Eucherius' power to stir, Paulinus' rousing voice, the perseverance of an Ambrose. [8] And now for my opinion on your hymn. I find it at once admirable in brevity and richness of content, at once tender and exalted, in poetic charm and truth to history superior to any lyrics or dithyrambs that I know. It is your peculiar merit that you observe each foot in the metre, each syllable in the foot, and each emphasis in the syllable; and in a restricted measure none too rich in opportunity, you contrive to include great opulence of words; the compressed, terse metre does not exclude long-drawn beauty of ornate diction. It seems mere play to you, with your tiny trochees and tinier pyrrhics, to surpass in effect not merely the Molossian and anapaestic ternary, but even the quaternary, the epitrite and Paeonian rhythms.

[9] Your grand exordium overflows the customary strait limits, as a great gem is hardly confined in a poor setting; as the mettle of a strong steed flashes out, and he chafes on the bit if he is held in over rough and broken ground; so it is with you; you are conscious of a speed to which a proper field is denied. What more shall I say? I will assert that neither Athens was ever so Attic, nor the Muses so musical as Claudian, if indeed a long period of inaction has not robbed me even of my critical capacity. For in deference to the profession which has been thrust upon me, I am endeavouring step by step to acquire a new style of writing, while I unlearn my old one by leaps and bounds; little remains now of a good speaker, except that I am more than ever the indifferent poet. I must therefore beg your indulgence if, remembering who and what I am, I seldom blend my thin and parching rivulet with your mighty river. The whole world shall honour the music of your silver trumpet, music thrice blessed in finding neither rival nor equal, though it has sounded all these years over the earth, charming the ears and lips of peoples, while I, too, strove to spread its fame. But all that your servant now dares in public speech is to raise his voice among town-councillors and teachers or even among market-quacks; these are the majority now, and (with all apologies to the best among them), even in their ambitious efforts, but illiterately lettered. But as for you, who can ring the changes on verse and prose and write in metre or

without it exactly when you please, your emulators will be few, and those only whom Apollo loves. Farewell.

IV.

To [his kinsmen] Simplicius and Apollinaris c. A.D. 472

[1] AT last I send the promised Faustinus, for whom you have been waiting; he is the father of a family, a noble by birth, and a man to be accounted one of the chief ornaments of our common country. In years he is a brother to me, in community of sentiment a friend. How often have he and I together blended grave and gay! how often, in the far-off days of our youth, played ball and dice together, and vied in leaping, running, hunting, or swimming, always honourable rivals because firmest friends! He was my elder, but only by a little; the difference did not so much bind me to defer to him, as make it a delight to follow; he too was more deeply charmed not to be given deference, but simply affection. Only with advancing years, and with his entry into the Church, has my old love for him insensibly passed into veneration. [2] This is the man through whom I greet you, in the ardent desire that I may see you very soon, if God will, and the state of the country permit. Unless, then, my wish is irksome to you, inform me, by return of this good messenger, in what places you expect to be, and when. I am firmly determined to shake myself free from all obstacles and hindrances of personal affairs, and allow myself the privilege of long and intimate hours in your society, if only some major force does not upset my plans, as I am half afraid it may. [3] You too might find it worth while to talk them over with Brother Faustinas in the light of probable events. I made him my envoy because I love him and know that he returns my feelings. If he justifies my good opinion, I shall be very thankful. All men set him high in their esteem; and perhaps he is none the worse for not being a perfect paragon. Farewell.

V.

To his friend [Magnus] Felix A.D. 474

[1] I SALUTE you a second time by the same messenger as before. Your Gozolas (may I soon call him mine too!) acts once more as the carrier of my letter. Spare us both, therefore, the indignity of an open slight; for if you persist in silence, every one will think that you look down on me and on the destined bearer of your reply. [2] As on the last occasion, I ask nothing as to the state of public affairs, fearing it may be painful to you to announce unfavourable events at a time when fortune fails us. It would not be like you to send false news; and as there is nothing pleasant to record, I would rather learn of disaster from any one but my friends. Farewell.

VI.

To [his kinsman] Apollinaris A. D. 472

[1] I SENT you a verbal warning lately by the priest Faustinus, my old comrade and new brother in the ministry, and glad I am that you have listened to it. It is the root-principle of practical wisdom to avoid unnecessary risks; if a man takes them, and a rash course ends in trouble, it is futile to break out into lamentations and abuse Fate for the consequences of one's own bad management. [2] You ask the trend of these remarks. I confess I was much afraid that, at a time when all men felt anxiety, you might feel none; and that the house which stood solid as a rock through all these years might be shaken at last through a misplaced devotion. I feared that the solemnity to which the ladies of your family so looked forward might be spoiled for their gentle souls by these alarms, though I well know that true religion is so deeply implanted in their breasts that they would have rejoiced to suffer a sort of martyrdom in honour of the Martyr had anything untoward befallen upon the way. But I have less innocence, and therefore more distrust of events; amid such uncertainties I prefer the safer side; it takes little to make me join those who discover danger in the very heart of safety. [3] I therefore approve your action in putting off so perilous an expedition, and refusing to expose the fortunes of a family like yours to such a hazard. The journey, once undertaken, might possibly have prospered; but I for one will never vote for the reckless kind of measure which only luck can justify. Providence, I doubt not, will grant a happy issue to our prayers, and under new blessings of peace we shall look back upon these tenors as mere memories; but those who wish to enjoy security in future must learn caution from the present hour. [4] Meanwhile, I draw your attention to the bearer's complaint of some wrong done him by one of your people, by name Genesius. If you find that facts bear out the grievance, I beg of you to do the plaintiff justice and grant him a quick return to his distant home. But if he has fanned up a flame of calumny out of culpable spite, the defendant can enjoy the foretaste of his discomfiture, when he thinks of his wanton accuser, wayworn and impoverished, bearing all for nothing the hard consequences of a rash accusation, and that at the very height of winter, when the ice is thick and the snow lies piled in drifts. The litigious are apt to find this a season when hearings are generally short, but there is plenty of time for suffering damage. Farewell.

VII.

To his kinsman Simplicius (Date not indicated)

[1] 'You spur the willing,' is the usual comment of the man who meant to do unasked the thing you ask of him. You ask how the quotation applies? The bearer of these lines insists on a letter of introduction from me, whereas, the moment I knew where he was going I should myself have begged the privilege of giving it before he opened his mouth, obliging him not so much from consideration for him as from my warm feeling towards yourself. For the rest, my messenger calculates that by doing me a service he will have deserved a good turn; he has obtained what he wanted, but without ever dreaming how close the bond is which unites you and me. [2] Miles away though I remain, I shall be able to picture his stupefaction on his arrival, when the mere fact that he comes from me secures him respectful welcome, and he finds no effectual use for a letter which it was really superfluous to solicit. I can see it all as if I were there; the novelty of everything to one whose wits are not of the sharpest; his confusion as a stranger invited to make himself at home, or as a nervous guest drawn into conversation, or as a countrified fellow called on to take his part in polite gaiety, or as a poor man set down at a sumptuous board. It will be strange indeed to a man from these parts, where ill-cooked viands and too much onion afford the only fare, to find himself as nobly regaled as if he had eaten his fill all his days at Apician banquets, served by the rhythmic carvers of Byzantium. 3. Anyhow, whatever his merit or importance, he could not have better helped me to pay my debt of friendship. Men of his type are often almost beneath our notice; at the same time friends who, like ourselves, are thrown back on letters for their intercourse would lose many a chance of writing were they too particular about the person of their messengers. Farewell.

VIII.

*To his friend Evodius * A.D. 467 (?)*

[1] I WAS just setting out for a remote country district when your messenger handed me your letter, and told his acquaintances in confidence that you were on the point of visiting Toulouse in obedience to a summons from the King. This gave me an excuse to shake off the embarrassing crowd which delayed my early start, and allowed me to give you such reply as a traveller booted and spurred could attempt. [2] My servants had gone ahead at dawn to pitch my tent eighteen miles away at a spot with many conveniences for camping, a cold spring issuing from a wooded hill with a meadow of rich grass at the foot; a river in the foreground stocked with waterfowl and fish; and in addition to these advantages, almost on the bank, the new home of an old friend whose boundless hospitality is the same, whether you try to refuse it or not. [3] After stopping behind to do what you required, that I might send the messenger back at once from the end of the town, I found it was already more than four hours after dawn; the sun was well up, and his gathering heat had absorbed the heavy dews of night. The torrid air and our parched throats got worse and worse, and so cloudless was the sky that the only protection from the blazing heat was the dust we made ourselves. The long way was a weariness, stretching in full view for miles in front of us across the grassy plain; before it had time to tire us, it already terrified by its prospect; it meant that our lunch would be late. [4] All this introduction is to convince you, honoured lord and brother, that when I obeyed your behests I had small time to spare and little leisure of mind or body. I return now to the substance of your letter. After the usual salutations, you asked a poem of twelve verses suitable for engraving on a large two-handled cup, the sides of which from foot to rim were fluted with six channels. [5] The verses you design, I suppose, for the hollows of the flutings, or, better still, if that seems more suitable, for the ridges between, and, as I gather, you intend to assure yourself an invincible protection for all your plans, actual or prospective, by offering the cup, enriched with this embellishment, to Ragnahild, the queen. I did your bidding then, not as I could have wished, but as best circumstances allowed. You must blame yourself for giving the silversmith time but the poet none; though you know perfectly well that in the literary smithy the verses forged upon the metric anvil want polishing no less severely than any metal. But all this is beside the mark; here is your poem: * ‘The shell which bears Cythera behind the fish-tailed Triton, compared with this must yield its pride of place. Bend thy queenly head, exalted patroness, to our prayer; accept this humble gift; graciously look down upon Evodius who seeks thy favour; make him great, and thine own glory shall grow greater. Thy sire and thy lord’s sire were kings; royal too is thy lord, may thy son also reign a king, both by his

father's side and after him. Happy water enclosed in this gleaming metal, reflecting a royal face yet brighter! For when the queen shall deign to touch it with her lips, the silver shall draw new splendour from her countenance.' If you love me well enough to make use of such idle stuff, conceal my authorship and properly rely for success on your own part of the offering. For in such a mart or such a school as this barbaric court, your silver page will get all the notice, and not my poor inscription. Farewell.

* The first part translated by Hodgkin, ii. 330-2.

* Translated into German verse by Fertig, Part i, p. 32; and into prose by Chaix, i. 353.

IX.

To his friend Industrius + c. A.D. 472

[1] I RECENTLY visited the illustrious Vectius, and was able to study his way of life at close quarters as leisurely as if I had nothing else to do. I found it well worth knowing, and therefore not unworthy of description. In the first place, and this may rightly be regarded as the highest praise of all, the whole household emulates the master's flawless purity of life. His servants are efficient, those in the country obliging, those at his town house friendly, obedient and contented with their lord. His table is open to the stranger no less than to his own clients; there reigns a large hospitality, and an even larger moderation. [2] It is of less moment that the man of whom we speak is without a rival in training a horse, judging a dog, or in bearing hawk afield; that his dress is always exquisite and his girdle to match, that all his accoutrements are splendid. The majesty of his gait accords with his gravity of mind, and as the first secures him consideration abroad, so the last maintains his dignity at home. His is an indulgence which does not spoil, a punishment without brutality, a tempered severity, stern but never dreadful. [3] With all this he is a regular reader of the Scriptures; even at meal times he enjoys this nutriment of the soul. He studies the Psalms, and yet more frequently chants them, setting a new precedent by living after this fashion in martial dress, the complete monk in all but the monastic habit. Though he abstains from eating game, he indulges in the chase; to have the sport without the spoil accords with the secret delicacy of his religious feeling. [4] The comfort of his widower's life is his little daughter, sole pledge of his lost wife's love; he brings her up with the tenderness of a grandfather, a mother's sedulous care, a father's kindness. In addressing his servants he does not give way to violence, and he is not above taking their advice upon occasion; in investigating an offence he is never inquisitorial, he rules those under him by reason and not mere authority: you might take him for the steward in his own house. [5] All this virtue and moderation seemed to me to deserve recording for the benefit of others; the outlines of it at least should be common knowledge. It would be well for our age if every member of our sacred profession were stirred to emulation by the story irrespective of a garb which in these days often deceives the world. For be it said without offence to my own order, if only the good men among us manifest their individual qualities, I shall prefer the layman of priestly instincts to the priest. Farewell.

+ Translated by Hodgkin, ii. 340-2.

X.

To his friend [Magnus] Felix A.D. 477

[1] IT is many years since I have written to you, my good lord, and this greeting breaks a long silence; I had not the heart to keep up the old frequent correspondence while I was living in banishment from my country, and my spirit was broken by the hard lot of an exile. You ought to have compassion on one who admits his delinquency as I do; for whosoever is brought low should go humbly and not attempt to preserve the same familiar footing as before with those towards whom affection may be less in place than reverence. That is why I have said nothing so long, and why, after the arrival of my son Heliodorus, I could at least acquiesce in your silence, though I could hardly be expected to regard it with satisfaction. [2] You used to say, in jest, that you stood in positive awe of my eloquence. Even were it seriously meant, the ground for that excuse is gone; for as soon as I had finished my volume of Letters, which, though I say it, was a careful piece of work, I reverted to the every-day style in everything else. And indeed my fine style itself is much on the same level; for what is the use of giving finish to phrases which will never see the light? If, however, you are faithful to an old friendship and allow our correspondence once more to follow its former course, I too will return to the old track and be as communicative as ever. Nay more, if Christ will guide my steps and my patron on his return will only sanction my departure, how eagerly will I fly to meet you wherever you may be, and revive by my presence a friendship which my negligent pen has left to languish. Farewell.

XI.

*To his friend Petreius * c. A.D. 473*

[1] I MOURN the loss of your great uncle Claudianus, snatched from us only the other day; it is the loss of our age; perhaps we shall never see his. like again. He was a man of wisdom, prudence and learning; eloquent, and of an active and ingenious mind above all his compatriots and contemporaries. He was a philosopher all his days without prejudice to his faith. It was only by his faith, and by his adoption of ordinary dress, that he dissociated himself from his friends of the Platonic school; for he never let his hair and beard grow long and would make fun of the philosopher's mantle and staff, sometimes with much bitterness. [2] How delightful it used to be when a party of us would visit him just for the pleasure of hearing his opinion! With what freedom from diffidence or pretence would he at once open his whole mind for our common benefit, delighted if some insoluble and thorny point arose to prove the vast resources of his knowledge! If there were many of us, he expected us all, of course, to listen, but nominated a single spokesman, probably the one whom we ourselves should have chosen; then in his methodical way, now addressing one, now another, and giving each his turn, he would bring forth all the treasures of his learning, not without the accompaniment of trained and appropriate gesture. [3] When he had finished, we would put our adverse criticisms in syllogistic form; but nothing was admitted which was not well considered and susceptible of proof, for rash objections he would at once demolish. Most of all we respected him for his tolerance of some men's persistent dullness of apprehension. It amounted almost to an amiable weakness; we could admire his patience, but it was beyond our imitation. Who could shrink from consulting on any recondite point a man who would gladly suffer in argument the stupid questions of the ignorant and the simple?

[4] So far as to his intellectual interests. It is beyond my power adequately to extol him in other relations of life. Mindful in all things of our weak mortal nature, he was always ready with consolation, helping the clergy by his deeds, the people by his words, mourners with exhortation, the destitute with words of comfort. He gave the prisoner money; he fed the hungry, he clothed the naked. To enlarge upon these things were indeed vanity of repetition. He was poor in this world's goods, but the good deeds with which he richly endowed his soul he concealed from notice in the hope of a better reward hereafter. . . .

[5] For his elder brother the bishop he had the most affectionate regard; he revered him as a father, he loved him as a son. And the brother in his turn looked up to him with boundless admiration, knowing that he had in him a counsellor in every disputed question, a representative in his churches, an agent in business matters, a steward on his farms, a registrar of all ecclesiastical dues, an associate in his reading, an interpreter in difficulties of

exposition, a travelling companion upon his visitations. They were the very exemplars of brotherly affection, with an absolute confidence in each other. [6] But why do I add fuel to the flame of a sorrow which it was my purpose to assuage? I meant to have begun by saying that I have written an elegy to this ungrateful shade — the phrase is Virgil's, as you know, and applied to the dead, who can render no man thanks. They are sad lines full of sorrow; the writing of them was no light task to one who has lost the habit of composing; but grief heavy with rising tears moved me from my natural indolence. This is the elegy:

‘Beneath this sod lies Claudianus, at once the glory and grief of his brother Mamertus, the wonder and supreme pride of the bishops. In three fields of learning he was a master and a shining light, the Roman, the Greek, and the Christian; all of them as a monk in his prime he made his own by secret discipline; he was orator, logician, poet, commentator, geometer, musician; skilled also to loose the bonds of disputation, and with the sword of the word dissect the sects that harass the Catholic faith. Well was he skilled to chant psalms and lead a choir; for his grateful brother he taught the trained groups of singers to chant before the altar. His was the choice that at the yearly conclave appointed the passages to be read in season. A priest of the second order, he eased his brother's shoulder of the bishop's burden; for while the other bore the insignia of pontifical rank, it was he who undertook the labour. But thou whoe'er thou art that grieveest, O kindly reader, over the thought that of such a man nothing now survives, wet not this marble with thy tears: the mind and its renown come not down into this grave.’

[7] Such are the lines that I composed over the remains of this brother of my soul, as soon as I reached the spot. For when they buried him I was away, though absence did not wholly rob me of the longed opportunity for tears. For while I was pondering what to write, my heart swelled to overflowing; I gave it rein, and over my epitaph I wept as others had wept above the tomb. I write this to you for fear you should imagine that my devotion is only to living friends, and censure me as one who thinks less tenderly of those who are gone than of those who are yet alive. And indeed, in days when hardly a trace of loyalty remains among survivors, you might well be pardoned for counting as a small company those who are faithful to the departed. Farewell.

* Most of this letter is translated by Guizot, *Histoire de la civilisation en France*, ed. 1846, i. 167-8. See also Fertig, Part iii, p. 10.

XII.

To [his kinsmen] *Simplicius and Apollinaris** c. A.D. 472

[1] THE excitable mind of man is like nothing so much as a wrecking sea; it is lashed to confusion by contrary tidings as if it bred its own rough weather. A few days ago, I and the son whom we both regard as ours were together enjoying the admirable *Hecyra* of Terence. Seated at his side as he studied, I forgot the cleric in the father; to increase his ardour and incite my docile scholar to a more perfect appreciation of the comic rhythms, I had in my own hands a play with a similar plot, the *Epitrepontes* of Menander. [2] We were reading, and jesting, and applauding the fine passages — the play charmed him, and he me, we were both equally absorbed, — when all of a sudden a household slave appears, pulling a long face. ‘I have just seen outside’, he said, ‘the reader Constans, back from his errand to the lords Simplicius and Apollinaris. He says that he delivered your letters, but has lost the answers given him to bring back.’ [3] No sooner did I hear this, than a storm-cloud of annoyance rose upon the clear sky of my enjoyment; the mischance made me so angry that for several days I was inexorable and forbade the blockhead my presence; I meant to make him sorry for himself unless he restored me the letters all and sundry, to say nothing of yours, which as long as I am a reasonable being I shall always want most because they come least often. [4] However, after a time my anger gradually abated; I sent for him and asked whether, besides the letters, he had been entrusted with a verbal message. He was all a-tremble and ready to grovel at my feet; he stammered in conscious guilt, and could not look me in the face, but he managed to answer: ‘Nothing.’ The message from which I was to have received so much instruction and delight, had been all consigned to the pages which had been lost. So there is nothing else for it; you must resort to your tablets once more, unfold your parchment, and write it all out anew. I shall bear with such philosophy as I may this unfortunate obstacle to my desires until the hour when these lines reach you, and you learn that yours have never yet reached me. Farewell.

* Translated by Hodgkin, ii. 340-2.

XIII.

To his friend Vectius c. A.D. 472

[1] NOT long ago I went to see the church of Chantelle at the request of the excellent Germanicus, who is clearly the personage of the place. Though he now has sixty years behind him, he cultivates such bravery of fashion that not content with growing younger, he gets more boyish every day. His clothes fit close, his boots are tight, his hair is cut wheel-fashion; the tweezers have searched the depths of all his wrinkles to get every single hair out of his face. [2] Heaven has given him strong and well-knit limbs, an unimpaired sight, an easy and rapid gait; his teeth are complete and his mouth wholesome. He has a perfect digestion, an even circulation, a sound heart and lungs, his loins are free from stiffness, his liver from congestion. His hand is firm, his back straight, endowed with the health of youth, all he asks for age is its proper privilege of respect. [3] God has indeed shown him peculiar mercies. But on that very account I beg, nay, I enjoin you, as a neighbour and intimate friend, to give him a piece of that advice which a character like yours invests with such authority: tell him not to put his trust too much in such unstable things, or fancy himself immune from all decay; tell him it is high time for him to embrace religion, to gather strength from innocence reborn, and by good deeds to become a new man in his old age. [4] Tell him that few of us are free from secret faults, and it were well for him to pour forth full and open satisfaction for all the hidden offences which memory can recall. A man who is a priest's son and has a son of his own a bishop, must sanctify his own life, or he will be even as a rosebush. Of roses born, and bearing the same, he comes between the old bloom and the new; and the briery thorns about him may be likened to his wounding sins. Farewell.

XIV.

To his friend Polemius A.D. 477

[1] CORNELIUS TACITUS your ancestor, consular in the reigns of the Ulpians, in his history introduces a German Commander as saying, 'My acquaintance with Vespasian goes back to old days, and while he was a private person we were called friends.' You ask the object of this preface. To remind you that your position as a public man ought not to involve neglect of private friendships. Almost two years ago, our old regard for you rather than our satisfaction at your new dignity, led us to rejoice over your elevation to the post of praetorian prefect in Gaul. But for the misfortunes of the Empire, nothing would satisfy us but the enrichment of everybody and every province by the various benefits of your administration. [2] And now that proper feeling prevents us from asking what it is beyond your power to grant, I should like to know what generosity you would have shown us in deed, when in word you have proved so obstinately avaricious. For if I compare you with your ancestors, I must consider you more than the equal of Tacitus in eloquence, and in poetry above Ausonius. If this new prefecture has turned a philosopher's head, remember the line:

We too have served for name and fame.

[3] But if you scorn the lowliness of our profession because we priests voluntarily lay bare before Christ, the Healer of human lives and fortunes, the ugly sores of the sick heart, which in us are at least unswollen by pride, however much they may have hitherto offended for want of proper tending, I would have you know this, that it is one thing for a man to stand before the magistrate in the forum, another thing for him to stand before the Judge of all the world. The offender who avows his crime to you is condemned; but among us the same confession made to God is absolved. It is therefore abundantly clear that you judges of this world are wrong in fastening guilt on him who is amenable to another jurisdiction than yours. [4] You cannot therefore any longer ignore the force of my complaint; whether your prosperity makes you forget old friendship, or only neglect it, the result in either case is almost equally bitter to me. If, then, you have any serious thoughts of the future, write to me as to a priest; if of the present, as to a colleague. There is a virtue which never disdains an old friend for a new one; if it was born in you, develop it; if not, at once implant it in your heart. Otherwise you will appear to treat your friends as one does flowers, which are only cherished as long as they are fresh. Farewell.

XV.

To his friend Elaphius After A.D. 472

[1] MAKE ready a great feast, and couches to receive a great company. By numerous roads parties yet more numerous converge upon you, for since the date of your coming dedication is now universally known, all our good friends are bent upon invasion. Your letter tells us that the baptistery so long in the builder's hands is now ready for consecration. We must all keep festival in honour of the faith that we own, and some of us for other causes too; you to celebrate the accomplishment of your vow; I to do my part as bishop; and many others to show their recognition of your enterprise. For indeed you set a great precedent, erecting a new fabric in an epoch when other men have hardly courage to repair an old one. [2] For the future I pray that as your present vow is paid, you may make new vows to the glory of God to be redeemed in coming prosperous years; and that, too, not as the expression of a concealed faith, but of manifest conversion. I further pray that in happier times than these Christ may grant my own desire and the hope of the people of Rouergue, and that you who now offer an altar for your own soul's weal, may then offer the holy Sacrifice for theirs. [3] Though the days draw in with the late autumn, and leaves from every tree rustle in the anxious traveller's ear; though your castle of the mountain crags is hard to reach when winter is so near, yet with Christ to guide my steps I shall traverse your rugged mountain flanks; I shall not shrink from rocks beneath or overhanging snows; no, not even if the way winds in spirals up the long slopes and returns continually upon itself. For should there be no festivities after all, yet you are one of those for whom, to use the words of Tully, a man would even tramp to Thespieae. Farewell.

XVI.

To his friend Ruricius (No indication of date)

[1] PATERNINUS has given me your letter; I can hardly say whether it pleases most by wit or charm. It presents such eloquence, such fragrant flowers of diction, that your progress is clearly due to something more than an acknowledged study: you must be working in secret as well. The abstraction of a book of mine to copy, for which you so apologize, I regard as an act redounding to your credit, and requiring no excuse. What can you do really wrong, when even your faults are laudable? [2] I am not the least vexed at being played this little trick in my absence; it is no loss at all, but really a signal privilege. The volume you appropriated to your use has not therefore ceased to be my property; your knowledge has not been increased at the cost of other people's. On the contrary, you shall have full credit for your action, and rightly; for your nature has the quality of flame, which communicates itself entirely and yet remains entire; it is proper that you should act like your own element. Be no more uneasy, then; that were to betray a little too much uncertainty of your friend, who would only deserve the wound of blame were he vulnerable by the dart of envy. Farewell.

XVII.

To his friend Arbogast c. A.D. 477

[1] YOUR friend Eminentius, honoured lord, has delivered a letter dictated by yourself, admirable in style, and bearing in every line the evidence of three shining virtues. The first is the friendliness which leads you to esteem the lowly talents of one so far away, and so anxious to avoid publicity. The second is the modesty which makes you over-sensitive to blame, but deservedly wins you praise. The third is the gentle humour which makes you in the wittiest way accuse yourself of writing wretched stuff, whereas you have drunk at the well-spring of Roman eloquence, and no draughts from the Moselle can take the taste of Tiber from your mouth. You have your conversation among barbarians, yet you permit no barbarism to pass your lips; in eloquence and valour you equal those ancient generals whose hands could wield the stylus no less skilfully than the sword. [2] The Roman tongue is long banished from Belgium and the Rhine; but if its splendour has anywhere survived, it is surely with you; our jurisdiction is fallen into decay along the frontier, but while you live and preserve your eloquence, the Latin language stands unshaken. As I return your greeting, my heart is glad within me that our vanishing culture has left such traces with you; continue your assiduous studies, and you will feel more surely every day that the man of education is as much above the boor as the boor in his turn above the beast. [3] Were I to obey your wish and send you a commentary on some part of the Scriptures, it would be sorry verbiage; you would do far better to direct your request to the clergy of your own district. They are venerable in years, approved in faith, known by works; they are ready in speech and tenacious in memory, my superiors in all sublimer gifts. Even if we leave out of the account the bishop of your city, a character of supreme perfection, blessed in the possession and repute of all the virtues, you may far more appropriately consult on any kind of problem the celebrated fathers of the Church in Gaul; Lupus and Auspicius are both within your reach, and however inquisitive you may be, you will not get to the bottom of a learning such as theirs. In any case, you must pardon me for disobeying you in this matter, and that not only out of kindness, but from simple justice; for if it is fair that you should escape from incompetence, it is equally right that I should avoid conceit. Farewell.

XVIII.

To his friend Lucontius c. A.D. 470

[1] I FEAR you have a memory defective in the matter of others' requests but infallible in the matter of your own. It would be tedious to repeat all the promises of swift return which you and your family made to me and mine; not the smallest of them have you kept. Far from it, your flight was cunningly planned to make us think you were coming back for Easter; you took no heavy baggage out of town, neither carriage nor cart for luggage appeared in your train.

[2] It is too late to complain of the trick you made the ladies play us, causing them to travel with only the lightest of effects, while you and our brother Volusianus were hardly escorted by a single client or attendant. By this device you cheated the friends who came to see you off with the delusive hope that they were soon to see you back. Certainly our good brother Volusianus deceived us by the pretence of a short trip, when in fact he was probably bound, not merely for his own estate at Baiocassium, but the whole second province of Lyons into the bargain. [3] As for yourself, though you have broken faith by idling all this time away down there, you yet have the face to ask me for any poetical trifles I may have recently composed. I obey; but simply because you deserve the rubbish you will get; the verses I am sending are so rustic and unfinished that no one would believe they came from town and not from the depths of the country. [4] You must know that Bishop Perpetuus, a worthy successor of his great predecessor, has just rebuilt on a greater scale than before the basilica of the saintly pontiff and confessor Martin. It is said to be a great and memorable work, and all that we should expect when one such man does honour to another. For the walls of this church he has demanded of me the inscription you are now to criticize, and sure as he is of his place in my affection, he takes no denial in matters of this kind. [5] Would I could think this offering of mine would prove no blot upon the magnificence of that pile and its wealth of gifts; but I fear it must be so, unless some happy chance should lend its very defects a charm where all is of such perfection, just as a dark spot on a fair body is mocked at first, and then compels approval. But why should I dilate upon all this? Put down your shepherd's pipe, and give a supporting hand to this hobbling elegy of mine:

*Over the body of Martin, venerated in every land, the body in which renown survives the life departed, there rose a structure meet for poor men's worship, and unworthy of its famous Confessor. Always a sense of shame weighed heavy on the citizens when they thought of the saint's great glory, and the small attraction of his shrine. But Perpetuus the bishop, sixth in line after him, has now taken away the disgrace; he has removed the inner shrine from the modest chapel and reared this great building over it. By the favour of

so powerful a patron the founder's fame has risen together with the church, which is such as to rival the temple of Solomon, the seventh wonder of the world. That shone resplendent with gems and gold and silver; but this fane shines with a light of faith beyond the brilliance of all metals. Avaunt, Envy of the venomous tooth! be our forefathers absolved; may our posterity, however fond of its own voice, presume to add or alter nothing. And till the second coming of Christ to raise all people from the dead, may the fane of Perpetuus perpetually endure.'

[6] I send you, as you see, the most recent verses I can find. But if you persist in spinning vain delays, the concession will not stop me from shaking the stars with my complaints; nor, if the case requires it, shall I shrink from a resort to satire, and you will be very much mistaken if you imagine that I shall be as suave as in the verses you have had to-day. For it is a law of human nature that man is more telling, more fiery, and quicker on the mark in his censure than in his praise. Farewell.

* Translated by Fertig, Part ii, pp. 37-8; and by Chaix, i. 329.

XIX.

To his friend Florentinus (No indication of date)

[1] You blame me for my delay and my silence. I can purge myself of both charges, for I am not only on my way, but as you see, I write as well. Farewell.

XX.

*To his friend Domnicius * c. A. D. 470*

[1] You take such pleasure in the sight of arms and those who wear them, that I can imagine your delight if you could have seen the young prince Sigismer on his way to the palace of his father-in-law in the guise of a bridegroom or suitor in all the pomp and bravery of the tribal fashion. His own steed with its caparisons, other steeds laden with flashing gems, paced before and after; but the conspicuous interest in the procession centred in the prince himself, as with a charming modesty he went afoot amid his bodyguard and footmen, in flame-red mantle, with much glint of ruddy gold, and gleam of snowy silken tunic, his fair hair, red cheeks and white skin according with the three hues of his equipment. [2] But the chiefs and allies who bore him company were dread of aspect, even thus on peace intent. Their feet were laced in boots of bristly hide reaching to the heels; ankles and legs were exposed. They wore high tight tunics of varied colour hardly descending to their bare knees, the sleeves covering only the upper arm. Green mantles they had with crimson borders; baldrics supported swords hung from their shoulders, and pressed on sides covered with cloaks of skin secured by brooches. [3] No small part of their adornment consisted of their arms; in their hands they grasped barbed spears and missile axes; their left sides were guarded by shields, which flashed with tawny golden bosses and snowy silver borders, betraying at once their wealth and their good taste. Though the business in hand was wedlock, Mars was no whit less prominent in all this pomp than Venus. Why need I say more? Only your presence was wanting to the full enjoyment of so fine a spectacle. For when I saw that you had missed the things you love to see, I longed to have you with me in all the impatience of your longing soul. Farewell.

* Translated by Hodgkin, ii. 364.

XXI.

To his friend Aper c. A.D. 472

[1] IN every genealogy the father's line must take precedence, yet we owe not a little to our mothers. For it hardly befits us to accord a lesser honour to her who bore, than to him who begot us. I leave the biologist the care of defining what we are or how we came into the world, passing on to the subject introduced by these reflections. [2] Your father is an Aeduan, your mother comes from Auvergne. Aeduan, then, you are first and foremost, but yet not altogether. For remember the passage in Virgil to the effect that Pallas is Arcadian, but at the same time Samnite. He might have qualified, as a foreigner, to lead the Etruscans against Mezentius, save only for the fact that through his Samnite mother he traced his descent in part to her country of Etruria. Here you have evidence of great moment from the greatest of authorities (unless, indeed, you believe poets false to facts even when they deal with history), that the mother's country must count no less than that of the father. [3] Now if the Arvernians in their turn rightly claim at any rate a half-share in you, pray give a patient hearing to the complaint of men who yearn for your presence, and now unburden the bosom-secret of a whole population through the lips of a single spokesman. Imagine them as standing before you and addressing you face to face. 'What is our offence, ungrateful fellow citizen, that all these years you shun the soil which nourished you as if it were an enemy's country? Here we tended your cradle, here we heard your infant cries and formed your tender limbs; it was our people who carried you in their arms. [4] This was the country of your grandsire Fronto, whose indulgence to you was equalled only by his own self-discipline, which our models of to-day might take as a model for themselves. This was the country of your grandmother Auspicia, who from a single heart after her daughter's death gave to the helpless orphan a devotion great enough for two. Your aunt was also of our land, and so was Frontina, the virgin holier than a nun, held by your mother in respect, by your father in veneration, and so ascetic and austere in her life, so perfect in God's faith and fear, that she inspired an awe in all men. It was here that our schools vied one with the other to perfect you in grammar and in rhetoric, when the time came for your initiation in the liberal arts, with such results that even by virtue of your education alone you cannot but think of Clermont with affection. [5] I shall not recall to you the unique charm of our land; the broad main of tillage, where the profitable waters flow harmless through the crops, bringing rich increase; where the more the industrious man traffics, the less he need fear shipwreck; the land which is easy to the traveller, fertile to the cultivator, to the hunter a perpetual joy; where pastures crown the hill-tops and vineyards clothe the slopes, where villas rise on the lowlands and castles on the rocks, forests here and clearings

there, valleys with springs, headlands washed by rivers; the land, in short, of which a single glimpse suffices to make many a stranger forget his own country. [6] Need I remind you of the town which was always so devoted to you that you ought to find no society more agreeable than that of its nobility? You were received with open arms, and all were so delighted to have you with them that no one could ever see enough of you. Need I speak of your own property? the more you visit it the better it will make good your outlay. For the very expenses of a proprietor cultivating his own land contribute to the increase of his income. I unburden myself thus in the name of all our citizens, and certainly of the best among them. Such is the affection which they show, so high the compliment implied in their desire, that you may imagine the greater joy which will be yours if you assent to their request. Farewell.

XXII.

To his friend Leo A.D. 477

[1] THE magnificent Hesperius, pearl of friends and glory of letters, informed me on his return from Toulouse not long ago that you wished me to begin writing history as soon as my volume of Letters is completed. I need not tell you with what respect and gratitude I receive an opinion of such weight, and moreover so flattering to myself; for if you hold that I ought to abandon the work of smaller compass for the greater, it must be because you think me competent. But frankly, I find it easier to respect your judgement than to follow your advice. [2] The task indeed is one which is worthy of your recommendation, but it is no less worthy of your own practice. Tacitus long ago gave similar advice to Pliny and then anticipated his friend by following his own counsel. The precedent bears perfectly on your suggestion; for I am a mere disciple of Pliny, whereas in the old historical style you excel Tacitus. Could he return to earth, could he witness your literary eminence and reputation, he would soon follow the hint conveyed by his own name. [3] You, therefore, are the man to shoulder the burden of your own proposal; you have an excellent gift of eloquence and to vast erudition you join unrivalled opportunities. For as adviser of a most potent sovereign, whose policy is concerned with all the world, you are admitted to the secrets of his business and his laws, his wars and treaties, you understand their local significance, their extent and their importance. Who, then, more fit to gird him for the task than he who is behind the great scene of public affairs, who knows the movements of the peoples, the embassies that pass between them, the generals' feats of arms, the treaties of the princes, who stands himself at such an altitude that he need neither suppress the truth nor broider the fabric of a lie?

[4] How different is my own condition, afflicted with the griefs of exile, deprived of the old facilities for study; a cleric, sworn to renounce ambition, and keep the middle path of his obscurity. My trust is no longer in the gifts of this present world, but in the hope of a world to come. My failing strength plays me false, and makes me delight in idleness; I care no more for the praise of my own generation, and as little for that of men who shall come after me. [5] History is the last field in which I should now pursue fame; we churchmen are ill-advised to publish our own affairs and rash to meddle with those of others; we record the past without advantage to ourselves, and the present from imperfect knowledge; we write what is untrue to our disgrace, and what is true at our peril. It is a work or subject in which the mention even of the virtuous wins a man scant credit, and of the great, unbounded enmity. Forthwith some hue and flavour of satire invades the historian's style, and this is wholly incongruous with our vows. Historical writing begins in spite, proceeds in

weariness, and ends in ill repute. [6] Let a cleric once dabble in it, and all these woes will fall upon him; forthwith the viper's tooth of envy is into us; if our style be straightforward, we are called mad; if polished, we are presuming beyond our place. But you can enter upon this province with a light heart; your fame allows you to spring from strength to strength. You will tread the neck of the detractor or lightly leap above it. None will have written in a more exalted vein than you, none so near the antique manner, even though your theme be the story of our own times. For as you were trained long since in the art of letters, and now are no less versed in that of affairs, you have left the venomous fang no hold whatever on you. Therefore it is that in years to come your works will be consulted with advantage, heard with delight, and read with assurance of their authority. Farewell.

XXIII.

To his friend Proculus c. A.D. 472

[1] YOUR son, whom I may almost call mine also, has taken refuge with me, full of sorrow for having left you, overwhelmed with shame and repentance of his desertion. When I heard what he had done, I rebuked him for this truancy with sharp words and threatening looks. The voice was mine, but I spoke in your place; I denounced him as one whose proper meed was disinheritance, the cross, the sack, and the other penalties of parricides. He flushed red in his confusion, but made no brazen excuses for his fault; and when I convicted him on every point, such floods of streaming tears accompanied his contrition that it was impossible to doubt his future amendment. [2] I entreat you, therefore, to show mercy on one who now shows none to himself; imitate Christ and do not condemn him who admits that he deserves to be condemned. You may prove inexorable; you may subject him to unheard-of punishments; but no torture you can inflict will hurt him like his own remorse. Free him from his despairing fears; justify my confidence in you; relieve yourself from the secret anguish you must feel (if I know aught of a father's feelings) at the spectacle of a son crushed by undisguised affliction. I shall only have done him harm if you lift a finger against him, which I trust you will not do unless you mean to remain as hard as rock and rigid as impenetrable adamant. [3] If I am right in expecting something better from your known character and warm heart, be indulgent and forgive; I pledge myself that, once reconciled, he will henceforward be a loyal son. To absolve him promptly of his fault is to bind me by a new obligation. I earnestly beg you to do more, and grant him instant pardon; I want you, when he returns, not to open him your door alone, but your heart as well. Great God! what a bright day will dawn for you, what joyous news it will be to me, what gladness will fill his soul, when he casts himself at his father's feet and receives from those injured lips, those lips of terrible aspect, not reproaches but a kiss! Farewell.

XXIV.

*To his friend Turnus * A.D. 461-7*

[1] THE Mantuan's lines suit perfectly your name and your affair:

*Turnus, what never God would dare
To promise to his suppliant's prayer,
Lo, here, the lapse of time has brought
E'en to your hands, unasked, unsought.* †

You remember that a long time ago your father Turpio (he was then of tribune's rank) sought and obtained a loan of Maximus, an official of the Palatine Service; he assigned nothing as security or guarantee, either in money or land; there is only a document ensuring the creditor his twelve per cent. This interest had been accumulating ten years, and had doubled the capital sum. [2] When your father was grievously ill and near his death, the public authority put serious pressure on him for the payment of the debt; the bailiffs too behaved in an intolerably brutal manner. I was then setting out for Toulouse, and the sick man, in despair, wrote entreating me to intercede with his creditor for at least a short delay. Of course I at once promised to do what I could, for Maximus and I are something more than acquaintances, and linked by old ties of hospitality. I therefore diverged from my route to pay him a visit, though his estate lies some miles distant from the highway.

[3] On my arrival, he came out himself to meet me. But how changed his walk from the old erect and rapid gait; how changed the old frank regard and hearty voice! His dress, his walk, his humility, his pallor, his mode of speech — all declared the churchman. And then his hair was short and his beard long; he had simple tripod seats; coarse Cilician hangings covered his doors; the beds were featherless, the tables unadorned. His entertainment was as plain as it was kindly, with more vegetable than meat; if any richer dish appeared, it was brought not to him but to his guests. [4] When we rose from table, I asked my neighbours quietly to which of the three orders he belonged; was he monk, clerk, or penitent? They told me he was so popular that his fellow citizens had thrust priestly office upon him against his inclination. When morning came, and the servants and clients were busy catching the animals, I begged a private interview, which he at once granted. I began by congratulations on his new dignity which he had not expected, but my petition followed close upon them. [5] I preferred the prayer of our common friend Turpio; I urged his straits and his extremity; I told how much harder it seemed to the sick man's afflicted friends that his soul should be released from a body still held in the bond of debt. I implored him to remember his new calling and our ancient fellowship; I entreated him at least to accord delay, and so to moderate the barbarous importunities of the collectors, who were barking like dogs about a death-bed;

I asked that if Turpio died, the heirs should be granted the respite of the mourner's year, and that if, as I hoped, he recovered health, he should be left in peace during the time of convalescence from so exhausting a sickness. [6] I had got thus far with my petition when this charitable soul began to weep copious tears, not for the delay in recovering his debt but for the peril of the debtor, and restraining his sobs, cried: 'Far be it from me, a cleric, to demand from a sick man what as an official I should hardly have brought myself to ask from a sound one. But I am so attached to my friend's children also, that, even should he die, I shall require of them not a penny more than the law of our friendship sanctions. You shall write to them in their anxiety, enclosing a letter from me to confirm the authority of yours. Assure them that whatever be the issue of our brother's illness, (and may it prove a happy one!) I give them a whole year's respite; I will also remit that half of the debt represented by the accumulated interest, and content myself with the simple return of the loan.' On this, I rendered thanks to God first, and then to my host, who so respected his good name and conscience; I assured this good friend that he laid up as a treasure in advance for himself what I was empowered to remit to you, and purchased a heavenly kingdom by refusing to drive a hard bargain here on earth. It now remains for you to use every effort for the repayment of the principal, and to return him heartfelt thanks in the name of your young brother and sister, who by reason of their tender age can know nothing of their own good fortune. There is no excuse for you to say, 'I am only a co-heir; the estate has not yet been divided; it is common knowledge that I have come off worse than the other two; my brother and sister are still minors; a husband has yet to be found for her, a guardian for him, and a surety for the guardian when appointed.' Such things are sometimes said with fairness to creditors, but only to the bad ones. You are fortunate in having to deal with a person ready to remit half your debt when he might exact the whole. Do not keep him waiting; he would be within his right if he demanded once more in his resentment all that his lenience had excused. Farewell.

* Translated by Hodgkin, ii. 345.

XXV.

To his friend Domnulus c. A.D. 470*

[1] I CANNOT delay an hour in letting you know of an event which must cause you the greatest pleasure, anxious as you were to learn what success attended the piety and firmness of our metropolitan and father in Christ, Patiens, upon the occasion of his visit to Châlon. He went to ordain a bishop for that town, where discipline had been imperilled after the retirement and subsequent death of the young bishop Paulus. Some of the provincial bishops formed his escort; others had preceded him. When the Episcopal Council met, it found that the opinion of the citizens was not unanimous, and that there existed private factions of the kind so ruinous to the public welfare. [2] The presence of three candidates aggravated these evils. The first had no moral qualification whatever, but only the privilege of ancient lineage, of which he made the most. The second was brought in on the applause of parasites, bribed to support him by the free run of a gourmand's table. The third had a tacit understanding with his supporters, that if he attained the object of his ambition, the plundering of the Church estates should be theirs. [3] Seeing this, the holy Patiens and the holy Euphronius determined that no thought of odium or popularity should move them from the firmness and severity of the saner judgement. They communicated their intention to their fellow bishops in secret conclave assembled, before they made it public. Then, with a complete disregard of the unruly crowd, they suddenly joined their hands upon the holy John, a man conspicuous for an honourable, humane and gentle life, and without the faintest suspicion of what they proposed, or the slightest desire for preferment. [4] This John was first a Reader, and had been a server at the altar from his tender years. In course of time and strenuous duty he became archdeacon, in which office or rank his efficiency kept him back; they would not give him promotion because they did not wish to relieve him of functions he performed so well. Such was the man, a member only of the second order, on whom they laid their hands, to the perplexity of the factions, which had no acclamations ready for one never even put forward for the office, but dared not at the same time say anything against a man whom his own career acclaimed. So, to the stupefaction of the intriguers, the rage of bad citizens, and the delight of good, without one dissentient voice, they two consecrated their new colleague. [5] And now, unless the monasteries of the Jura keep you, where you love to ascend as if in foretaste of a celestial habitation, this letter ought to reach you, bringing the happy news, how these our fathers and protectors opined in accord, or accorded in opinion — whichever you will. Rejoice too in his name whom Euphronius and Patiens consecrated, the one by testimony, the other by laying on of hands, the two together by their concurring judgement; in all which events Euphronius acted as beseemed his

age and the long tenure of his high office, Patiens, for whom no praise could ever be too high, as befitted one who by his ecclesiastical dignity is the first person in our city, and by the priority of the city, the first citizen in all the province. Farewell.

* Partly translated by Guizot, *Hist, de la civilisation en France*, ed. 1846, i. 81-2.

BOOK V

I.

To his friend Petronius A.D. 478

[1] THEY tell me you devote patient but not unpleasant hours to the perusal of my Letters; you who have achieved mastery in studies of widest scope, can yet notice the most insignificant writings of another. This is great, and well becomes the enthusiast for letters. But you are repaid for it by the most perfect kind of fame; for he who is generous enough to praise other men's talent will not fail to find his own conspicuously acknowledged. [2] I commend to you my friend Vindicius, a man of piety, and admirably suited for the dignity of deacon which he has recently attained. I had no time to copy what you wanted from my tablets, as it was incumbent on me to do, so I have entrusted him with these trifling lines just to have something to send; but such is your kindness that you accept any letter of mine as if it were an exceeding great reward. [3] Meanwhile I commend to your notice the affair of this same bearer who is taken to your neighbourhood by a troublesome business in which he finds himself involved. Two possibilities lie before him: he may either enter peacefully upon an inheritance, or he may be entangled in legal proceedings. His paternal uncle has died a bachelor and intestate, and he is taking steps to inherit as next of kin; but factious opposition may bar his way. Against each and every difficulty which may be raised, you, after Christ, are the suppliant's best hope; I am confident that if he finds favour in your sight, his cause will prove victorious. Farewell.

II.

To his friend Nymphidius c. A.D. 472

[1] CLAUDIANUS MAMERTUS, the most accomplished of our Christian philosophers and the most learned man in the world, wrote not long ago a notable work in three volumes on the Nature of the Soul; in its embellishment and final elaboration he employed the method of the disposition and logical arrangement of profane philosophy, demonstrating that the nine Muses are not maidens at all, but Liberal Arts. The attentive reader discovers in his pages the real personified titles of the Nine, who of themselves and for themselves create their proper appellations. For in this book Grammar divides, and Rhetoric declaims; Arithmetic reckons, Geometry metes; Music balances, Logic disputes; Astrology predicts, Architecture constructs; Poetry attunes her measures. [2] Pleased with the novelty of a theory like this, and kindled to enthusiasm by so much ripe wisdom, you had hardly seen the book before you asked to have it for a short time to examine and copy it and to make extracts; you promised to return it quickly, and your request was granted as soon as made. Now, it is far from fitting that I should be deceived in this little matter, and that you should be the deceiver. It is high time for you to send the book back; if you liked it, you must have had enough of it by now; if you dislike it, more than enough. Whichever it be, you have now to clear your reputation. If you mean to delay the return of a volume for which I have to ask you, I shall think that you care more for the parchment than for the work. Farewell.

III.

To [his kinsman] Apollinaris A.D. 472

[1] IT was perhaps only fair that you should retaliate on my loquacious habits by applying the curb of taciturnity. But since in the exchange of kind offices a perfect friendship should dwell less on what it pays than on what it may still be held to owe, I shall loosen the rein of scruple and render you the impudent homage of another letter: of course the impropriety of this is proved by the fact of your continued silence. Do I not deserve to be informed of a brother's fortunes in time of war? Are you really afraid of revealing your hopes or apprehensions to a friend who is anxious on your account?

[2] Your motive in keeping your doings from me can only be that you are not quite sure of me, and fear that I might not rejoice as I ought at news of your good luck, or properly lament your adverse fortunes. May such disloyalty find no place in gentle hearts; may so miserable a suspicion be no longer a blot on the candour of a true affection! For, as your Crispus says, 'to desire and reject the same things, that is the making of firm friends.'

[3] I shall be content if I can hear that you are in good case. My own mind has been depressed by the weight of a troubled conscience; a violent fever brought me almost to death's door. As you know, the cares of an august profession have been imposed on me, unworthy though I am of such an honour. And it has been misery to me to have to teach what I have never myself learned, and to preach goodness before practising it; like a barren tree, I bear no fruit of good works, but scatter idle words like leaves.

[4] And now pray for me that my future life may prove it to have been worth while to come back almost from the underworld; for now a continuance in past errors would make this renewal of life the beginning of my soul's destruction. You see that I hide nothing from you, and I may fairly ask in return how things fare with you. I have done the part of friendship; it remains for you to act as you think right. But remember that by God's grace we recognize no end to a comradeship which we gave our hearts to begin; it must be like laws of Attica, graven eternally on brass. Farewell.

IV.

To [his kinsman] Simplicius (No indication of date)

[1] YOUR failure to answer my letter I impute to a friendship not beyond reproach, but in a greater degree, to an uneasy conscience. For unless I do you an injustice, your answer is withheld less from perversity than from a sense of shame. But if you continue to close and bolt your door against my communications, I shall not be sorry to oblige you with the peace which you desire. At the same time I must tell you plainly that the instigators of the wrong thus done me are to be found among those nearest to you.

[2] For it is no injustice to attribute all that is hateful in your silence to the spoiled humours of your sons, who, secure in your affection, submit with impatience to my assiduity. It is incumbent on you to admonish them by your parental authority to be more amiable henceforward in their behaviour, and so sweeten to me the bitterness of their past offence. Farewell.

V.

To his friend Syagrius (No indication of date)

[1] **THOUGH** you descend in the male line from an ancestor who was not only consul — that is immaterial — but also (and here is the real point) a poet, from one whose literary achievement would certainly have gained him the honour of a statue, had it not been secured for him already by his official honours, — witness the finished verse that he has left us; and though on this side of his activity his descendants have proved themselves no wise degenerate, yet here we find you picking up a knowledge of the German tongue with the greatest of ease; the feat fills me with indescribable amazement.

[2] I can recall the thoroughness of your education in liberal studies; I know with what a fervid eloquence you used to declaim before the rhetor. With such a training, how have you so quickly mastered the accent of a foreign speech, that after having your Virgil caned into you, and absorbing into your very system the opulent and flowing style of the varicose orator of Arpinum, you soar out like a young falcon from the ancient eyrie ?

[3] You can hardly conceive how amused we all are to hear that, when you are by, not a barbarian but fears to perpetrate a barbarism in his own language. Old Germans bowed with age are said to stand astounded when they see you interpreting their German letters; they actually choose you for arbiter and mediator in their disputes. You are a new Solon in the elucidation of Burgundian law; like a new Amphion you attune a new lyre, an instrument of but three strings. You are popular on all sides; you are sought after; your society gives universal pleasure. You are chosen as adviser and judge; as soon as you utter a decision it is received with respect. In body and mind alike these people are as stiff as stocks and very hard to form; yet they delight to find in you, and equally delight to learn, a Burgundian eloquence and a Roman spirit.

[4] Let me end with a single caution to the cleverest of men. Do not allow these talents of yours to prevent you from devoting whatever time you can spare to reading. Let your critical taste determine you to preserve a balance between the two languages, holding fast to the one to prevent us making fun of you, and practising the other that you may have the laugh of us. Farewell.

VI.

To [his kinsman] Apollinaris A.D. 474-5

[1] As soon as summer began to yield to autumn and the fears of my Arvernians were in some degree moderated by the approach of winter, I was able to make a journey to Vienne. There I found, in great tribulation, your brother Thaumastus, who alike by virtue of his age and his descent inspires me with feelings of affection and respect. Afflicted already by the recent loss of his wife, he was no less troubled on your account, fearing that the gang of barbarians and officers about the court might trump up some malicious charge against you.

[2] According to his report, venomous tongues have been secretly at work, whispering in the ear of the ever-victorious Chilperic, our Master of the Soldiery, that your machinations are chiefly responsible for the attempt to win the town of Vaison for the new Emperor. If you are exposed to any suspicion on this score, inform me at once by return, that we may not lose any possible advantage which might accrue from my presence or the exertion of my interest. If in your opinion a real danger exists, I shall make it my special business either by conciliating the royal favour, to ensure your safety, or by discovering the extent of the king's anger to make you see the need for greater caution in future. Farewell.

VII.

To his [kinsman] Thaumastus A.D. 474-5

[1] AT last we have discovered who the villains are who have accused your brother before our tetrarch for siding with the partisans of the new Emperor — unless, indeed, the stealthy steps of the informers have deceived the proved sagacity of our friends. They are the wretches, as you yourself have heard me say upon the spot, whom Gaul endures with groans these many years, and who make the barbarians themselves seem merciful by comparison. They are the scoundrels whom even the formidable fear. These are the men whose peculiar province it seems to be to calumniate, to denounce, to intimidate, and to plunder.

[2] These are they who in quiet times make parade of their affairs, in peace of their ample spoils, in war of their evasions, over their cups of their victories. These are the creatures who will spin out a case if they are called in, and block its progress if they are kept out; who grow offensive if reminded of their duty, and if they once pocket your fee, forget their obligation. These are the fellows who buy themselves a lawsuit to sell their mediation; who control the appointment of arbitrators, dictate their sentence, and tear it up whenever it suits them to do so; who incite litigants to sue, and hold the hearing in suspense; who hale off the convicted, and force back into the court those who would fain escape by settlement. These are the men who, asked a favour opposed by none, will promise with reluctance what shame forbids them to refuse, and moan if they have to keep their word.

[3] These are they at whose appearance the world's great scoundrels would confess themselves surpassed, Narcissus, Asiaticus, Massa, Marcellus, Carus, Parthenius, Licinus, Pallas, and all their peers. These are they who grudge quiet folks their peace, the soldier his pay, the courier his fare, the merchant his market, the ambassador his gifts, the farmer of tolls his dues, the provincial his farm, the municipality its flamen's dignity, the controllers of revenue their weights, the receivers their measures, the registrars their salary, the accountants their fees, the bodyguards their presents, towns their truces, taxgatherers their taxes, the clergy the respect men pay them, the nobles their lineage, superiors their seats in council, equals equality, the official his jurisdiction, the ex-official his distinctions, scholars their schools, masters their stipends, and finished pupils their accomplishments.

[4] These are the upstarts drunken with new wealth 4 (I spare you no sordid detail), who by their intemperate use betray their unfamiliarity with riches. They like to march under arms to a banquet, they will attend a funeral in white, and wear mourning at a marriage festival; they go to church in furs, and hear a litany in beaver. No race of men, no rank, no epoch is ever to their liking. In the market they behave like Scyths; in the chamber they are vipers,

at feasts buffoons. While they are harpies in exaction, in conversation you might as well talk to statues, or address a question to brute beasts. In negotiation slow as snails, they are sharp as money-lenders at a contract. In comprehension they are stones, in judgement stocks; swift as flame in anger, hard as iron in forgiveness, pards in friendship, bears in humour, foxes in deceit, overbearing as bulls, fierce as Minotaurs in destruction.

[5] They believe in the unsettlement of affairs; the more troubled the time the firmer their faith in its advantage. Cowardice and a bad conscience destroy their nerves; they are lions in the palace and hares in camp; they dread treaties for fear of having to disgorge, and war for fear of having to fight. Let them but scent from afar a rusty purse, and you will see them fix on it the eyes of Argus, Briareus' hands, the Sphinx's claws; they will bring into play the perjuries of Laomedon, the subtleties of Ulysses, Sinon's wiles; they will stick to it with the staunchness of Polymestor and the loyalty of a Pygmalion.

[6] Such are the morals with which they hope to crush a man both powerful and good. And what can one man do, encompassed on every side by slanderers whose venomous lips distort each word he says? What should he do when nature meant him for honest company, but fortune cast him among thieves whose evil communications would make Phalaris more bloodthirsty, Midas more covetous, Ancus vainer, Tarquin haughtier, Tiberius craftier, Gaius more dangerous, Claudius more slothful, Nero more corrupt, Galba more avaricious, Otho more reckless, Vitellius more prodigal, Domitian more ferocious?

[7] But we have one consolation in our trouble; fair Tanaquil restrains our Lucumon: she waits her chance, and rids his ears by a few coaxing words of all the poison with which the whisperers have filled them. You ought to know that we owe it to her interest if up till now the mind of our common patron has not been poisoned against our brothers by these younger Cibyrates; God willing, it never will be, while the present power holds Lyons for the German race, and our present Agrippina exerts her moderating influence on her Germanicus. Farewell.

VIII.

To his friend Secundinus c. A.D. 477

[1] WHAT a long time it is since we used to read your masterly hexameters with outspoken admiration! Your verse was equally full of life, whether you were celebrating a wedding, or the fall of great beasts before the prowess of kings. But even you yourself would admit that you have never done anything better than your last poem in triple trochaics constructed in hendecasyllabic metre. [2] What fine malice I found in it; what style, what pungent eloquence! it was impossible for me to keep my enthusiasm to myself. As for your subjects, you were fearless; only the necessity for respecting persons seemed to check somewhat the lightning of your genius and the free course of your irony. I think the Consul Ablabius never thrust more brilliantly at the family life of Constantine with a couplet, or gave more stinging point to the famous distich secretly appended to the palace gates:

‘Who wants back Saturn and his golden age?
We have the diamond age — Neronian.’

You remember that, when this was written, Constantine had done to death his consort Fausta in a hot bath and his son Crispus with cold poison. [3] I would not have you deterred by anything from your bold and vivid use of satire. You will find the flourishing vices of our tyrant-ridden citizens a rich mine to exploit. For the folk whom we set down as fortunate according to the lights of our age or our locality comport themselves with such an arrogance that the future will not readily forget their names. The infamy of vice and the praise of virtue are both alike eternal. Farewell.

IX.

To his friend Aquilinus c. A.D. 477

[1] I FIND it certainly to my advantage, friend capable of every virtue, and I trust you will feel the same, that we should have as many ties to bind us as we have reasons for being united. Such ties are hereditary in our families; I do but recall the experience of the past. Let me summon as my witnesses our grandfathers Rusticus and Apollinaris, whom like fortunes and aversions united in a noble friendship. They had a similar taste in letters, their characters were alike; they had enjoyed similar dignities and undergone the same dangers. They were equally agreed in detesting the inconstancy of Constantine, the irresolution of Jovinus, the perfidy of Gerontius; both singling out the fault proper to each person, and both finding in Dardanus the sum of all existing vices.

[2] If we come down to the years between their time and our own, we find our fathers brought up together from their tender youth until they came to manhood. In Honorius' reign, as tribunes and secretaries, they served abroad together in such close comradeship that among all the grounds of their agreement the fact that their own fathers had been friends appeared to be the least. Under Valentinian, one of the two ruled all Gaul, the other only a region of it; even so they managed to balance their dignities with a fraternal equilibrium; the one who held the lower rank had seniority in office. [3] And now the old tradition comes down to us grandsons, whose dearest care it should be to prevent the affection of our parents and our forefathers from suffering any diminution in our persons. But there are ties of all kinds, over and above that of this hereditary friendship, which needs must bring us close together; we are linked by equality of years no less than by identity of birthplace; we played and learned together, shared the same discipline and relaxation, and were trained by the same rule. [4] So then, for what remains of life now that our years touch upon the threshold of age, let us under the providence of God be two persons with but a single mind; and let us instil into our sons the same mutual regard: let us see that the objects which they desire and refuse, pursue or shun, are the same. It would indeed crown our vows if the boys who bear the honoured names of Rusticus and Apollinaris renewed within their breasts the hearts of those illustrious ancestors. Farewell.

X.

To his friend Sapaudus (No indication of date)

[1] AMONG all the virtues of the illustrious Pragmatius, I place this first, that his enthusiasm for letters inspires him with an ardent admiration for you. He finds in you the last traces of the antique industry and accomplishment; and it is only right that he should show you favour, since few men owe a greater debt to literature than he. [2] When he was a young man his persuasive eloquence won such applause in the schools of rhetoric, that Priscus Valerianus, himself reputed for his oratorical skill, made him his son-in-law, and adopted him into his patrician family. Besides his youth, his birth and means, Pragmatius had good looks, and an engaging modesty which enlisted people's sympathy. Even at that age he was of a serious disposition and felt the shame of making his way by a handsome face when he would have been better content to attract by his qualities of mind and character. And indeed a beautiful nature is the best key to men's hearts; bodily charm is transient; as years advance and life wanes, it falls away. When Priscus Valerianus was made Prefect of the Gauls, his opinion of his adopted son remained unaltered, indeed he clung to it with pertinacity. He associated him with himself in council-chamber and court, resolved that the accomplishments which had been admitted to share his family life should also share in the enhancement of his dignity. [3] Your own style is so admirable and lucid, that far from surpassing it, the great orators, with all their qualities, can hardly attain its level — not the logical Palaemon, the austere Gallic, the opulent Delphidius, the methodical Agroecius, the virile Alcimus, the charming Adelphius, the rigid Magnus, the agreeable Victorius. It is far from my desire to cajole or flatter you with this hyperbolic list of rhetors, but in my opinion only Quintilian in his force and his intensity, or Palladius with his splendid manner, can fairly be compared with you; and even that comparison I should not urge — I should merely yield it acquiescence. [4] If after you there shall be any other adept of Roman eloquence, he will be deeply grateful to that friendship with Valerianus, and if he is half a man, will long to be admitted as a third to your society. Such a wish could never prove a source of annoyance to you, since there are now, alas! so few who have any respect for polite studies. And it is a defect rooted and fixed in human nature, to think little of the artist when you know nothing of the art. Farewell.

XI.

To his friend Potentinus c. A. D. 467

[1] I AM your devoted friend, and my devotion was born neither of caprice nor error. Before I linked myself to you in close friendship, I pondered well; it is my habit to choose first, and give my heart afterwards. 'But what on earth ', you will say, 'did you see to like in me?' [2] I will answer gladly and in two words: gladly, for you are my friend; briefly, because my space is small. What I respect in your career is this; you do so many things that every reasonable man would like to imitate. You cultivate your estates as an expert; you build with the utmost method, you are an unerring hunter, your hospitality is perfection, your wit is of the first order, your judgements are absolutely fair; you are sincere in persuasion, very slow to wrath, very quickly appeased, very loyal after reconciliation. [3] I shall rejoice if when he grows up my young Apollinaris copies these several qualities; it shall not be for want of urging on my part if he fails. Let Christ but grant me success in my plans for his training and instruction, and it will not be my least satisfaction to have borrowed from your character the chief ensample of life which I set before him. Farewell.

XII.

To his friend Calminius A. D. 474

[1] It is no foolish pride of mine, but this alien dominance which makes my letters so few and far between; do not expect me to speak out; your own fears, similar to mine, explain the need for silence. One thing, however, I may freely lament, that sundered as we are by this whirlwind of warring forces, we have practically no chance of meeting one another. Alas! your harassed country never sees you except when the alien's formidable command bids you hide yourself in armour, while we on our side are covered by our ramparts. At such time you are led against your native land, an unwilling captive, to empty your quiver against us while your eyes fill with tears. We bear you no ill will; we know that your prayers are otherwise directed than your missiles. [2] But as from time to time, without ratification of any treaty some semblance of a truce opens for us a casement on our darkness, bright with hope of liberation, I entreat you to let us hear from you as often as you can; for be sure that our besieged citizens preserve the kindest thoughts of you and manage to forget the hateful part you play as their besieger. Farewell.

XIII.

To his friend Pannychius * A. D. 469

[1] HAVE you heard that Seronatus is coming back from Toulouse? If you have not (and I hardly think you have), learn it from these presents. Evanthius is hurrying to Clausetia, making passable the parts of the road in the contractor's hands, and clearing it wherever it is choked with fallen leaves. When he finds any part of the surface full of holes, he rushes in a panic with spadefuls of soil and fills them with his own hands; his business is to conduct his monster from the valley of the Tarn, like the pilot-fish that leads the bulky whale through shoals and rocky waters. [2] But lo! the monster, swift to wrath and slow to move by reason of his bulk, no sooner appears like a dragon uncoiling from his cave, than he makes immediate descent upon the pallid folk of Javols, whose cheeks are pale with fear. They had scattered on all sides, abandoning their townships; and now he drains them dry by new and unparalleled imposts, or takes them in the mesh of calumny; even when they have paid their annual tribute more than once, he refuses to let these unhappy victims return to their homes. [3] The sure sign of his impending arrival in any district is the appearance of prisoners in troops, dragging their chains along. The anguish of these men is joy to him; their hunger is his food; and he finds his peculiar pleasure in subjecting them to ignominy before their sentence. He compels the men to grow long hair, and off cuts the hair of the women. If here and there a prisoner receives a pardon, it is through his vanity or his corruption, and never through his mercy. Not even the prince of orators or the prince of poets could describe so dire a creature: Marcus of Arpinum and Publius of Mantua would be impotent alike. This pest (whose treasons God confound!) is said to be now on his way; anticipate his onset by salutary precautions; if there is talk of suits, compound with the litigious enemy; provide yourself with guarantees against new imposts, and prevent this worst of men from compromising the affairs of worthy people by his favour or ruining them by his enmity. I will sum up in these words my opinion of Seronatus: others fear some crushing blow at the brigand's hands; to me his very benefits are suspicious. Farewell.

* Translated by Hodgkin, ii. 338; and Fertig, i. p. 20.

XIV.

To his friend Aper A.D. 472-3

[1] ARE you taking your ease in your sunny Baiae, where the sulphurous water rushes from hollows of the porous rock, and the baths are so beneficial to those who suffer either in the lungs or liver? Or are you ‘camped among the mountain castles’, looking for a place of refuge, and perhaps embarrassed by the number of strongholds you find to choose from? Whatever the cause of your delay, whether you are making holiday or going about your business, I feel sure that the thought of the forthcoming Rogations will bring you back to town. [2] It was Mamertus our father in God and bishop who first designed, arranged, and introduced the ceremonial of these prayers, setting a precedent we should all revere, and making an experiment which has proved of the utmost value. We had public prayers of a sort before, but (be it said without offence to the faithful) they were lukewarm, irregular, perfunctory, and their fervour was destroyed by frequent interruption for refreshment; and as they were chiefly for rain or for fine weather, to say the least of it, the potter and the market-gardener could never decently attend together! [3] But in the Rogations which our holy father has instituted and conferred upon us, we fast, we pray with tears, we chant the psalms. To such a feast, where penitential sighs are heard from all the congregation, where heads are humbly bowed, and forms fall prostrate, I invite you; and if I rightly gauge your spirit, you will only respond the quicker because you are called in place of banquets to a festival of tears. Farewell.

XV.

To his friend Ruricius (No indication of date)

[1] THE usual salutations over, I at once urge upon your notice the claims of our bookseller, because I have made discriminating and unbiased trial of the man, proving him to my complete satisfaction at once loyal in sentiment and alert in service to our common master — yourself. He brings in person the manuscript of the Heptateuch all written out by his own hand with the utmost neatness and rapidity, though I read it through myself, and made corrections. He also brings a volume of the Prophets; this was edited by him in my absence, and with his own hand purged of corrupt additions. The scholar who had promised him assistance in reading out from another text, was only able to perform his task in part; I fancy illness prevented him from carrying out his undertaking. [2] It remains for you by encouragement or promise of your influence to show appropriate recognition of a servant who has done his best to satisfy, and deserves to succeed; and if this is in proportion to his arduous task, he will soon begin to look for his reward. All that I ask for the moment is your benevolence towards him; it is for you to decide what he deserves, though indeed I think the good opinion of his master is far nearer to his heart than any recompense. Farewell.

XVI.

To [*his wife*] *Papianilla** A. D. 474

[1] THE moment the Quaestor Licinianus, coming from Ravenna, had crossed the Alps and set foot on Gaulish soil, he sent a message in advance to make it known that he was bearer of imperial letters patent conferring the title of Patrician on Ecdicius. I know that your brother's honours delight you no less than my own; considering his years, he has attained this one very early; considering his deserts, very late. For he earned the dignity he is now to receive long ago, by service in the field and not by purchase; and though only a private citizen, poured into the treasury no mere contribution, but sums like spoils of war. [2] Julius Nepos, true Emperor in character no less than prowess, has done nobly in keeping the pledged word of his predecessor Anthemius that the labours of your brother should be recognized; his action is all the more laudable for the promptitude with which he has fulfilled a promise reiterated so often by another. In future the best men in the State will feel able, nay, rather, will feel bound, to spend their strength with the utmost ardour for the commonweal, assured that even should the prince who promised die, the Empire itself will be responsible, and pay the debt due to their devotion and self-sacrifice. [3] Knowing your affectionate nature, I am convinced that even in the very midst of our adversities this news will bring great consolation, and that not even the imminent dread of siege will divert your mind from the path of a joy common to us all. For I am sure you were never quite so gratified by any of my own honours, in which you legally shared; good wife as you have always been, you are the best sister that man ever had. That is why I have not lost an instant in sending my letter of congratulation on this enhancement of dignity which Christ has permitted to your family. I satisfy alike your solicitude and your brother's modesty. He will be sure to say nothing of this promotion; but even if you did not know his unassuming nature, you would not blame him for lack of brotherly feeling. [4] As far as I am concerned, I derive great satisfaction from these new distinctions which you have awaited with unconcealed impatience; but I derive a greater yet from the brotherly union which exists between Ecdicius and myself. It is my ardent wish that our children and his may live in equal harmony; and I pray in our common name that just as we of this generation were born into prefectorian families, and have been enabled by divine favour to elevate them to patrician rank, so they in their turn may exalt the patrician to the consular dignity. [5] Little Roscia, our joint care, sends you her love; she has the rare advantage of being brought up by her grandmother and her aunts, who temper their great indulgence with strictness, forming her character, yet not asking too much of her tender years. Farewell.

* Translated by Hodgkin, ii. 346-8.

XVII.

*To his friend Eriphius * A. D. 461-7*

[1] You are the same man still, my dear Eriphius; the pleasures of the chase, the amenities of town or country are never allowed to lure you so far that in your hour the charm of letters will not win you back. That devotion it is which bids you tolerate even me, whom you are good enough to describe as redolent of the Muses. If you were in a frivolous mood when you wrote so, you jest at my expense; if in sober earnest, your regard for me has blinded your eyes, for it needs no demonstration to prove your judgement at fault. Really, you go much too far when you use of me expressions hardly appropriate to a Homer or a Virgil. [2] I leave these kindly exaggerations, and pass to the proper subject of my letter. You bid me send you the verses which I was weak enough to compose at the request of your most distinguished father-in-law, who understands the art of so living with his fellows as to command or obey with equal ease. Blame yourself if words run away with me, and I relate an insignificant event at greater length than it deserves; you insist on a picture of the scene and all that occurred, since your illness prevented you from being with us. [3] We had assembled at the tomb of S. Justus; the annual procession before daylight was over, attended by a vast crowd of both sexes which even that great church could not hold with all its cincture of galleries. After Vigils were ended, chanted alternately by the monks and clerics, the congregation separated; we could not go far off, as we had to be at hand for the next service at Tierce, when the priests were to celebrate the Mass. [4] We felt oppressed by the crowding in a confined space, and by the great number of lights which had been brought in. It was still almost summer, and the night was so sultry that it suffocated us, imprisoned as we were in that steaming atmosphere; only the first freshness of the autumn dawn brought some welcome relief. Groups of the different classes dispersed in various directions, the principal citizens assembling at the monument of Syagrius, which is hardly a bowshot from the church. Some of us sat down under an old vine, the stems of which were trained trellis-wise and covered with leaves and drooping fronds; others sat on the grass odorous with the scent of flowers. [5] The talk was enlivened with amusing jests and pleasantries; above all (and what a blessed thing it was!), there was not a word about officials or taxes, not an informer among us to betray, not a syllable worth betrayal. Every one was free to tell any story worth relating and of a proper tenor; it was a most appreciative audience; the vein of gaiety was not allowed to spoil the distinct relation of each tale. After a time, we felt a certain slackness through keeping still so long, and we voted for some more active amusement. [6] We soon split into two groups, according to our ages: one shouted for the ball, the other for the board-game, both of which were to be had. I was the leader of the ball-players; you know that book

and ball are my twin companions. In the other group, the chief figure was our brother Domnicius, that most engaging and attractive of men: there he was, rattling some dice which he had got hold of, as if he sounded a trumpet-call to play. The rest of us had a great game with a party of students, doing our best at the healthful exercise with limbs which sedentary occupations made much too stiff for running. [7] And now the illustrious Filimatus sturdily flung himself into the squadrons of the players, like Virgil's hero 'daring to set his hand to the task of youth'; he had been a splendid player himself in his younger years. But over and over again he was forced from his position among the stationary players by the shock of some runner from the middle, and driven into the midfield where the ball flew past him, or was thrown over his head; and he failed to intercept or parry it. More than once he fell prone, and had to pick himself up from such collapses as best he could; naturally he was the first to withdraw from the stress of the game in a state of internal inflammation, out of breath from exercise and suffering sharp pains in the side from the swollen fibres of his liver. [8] Thereupon I left off too. It was done from delicacy; if I stopped at the same time, my brother would be spared a feeling of mortification at being so soon exhausted. Well, while we were sitting down, he found himself in such a perspiration that he called for water to bathe his face. They brought it, with a shaggy towel which had been washed after yesterday's use, and had been swinging on a line worked by a pulley near the doors of the porter's lodge. [9] As Filimatus was leisurely drying his cheeks, he said: 'I wish you would dictate a pair of couplets in honour of a cloth which has done me such a noble turn.' 'Very well,' I replied. 'But you must get my name in,' he rejoined. I said that there would be no difficulty in that. 'Dictate away, then.' I smiled; 'I would have you know', I said, 'that the Muses are upset if I frequent their company before witnesses.' At this he burst out in his explosive but delightful way (you know his ardent nature, and what an inexhaustible flow of wit he has): 'Beware, my lord Sollius! Apollo may be still more upset if you tempt his pupils to secret interviews all alone.' You can imagine the applause aroused by a retort as neat as it was instantaneous. [10] I wasted no more time, but called up his secretary, who was at hand with his tablets, and dictated the following epigram:

'At dawn, or when the seething bath invites, or when the hot chase beads the brow, may goodly Filimatus with this cloth cherish his face till all the perspiration flows into the thirsty fleece.'

Our good friend Epiphanius the secretary had hardly taken down the lines, when they came to tell us that our time was up, and that the bishop was leaving his retreat; we therefore rose to go. [11] You must not be too critical of verses written thus to order. It is another matter with the longer poem which some time ago you two asked me to write in a hyperbolical and figured style on the man who bore good fortune ill. I shall send it off to-morrow for your private revision. If you both approve of it, you can then publish it under your auspices; if you condemn, you can tear it up and forgive me as best you can.

Farewell.

* The greater part translated by Guizot, *Hist, de la civilisation en France*, ed. 1846, i. 95-7; and by Fertig, Part ii, pp. 39-40.

XVIII.

To his friend Attalus (No indication of date)

[1] I WAS delighted to hear that you have consented to preside over the destinies of Autun. I am glad for several reasons; first, you are my friend; second, you are a just man; third, you are not to be trifled with; fourth, you will be quite near us. You will now have not only the inclination to help our people and further their affairs, but the duty and the power of doing so. In my satisfaction at seeing an old acquaintance invested with new authority, I am already looking round for objects on which you may exercise your benevolence. For understand, I feel so sure of it, that if I fail to find anything to ask for, I shall expect you to make me a suggestion yourself. Farewell.

XIX.

To his friend Pudens c. A. D. 472

[1] THE son of your nurse has eloped with the daughter of mine. It is a shameful action, and one which would have destroyed our friendly relations, had I not learned at once that you knew nothing of the man's intention. But though you are thus acquitted in advance, you yet do not scruple to ask that this crying offence should be allowed to go unpunished. I can only agree on one condition: that you promote the ravisher from his original servile state, by changing your relation to him from that of master to that of patron. [2] The woman is already free; but she will only be regarded as a lawful wife instead of a mere concubine if our criminal, whose cause you espouse, ceases to be your dependant and becomes your client, assuming the status of a freeman in place of that of a *colonus*. Nothing short of these terms or these amends will in the least condone the affront. I only yield to your request and your protestation of friendship on condition that, if as ravisher he is not to be bond to Justice, Liberty shall make him a free bridegroom. Farewell.

XX.

To his friend Pastor A. D. 461-7

[1] YOUR absence from yesterday's business of the Municipal Council is thought by most to have been intentional; they suspect that you wished to avoid the burden of an embassy which might be laid upon your shoulders. I congratulate you on being so eligible a person as to live in constant fear of being elected. Your efficiency commands my applause, your prudence my admiration, your happy fortune my congratulations; [2] in fine, I wish no better lot than yours to every friend I love as well. Many men are possessed by a detestable thirst for popularity; you see them take the chief citizens by the hand, lead them aside from a meeting, and embrace them in a corner, promising good offices for which no one asked; you see them, in the hope of nomination as public envoys, refusing the usual travelling-allowance, and insisting on going at their own charges; secretly canvassing every member in turn, so that when the council meets, they may be sure of a unanimous and public invitation. [3] The consequence is that though people are pleased enough to be served for nothing, they find it in the long run pleasanter to choose a more modest representative, even at the cost of paying all expenses; the self-assertion of the volunteer becomes too irksome, even though his tenure of office throws no burden on the town. Since, then, the intentions of our best citizens are now no secret to you, acquiesce, and meet their wishes; you have given proof enough of modesty; test the warm feelings of those who invite you. Your failure to appear was put down to your discretion; a repetition of such conduct would expose you to the charge of indifference. [4] Remember, too, that if you do go to Arles, you will be able to greet your venerable mother and your affectionate brothers on the way; you will greet the natal soil that returns love for love, and is doubly delightful when unexpectedly revisited. Then think how convenient it will be to see your agent, and to get even a passing glimpse of your own home, your vines, your olives, your cornfields, and the house itself. Though our envoy, you will yet be travelling for your own pleasure; altogether, this journey on city business should suit you admirably, and you will be able to thank the community for an excellent chance of getting a sight of your own people. Farewell.

XXI.

To his friends Sacerdos and Justinus (No indication of date)

YOUR uncle Victorious, whose varied learning and eminence we so revered, always wrote with power, especially when he wrote verse. As you know, I too have been the servant of the Muses from my youth up. You are your uncle's heirs no less in merit than in law. But by right of poetry I am as much his kin as you by right of blood; we ought all of us, therefore, to share in the succession according to our several affinities. So keep the property for yourselves, but hand the poems over to me. Farewell.

BOOK VI

[1] BLESSED be the Holy Spirit and Father of Almighty God that we have you, father of fathers, bishop of bishops and the second James of your age, to look down upon every member of the Church from the eminence of your charity, as it were from another Jerusalem exalted high as the first; you, the consoler of all the feeble, the counsellor of all men, whose trust you so well deserve. And what answer can I make to one thus venerated, I who am as vile dust foul with sin? [2] Suffering deep need of your salutary converse, yet standing in great awe, I am driven by the memory of my guilty life to cry to you, as once that great colleague of yours cried to the Lord: 'Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord.' But if my dread is not tempered by love, I fear that I may be abandoned like the Gerasenes, and that you may go forth from my borders. Rather, for my greater profit, will I seek to bind you with the conditional prayer of that other leper: 'If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean;' in which words he both declared his need and published abroad his faith. [3] For though you are beyond all doubt first of all bishops in the wide world; though even the throng of your colleagues submits to the prerogative which you enjoy, and trembles at your adverse judgement; though the hearts of the oldest among them are as the hearts of little children compared with yours; though your hard vigils in the spiritual warfare at Lerins, and the nine lustres passed in your apostolic see have made you a veteran honoured in the camps of the Church, and the captain of our vanguard whom every soldier acclaims — yet you never hesitate to leave the first line awhile and those who fight before it; you do not despise camp-follower and servant, but to the meanest of the baggage-train, who for their ignorant simplicity still sit beside the loads of the flesh, you carry the standard of the cross which you have borne so long, and to their stricken souls extend the Word, as it were a hand of rescue. [4] They say, dear veteran leader, that you gather to you even the enemy's wounded, sounding the retreat from Sin to Christ after the manner of a consummate trumpeter, and like the Shepherd of the Gospel feel more joy over those who abandon the way of despair than over those who have never left the path of safety. O norm of all right conduct, column of all virtues, and (if a sinful man may dare to praise) fount of sweetness, truest because most holy, you did not shrink from touching with the finger of exhortation the sores of a most despicable worm; you did not grudge the food of admonition to a soul frail and fasting, or from the store-house of your deep love refuse me the measure of the humility I am now to pursue. [5] Pray for me, that I may know at length how vast the burden is that weighs upon my shoulders. Wretched man that I am, by the continuance of my transgressions brought to such a pass, that I must now intercede for the sins of the people — I for whom their own supplications, more innocent than mine, should hardly obtain the divine

mercy. How shall a sick man give others medicine? How shall one in a fever presume to feel a pulse that beats more strongly than his own? What deserter has the right to sing the praise of military science? What lover of high living is fit to read a lecture to the abstemious? Yet I, the unworthiest of men, must preach what I cannot practise. Condemned out of my own mouth when I do not fulfil my own injunctions, I must daily pronounce sentence upon myself. But if like a new Moses, not less, but of a later age, you intercede before Our Lord, with whom you are daily crucified, for all the multitude of my sins, I shall not living descend further into hell, nor longer, inflamed by the incentives of carnal sin, light alien flame on the altar of the Lord. For one guilty as I, there can be no glory to weigh down the scale; how abundantly shall I then rejoice if your prayers avail to restore my inward man, not indeed to perfect health and its reward, but to the healing of the heart's wounds, and pardon. Deign to keep me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

* Translated by Chaix, i. 449; and Germain, p. 103 f.

II.

To the Lord Bishop Pragmatius A. D. 472

[1] THE venerable matron Eutropia, known to me as a woman of the most exemplary merit, is in the greatest trouble. Frugality and charity dispute her days; her fastings feed the poor; so watchful is she in Christ's service, that sin is all in her which she allows to slumber. But as if the sorrow of her widowhood were not enough, she now finds herself threatened with a lawsuit. Her first instinct in her two-fold affliction is to obtain the perfect remedy of your consolation; if you only see her, she will be equally grateful, whether you regard her coming as a short journey or as a lasting proof of her respect. [2] Now Eutropia is being harassed by the subtleties, to use no harsher word, of our venerable brother the presbyter Agrippinus. He is taking advantage of her woman's inexperience, and continually troubling the serene surface of her spiritual nature by windy gusts of worldliness. And all the while this poor woman is bleeding from two fresh wounds which time has added to the old deep wound of widowhood; for her son was first taken from her, and very soon afterwards her grandson also. [3] I did my best to compose this matter; a friendship of long standing gave me an old claim to be heard, and my sacred calling a new one; I let them know what I thought; I used persuasion where I could, and entreaty at every turn. You may be surprised to learn that throughout the woman and not the man was the first to accept suggestions for agreement. And though the father boasts that in his paternal quality he is in the best position to serve his daughter's interests, the daughter herself prefers her mother-in-law's most generous proposals. [4] The dispute, only half appeased, is now to be carried before you. Pacify the adversaries by your episcopal authority, show their suspicious souls the truth, and bring about a reconciliation. You may take my word for it that the holy Eutropia will count it almost victory if even at the cost of heavy sacrifices she can escape from litigation. Though two families are parties to the quarrel, I fancy you will soon decide which of them deserves the name of quarrelsome. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

III.

To the Lord Bishop Leontius A. D. 472

[1] You have not yet seen fit to encourage my first steps in our sacred profession, or to pour the rain of heavenly doctrine on the drought of my worldly ignorance; but I do not so far forget myself as to expect an equipoise in the courtesies which we render to each other. I am of small account; you are easily above me in years, in seniority, in the precedence enjoyed by your see, in your wide learning, in the treasure of your righteousness; if I expected you to notice every letter, I should deserve no notice at all. [2] I therefore make no imputation against your silence; these lines merely introduce the bearer, and give me the excuse for sending them. If on this journey he can only have the assurance of your prompt favour, a broad harbour of safety will be open to his affairs. His business relates to a will. He does not know the importance of his own documents; the object of his expedition is to get the advice of skilled counsel. He will think it the next best thing to winning his case if it is proved to be lost on its merits; his one desire is to avoid the charge of negligence, and of not sufficiently protecting family interests. My request on his behalf is simply this, that if the lawyers will not deign to give him proper advice, you should exert the authority of your sacred office to extract it from them without delay. Deign to keep me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

IV.

To the Lord Bishop Lupus c. A. D. 472

[1] I RENDER you the observance always due to the incomparable eminence of your apostolic life, still always due, however regularly paid. But I have a further object, to commend to your notice a long-standing trouble of the bearers, in whose case I have recently become interested. They have journeyed a great distance into Auvergne at this unfavourable season, and the journey has been undertaken in vain. A female relative of theirs was carried off during a raid of the Vargi, as the local bandits are styled. They received trustworthy information, and following an old but reliable clue, discovered that some years ago she had been brought here before being removed elsewhere. [2] As a matter of fact, the unfortunate woman had been sold in open market before their arrival, and is now actually under the roof and the control of my man of affairs. A certain Prudens, rumoured to be now resident in Troyes, had attested the contract for the vendors, whose names are unknown to us; his signature is to be seen on the deed of purchase as that of a suitable witness of the transaction. By the fortunate fact of your presence, you will be able, if you think fit, to see the parties confronted, and use your personal influence to investigate the whole course of the outrage. I gather from what the bearers say, that the offence is aggravated by the death of a man upon the road as a sequel to the abduction. [3] But as the aggrieved parties who wish to bring this scandalous affair to light are anxious for the remedy of your judgement and for your neighbourly aid, it seems to me that it would no less become your character than your position to bring about an equitable arrangement, thus affording the one side some comfort in affliction, and saving the other from an impending danger. Such a qualified decision would be most beneficial to all concerned; it would diminish the misery of one party and the guilt of the other, while it would give both of them a greater feeling of security. Otherwise, in regions and times like these of ours, the last state of the dispute may well prove no better than the beginning. Deign to keep me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

V.

To the Lord Bishop Theoplastus (No indication of date)

WHOEVER bears a letter of introduction from me to you unconsciously does my business; by conveying my dutiful regards at the proper moment, he renders me a service at least as great as that which he considers himself to receive. This is the case with the venerable Donidius, who is deservedly to be numbered among the most admirable of mankind. I now recommend to you his client and servants, who have undertaken this journey for the benefit of their patron and master. Pray take the weary travellers under your protection; do all you can to help them by your support, your hospitality, and your intercession. And if our good friend, through inexperience and unfamiliarity with public affairs, should in any matter betray his inefficiency, consider the cause of an absent man, rather than the personality of his representative. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

VI.

To the Lord Bishop Eutropius A. D. 472

[1] As soon as I learned that the treaty-breaking nation had withdrawn within its borders, and that travellers were in no further danger of insidious attack, I held it a disgrace to delay the presentation of my respects, for fear your friendship might grow rusty from my neglect, like a sword which is not properly kept bright. My sole object in sending this letter is to satisfy my anxiety as to your health and the success of your affairs; it is my hope that neither the distance which divides us nor the long intervals between our meetings may ever diminish the friendship once accorded me; it is the homes of men which the Creator confines within narrow limits, not their mutual affections. [2] And now I hope your Beatitude will feed my starving ignorance with sharp and salutary discourse; your exhortations have a way of causing mystic increase and spiritual growth in the emaciated inward man. Deign to hold me in your remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

VII.

To the Lord Bishop Fonteius A. D. 472

[1] IF a previous friendship between the older members of two families helps the younger in their turn to know each other better, then indeed by virtue of such preexisting ties I enjoy a great advantage in now seeking your Lordship's more intimate acquaintance. I well remember how powerful a patron in Christ you always were to my family, so that I regard myself less as making a new acquaintance, than as renewing an old one. I will add that the title of bishop imposed on my extreme unworthiness compels me to seek the covert of your intercession, that the gaping wounds of a seared conscience may at least be closed by your healing prayers. [2] While, therefore, I commend to you myself and those who are dear to me, at the same time apologizing for not writing sooner, I implore you to sustain my first steps as a novice in this office by those availing supplications for which you are so widely renowned. So shall I owe all to your mediation, if the immutable mercy of God deign but to change the wickedness of this heart of mine. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

VIII.

To the Lord Bishop Graecus c. A. D. 472

[1] THE bearer of this is one who ekes out a bare living by commerce; he gains no profit or other advantage from any handicraft or employment, nor does he make anything from the cultivation of land. He has come to be favourably known as an agent and trader; but a good name is all he gets; the pecuniary advantage goes to others. Though his means are small, the general confidence in him is so great that if he wants to raise money for the purchase of a cargo, people are confiding enough to trust him on no greater security than their experience of his good faith. It is true that I only learned these facts while actually writing these lines, but that does not make me hesitate to assert them with some assurance, for the sources of the information are common acquaintances of his and mine. I recommend him to you, then, on the ground of his youth and the arduous life he has led. As his name is now entered in the roll as Reader, you will see that I have had to give him in addition to an ordinary introduction as citizen, a canonical letter as a clerk. I think I am right in looking forward to his brilliant success as a merchant if he is quick to take advantage of your patronage; but he must definitely prefer the fount of commerce to the icy springs of a municipal career.* Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

* The passage is corrupt.

IX.

To the Lord Bishop Lupus c. A. D. 472

[1] THE bearer Gallus, made an honest man by returning at once to his wife as he was bidden, conveys my greeting in this letter, and by doing so proves the efficacy of your own. For when I opened your missive in his presence, he was seized with instant compunction, and saw in it not so much a communication for me as a condemnation of himself. The result was that he immediately promised to go back, made his preparations at once, and was off without delay. At sight of so rapid a repentance, I could not confine myself altogether to rebuke; I gave him a few words of consolation, for so spontaneous an amendment is the next best thing to unbroken innocence. [2] A man with a perfect conscience could hardly have done more, always supposing him to keep within the range of your admonishment; for even such words of gentle censure as I read out to him are in themselves a most powerful incentive to reform. What, indeed, could be more valuable than a reprimand aiding the sick mind to discover within itself a remedy which the sharp reproach of others could never find? [3] It remains for me to ask a place in those frequent prayers by which you so mightily triumph over every kind of vice; that as the Wise Men of the Gospel returned to their own country by a different way, so by a new way of life you may lead me home to the land of the blessed. I had almost forgotten to mention the point which I could least have afforded to omit. Convey my thanks to the respected Innocentius for so promptly obeying your injunctions. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

X.

To the Lord Bishop Censorius A.D. 473*

THE bearer is one privileged to hold the rank of deacon. Flying with his family from the whirlwind of the Gothic devastations, he was carried, as it were by the sheer momentum of his flight, into your territory. Immigrant and destitute as he was, he hurriedly sowed a half-tilled plot on Church lands in your holiness's diocese, and now begs permission to take the whole harvest for himself. The poor fellow is a stranger whose means are as narrow as his outlook; but if you treat him with the indulgence often granted to the humbler among the faithful, that is, if you remit him the glebe dues, he will think he has done as well as if he were yet at work upon his native soil. If only you show him the liberality usually accorded to the faithful, and abandon your strictly lawful claim on his most exiguous crop, he will be full of gratitude, and set off home royally furnished for the road. Should you take the opportunity of his return to send me one of your usual gracious letters, all the brethren, and I myself, will regard it almost as a letter fallen from heaven. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

* Translated by Hodgkin, ii. 371.

XI.

To the Lord Bishop Eleutherius c. A.D. 472

[1] I HEREWITH commend a Jew to you, not because I approve a sect pernicious to those involved in its toils, but because we ought to regard none of that creed as wholly lost so long as life remains to them. For while there is any possibility of converting them, there is always a hope of their redemption.

[2] The nature of his business will be best explained by himself when admitted to your presence; for it would be imprudent to allow discursive talk to exceed the brevity proper to a letter. In the transactions and the disputes of this present world, a Jew has often as good a cause as any one; however much you may attack his heresy, you can fairly defend him as a man. Deign to hold us in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

XII.

To the Lord Bishop Patiens A.D. 474*

[1] ONE man deems happiness to consist in one thing, a second in another; my own belief is that he lives most to his own advantage who lives for others, and does heaven's work on earth by pitying the poverty and misfortune of the faithful. You may wonder at what I aim in these remarks. At yourself, most blessed father, for my sentiments refer especially to you, who are not content to succour only the distress which lies within your cognizance, but push your inquiries to the very frontiers of Gaul, and without respect of persons, consider each case of want upon its merits. [2] Does poverty or infirmity prevent a man from making his way to you in person? He loses nothing; your free hand anticipates the needs of those whose feet are unable to bring them to you. Your watchful eye ranges over other provinces than your own; the spreading tide of your benevolence bears consolation to the straitened, however far away. And so it happens that you often wipe tears from eyes which you have never seen, because the reserve of the absent touches you no less than the complaints of those near at hand. [3] I say nothing of your daily labour to relieve the need of your impoverished fellow countrymen, of your unceasing vigils, your prayers, your charity. I pass over the tact with which you combine the hospitable and the ascetic virtues, so that the king is never tired of praising your breakfasts and the queen your fasts. I omit your embellishment of the church committed to your care until the spectator hardly knows which to admire most, the new fabric which you erect, or the old which you restore. [4] I do not mention the churches that rise in so many districts under your auspices, or the rich additions to their ornaments. I dismiss the fact that under your administration the faithful are increased and multiplied, while heretics alone diminish. I shall not tell how your apostolic chase for souls involves the wild Photinians in the spiritual mesh of homily; or how barbarians once converted by your eloquence pursue your track until, like a thrice-fortunate fisher of men, you draw them up at last out of the profound gulfs of error. [5] It may be true that some of these good deeds are not peculiar to you, and are shared by colleagues; but there is one which is yours, as lawyers say, as a first charge, and which even your modesty cannot deny; it is this, that when the Gothic ravages were over, and the crops were all destroyed by fire, you distributed corn to the destitute throughout all the ruined land of Gaul at your own expense, though it would have been relief enough to our starving peoples if the grain had come to them, not as a free gift, but by the usual paths of commerce. We saw the roads encumbered with your grain-carts. Along the Saône and Rhone we saw more than one granary which you had entirely filled. [6] The legends of the heathen are eclipsed; Triptolemus must yield his pride of place, whom his fatherland of Greece deified for his

discovery of corn; Greece, famed for her architects, her sculptors and her artists, who consecrated temples, and fashioned statues, and painted effigies in his honour. A doubtful story fables that this son of Ceres came wandering among peoples savage and acorn-fed, and that from two ships, to which poetry later assigned the form of dragons, he distributed the unknown seed. But you brought supplies from either Mediterranean shore, and, if need were, you would have sought them among the cities of the Tyrrhenian sea; your granaries filled not two paltry ships, but the basins of two great rivers. [7] If you disapprove, as unsuited to your profession, a comparison drawn from the Achaean superstition of Eleusis, I will recall instead the historic prescience of the patriarch Joseph, who by his foresight provided a remedy for the famine which had to follow the seven lean years; I omit for the moment his mystic and typical significance. But I hold that man morally as great, who copes with a similar disaster without any warning in advance. [8] I cannot exactly tell the sum of gratitude which all the people owe you, inhabitants of Arles and Riez, Avignon, Orange, Viviers, Valence, and Trois Châteaux; it is beyond my power to count the total thanks of men who were fed without having to count out a penny. But for the city of Clermont I can speak, and in its name I give you endless thanks; all the more, that your help had no obvious inducement; we did not belong to your province; no convenient waterway led to us, we had no money to offer. [9] Measureless gratitude I give you on their behalf; they owe it to the abundant largess of your grain that they have now their own sufficiency once more. If now I have properly fulfilled the duty entrusted to me, I will cease to be the mouthpiece of others, and speak out of my own knowledge. I would have you know that your glory travels over all Aquitaine; all pray for your welfare, their hearts go out to you in love and praise, in longing and loyal devotion. In these evil times you have proved yourself a good priest, a good father, and as good as a good year to men who would have deemed it worth while to risk starvation if there had been no other means of discovering the measure of your generosity. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

* Partly translated by Fertig, Part ii, p. 24.

BOOK VII

[1] RUMOUR has it that the Goths have occupied Roman soil; our unhappy Auvergne is always their gateway on every such incursion. It is our fate to furnish fuel to the fire of a peculiar hatred, for, by Christ's aid, we are the sole obstacle to the fulfilment of their ambition to extend their frontiers to the Rhone, and so hold all the country between that river, the Atlantic, and the Loire. Their menacing power has long pressed us hard; it has already swallowed up whole tracts of territory round us, and threatens to swallow more. [2] We mean to resist with spirit, though we know our peril and the risks which we incur. But our trust is not in our poor walls impaired by fire, or in our rotting palisades, or in our ramparts worn by the breasts of the sentries, as they lean on them in continual watch. Our only present help we find in those Rogations which you introduced; and this is the reason why the people of Clermont refuse to recede, though terrors surge about them on every side. By inauguration and institution of these prayers we are already new initiates; and if so far we have effected less than you have, our hearts are affected equally with yours. [3] For it is not unknown to us by what portents and alarms the city entrusted to you by God was laid desolate at the time when first you ordained this form of prayer. Now it was earthquake, shattering the outer palace walls with frequent shocks; now fire, piling mounds of glowing ash upon proud houses fallen in ruin; now, amazing spectacle! wild deer grown ominously tame, making their lairs in the very forum. You saw the city being emptied of its inhabitants, rich and poor taking to flight. But you resorted in our latter day to the example shown of old in Nineveh, that you at least might not discredit the divine warning by the spectacle of your despair. [4] And, indeed, you of all men had been least justified in distrusting the providence of God, after the proof of it vouchsafed to your own virtues. Once, in a sudden conflagration, your faith burned stronger than the flames. In full sight of the trembling crowd, you stood forth all alone to stay them, and lo! the fire leapt back before you, a sinuous beaten fugitive. It was miracle, a formidable thing, unseen before and unexampled; the element which naturally shrinks from nothing, retired in awe at your approach. [5] You therefore first enjoined a fast upon a few members of our sacred order, denouncing gross offences, announcing punishment, promising relief. You made it clear that if the penalty of sin was nigh, so also was the pardon; you proclaimed that by frequent prayer the menace of coming desolation might be removed. You taught that it was by water of tears rather than water of rivers that the obstinate and raging fire could best be extinguished, and by firm faith the threatening shock of earthquake stayed. [6] The multitude of the lowly forthwith followed your counsel, and this influenced persons of higher rank, who had not scrupled to abandon the town, and now were not ashamed to return to it. By this devotion

God was appeased, who sees into all hearts; your fervent prayers were counted to you for salvation; they became an ensample for your fellow citizens, and a defence about you all, for after those days there were neither portents to alarm, nor visitations to bring disaster.

We of Clermont know that all these ills befell your people of Vienne before the Rogations, and have not befallen them since; and therefore it is that we are eager to follow the lead of so holy a guide, beseeching your Beatitude from your own pious lips to give us the advocacy of those prayers now known to us by the examples which you have transmitted. [7] Since the Confessor Ambrose discovered the remains of Gervasius and Protasius, it has been granted to you alone in the West to translate the relics of two martyrs — all the holy body of Ferreolus, and the head of our martyr Julian,, which once the executioner's gory hand brought to the raging persecutor from the place of testimony. It is only fair, then, in compensation for the loss of this hallowed relic, that some part of your patronage should come to us from Vienne, since a part of our patronal saint has migrated thither. Deign to hold us in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

II.

To the Lord Bishop Graecus c. A. D. 472*

[1] You overwhelm me, most consummate of all bishops, by the praises showered on any unpolished lines which I happen to write. Short though my first letter was, I wish I could acquit myself of blame for having told you a whole string of things irreconcilable with fact; the truth is that a crafty traveller imposed upon my innocence. Ostensibly a trader, he persuaded me to give him a canonical letter as Reader; and this ought certainly to have contained some statement of his indebtedness to others. For it appeared, on subsequent inquiry, that by the generosity of the people of Marseilles, he set out better equipped than one so moderately favoured in birth and fortune had reason to expect. [2] It makes quite a good story, if I only wielded a pen able to do justice to its humours. But as you have asked me for a long and diverting letter, permit me to relate the manner in which this messenger of ours exploited the hospitality of your city. It shall be told in a light vein, but I shall be careful to say nothing to offend the severity of your ears. You will see that on this occasion I really do know the man whom I introduce to your notice for the second time. Usage permits a writer to find his subject-matter wherever he can; why, then, should I go far afield, when the man who is to bear my letter can himself provide the theme of it?

[3] The bearer, then, is a native of Clermont, born of humble but free parents, people who made no pretence of social standing, but were above all fear of degradation to the servile state, and satisfied with means, moderate indeed, but unencumbered and amply sufficient for their needs; it was a family which had chiefly held offices under the Church, and had not entered the public service. The father was a most estimable man, but not free-handed with his children; he preferred to serve his son's advantage, instead of ensuring him pleasant times in his youth. The result was, that the prisoner escaped to you a little too lightly equipped; and this was no small impediment at the outset of his adventure, for a light purse is the heaviest encumbrance on a journey. [4] Nevertheless he made his first entry into your city under the most favourable auspices. Your predecessor St.Eustachius received him with a twofold blessing in word and deed. He wanted a lodging; one was forthcoming without difficulty on the prelate's commendation. He rented the rooms in due form, entering on his tenancy without delay, and at once set about making the acquaintance of his neighbours by saluting them as often as possible and being civilly greeted in return. He treated all as befitted their several ages; respectful to the old, he was always obliging those of his own years. [5] He was consistently temperate and moral, showing qualities as admirable as they are rare at his time of life. He was assiduous in paying court to your chief personages, and even to the Count of the city himself; alive to

every chance, he began by receiving nods, went on to acquaintance, and ended in intimacy. By this systematic cultivation of important friendships, he rapidly got on in the world; the best people competed for his company. Every one wished him well; there were plenty to offer him good advice. Private individuals made him presents, officials helped him by their influence. In short, his prospects and his resources rose by leaps and bounds. [6] It chanced that near the house where he lodged there resided a lady whose disposition and income were all that he could have desired; she had a daughter, not quite marriageable, but no longer a child. He began to attract the girl by pleasant greetings, and by giving her (as, at her age, he quite properly could) the various trifles and trinkets which delight a maiden's fancy; by such light links he succeeded in closely attaching her heart to his own. [7] Time passed; she reached the age of marriage. You already guess what happened. This young man, without visible relations or substance, a foreigner, a minor who had left home without his father's leave or knowledge, demands the hand of a girl equal to himself in birth, and superior in fortune. He demands, and, what is more, he obtains; he is recognized as suitor. For the bishop actively supported his Reader, and the Count encouraged his client; the future mother-in-law did not trouble to investigate his means; the bride approved his person. The marriage contract was executed, and some little suburban plot or other at Clermont was put into settlement and read out with much theatrical parade. [8] This legal trick and solemn swindle once over, the pauper lover carried off the wealthy bride. He promptly went into all his wife's father's affairs, and got together some nice little pickings for himself, aided all through the imposture by the credulity of his easy-going and free-handed mother-in-law; then, and not till then, this incomparable charlatan sounds the retreat and vanishes into Auvergne. After he had gone, the mother thought of bringing an action against him for the absurd exaggerations in the contract. But it was rather late for her to begin lamenting the exiguity of his settlement, when she was already rejoicing at the prospect of a wealth of little grandchildren. It was with the object of appeasing her that our Hippolytus went to Marseilles when he brought you my first letter of introduction.

[9] That is the story of this accomplished young man, as good in its way as any out of Attic Comedy or Milesian fable. Excuse the excessive length of my letter; I have dwelt upon every detail that you might be fully informed in regard to the person whom your generosity has made a citizen of your town; and besides, one naturally has a kindly feeling for those in whom one has taken active interest. You will prove yourself in everything the worthy successor of Eustachius if you expend upon his clients the personal interest he would like to have been able to bequeath them, as you have already paid his relations the legacies mentioned in his will.

[10] And now I have obeyed your commands to the full, and talked to the limit of my obligation; remember that one who imposes on a man of small descriptive powers a subject calling for great detail, must not complain if the

response betrays the gossip rather than the skilled narrator. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

* The greater part translated by Hodgkin, ii. 328-30. Cf. VI, viii above,

III.

To the Lord Bishop Megethius After A.D. 472

[1] I HAVE considered long and carefully whether I ought to send you those short treatises of mine, for which you ask. It required thought, though my affectionate desire to please you strongly prompted me at once to comply; but at last I have decided in your favour, and forward what you want. Is not this a great proof of docility? great indeed; but of impudence a yet greater. It is almost as bad as bringing water to a river, or wood to a forest; as audacious as offering a pencil to Apelles, a chisel to Phidias, or a mallet to Polyclitus. [2] I beg you, therefore, venerable friend, you whose sanctity is only equalled by your eloquence, to pardon the presumption which submits to your critical judgement these products of an irrepressible pen. I am always writing, though I publish very little; much as a dog will keep on snarling, though he may never break into an open bark. Deign to keep me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

IV.

To the Lord Bishop Fonteius After A.D. 472

[1] I AM getting quite afraid of introducing people to you, for whereas I only give them words, you give them presents, as if it were not already the height of privilege for a man to leave my sinful company for a conversation so holy as yours. I cite in evidence my friend Vindicius, who is so laden with your generous gifts that he has returned by slower stages than he went, proclaiming everywhere that high as your repute may be, supreme as your position, your true title to praise lies less in your high office than in the voluntary respect of men. [2] He dilates upon your piety, upon the sweetness and affable charm of a familiarity never too familiar; he declares that your episcopal dignity in no way suffers, and that in you the priestly character, like a tall tree, may bend but is never broken. After hearing all these eulogies I shall never be quite happy until God suffers me to clasp in my close presumptuous embrace a heart so wholly stayed upon Him. [3] For I will make you a small confession. I can admire a man of an austere nature, and because I am very conscious of my own weakness can even tolerate harsh treatment from him; but I feel that one only submits to people of such temperament, one cannot really like them. In my opinion, the man who is always stern to those about him had best be very sure that his conscience is good enough to justify his pride; and for myself, I prefer to take as my model one who knows how to attract the devotion even of those who live leagues away. [4] Great as your other good deeds have been, nothing that I have heard delights me more than the news that the stream of your episcopal favour flows, with your unceasing prayers, towards the true lords of my heart, Simplicius and Apollinaris. If this be true, I pray that your kind deeds may never have an end; if false, that they may have immediate beginning. I commend the bearer to your notice. A troublesome business has arisen for him at Vaison, which the weight of your revered authority can doubtless bring to a favourable issue. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

V.

To the Lord Bishop Agroeclus A. D. 472

[1] A PUBLIC resolution of the citizens has called me to Bourges. The reason for the summons is the tottering condition of the Church, which has just been widowed of her bishop; members of both orders have been intriguing for the vacant see, just as if some bugle had sounded for the fray. The people are excited, and divided into factions; while only a few are ready to propose others, there are many who do not so much propose as impose themselves. To a man determined, as far as in him lies, to obey God and keep fast the truth, everything here seems frivolous, unstable, and sophisticated; one might say that the only genuine thing left is impudence. [2] You may think these laments exaggerated; but I scarcely hesitate to affirm that there are many here who harbour thoughts so rash and ruinous that they are ready to offer ready money for this holy see and all its dignity; the sale might before now have been effected in open market if the greed of the would-be purchasers had found response in vendors equal in audacity. I entreat you, therefore, to crown my hopes by giving me the honour of your presence under the same roof, and lending my diffidence, my embarrassment, and my inexperience the shelter of your high protection. [3] At a time of such perplexity, do not refuse your help in healing the dissensions of the people of Aquitaine; it is true that you are at the head of the Sénonais, but that is of small consequence; though we live in different provinces, we are bound by a single religious bond. Besides, Clermont is the last of all the cities in Aquitania Prima which the fortune of war has left to Rome; the number of provincial bishops is therefore inadequate to the election of a new prelate at Bourges, unless we have the support of the metropolitans. [4] Rest assured that I have in no way encroached on your prerogatives. As yet I have neither nominated, summoned, nor preferred a candidate; I have left the matter absolutely intact for your decision. All that I take upon myself is to invite you hither, to await your good pleasure, to acquiesce in your opinion, and when the throne is filled, to render the proper deference to your commands. 5. I do not for a moment suspect that any bad adviser will dissuade you from acceding to this request; but should that prove to be the case, you will hardly acquit yourself of blame, though it is easy to find reasonable excuses for not undertaking so long a journey. On the other hand, your coming will prove that though there may be limits to your diocese, your brotherly love is without bounds. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

VI.

To the Lord Bishop Basilius A.D. 472-3

[1] GOD has permitted us to give this generation a new example of what old friendship means; ours indeed is an attachment of long duration, and equal strength upon both sides. But our respective positions are by no means equal: you are the patron and I the client; perhaps, indeed, I presume too far in saying even so much. For so great is my unworthiness, that even the proven efficacy of your intercession can hardly make good my backsliding. [2] Because you are doubly my lord and master, firstly as my protector, secondly as my friend; because I so well remember (was I not by?) the flow of your eloquence, springing from that fervent zeal of yours, when you pierced with the point of your spiritual testimonies Modaharius the Goth as he brandished the darts of Arian heresy against you; because of all this, I need fear no charge of disrespect towards other pontiffs when I pour into your ears my grief at the ravages of the great wolf of our times, who ranges about the ecclesiastical fold battenning upon lost souls, and biting right and left by stealth and undetected. [3] For that old enemy begins by threatening the shepherds' throats, knowing it the best way to ensure his triumph over the bleating and abandoned sheep. I am not so far oblivious of my own career as to ignore that I am one whose conscience has yet to be washed clean by many tears; but by God's grace my foulness shall at last be cleared away with the mystic rake of your intercession. But since consideration for the public safety must come before everything, even a man's sense of his own unworthiness, I shall not hesitate to proclaim the cause of truth, disregarding all insinuations about my vanity, or doubts as to the sincerity of my faith. [4] Neither a saint like you can fitly here discuss, nor a sinner like myself indict, the action of Euric the Gothic king in breaking and bearing down an ancient treaty to defend, or rather extend by armed force the frontiers of his kingdom. It is the rule here below, for Dives to be clothed in purple and fine linen, and for Lazarus to bear the lash of sores and poverty. So long as we walk in this allegoric land of Egypt, it is the rule that Pharaoh shall go with a diadem on his head, and the Israelite with the carrier's basket. It is the rule that while we are burned in the furnace of this symbolic Babylon we must sigh and groan like Jeremiah for the spiritual Jerusalem, while Assur thunders in his royal pomp and treads the Holy of Holies beneath his feet. [5] Yet when I compare the transient joys of this world with those which are to come, I find it easier to endure calamities which no mortal may escape. For, firstly, when I consider my own demerits, all possible troubles seem lighter than those which I deserve; and then know well that the best of cures for the inward man is for the outward man to be threshed by the flails of suffering. [6] I must confess that formidable as the mighty Goth may be, I dread him less as the assailant of our walls than as the subverter of our

Christian laws. They say that the mere mention of the name of Catholic so embitters his countenance and heart that one might take him for the chief priest of his Arian sect rather than for the monarch of his nation. Omnipotent in arms, keen-witted, and in the full vigour of life, he yet makes this single mistake — he attributes his success in his designs and enterprises to the orthodoxy of his belief, whereas the real cause lies in mere earthly fortune. [7] For these reasons I would have you consider the secret malady of the Catholic Church that you may hasten to apply an open remedy. Bordeaux, Périgueux, Rodez, Limoges, Javols, Eauze, Bazas, Comminges, Auch, and many another city are all like bodies which have lost their heads through the death of their respective bishops. No successors have been appointed to fill their places, and maintain the ministry in the lower orders of the Church; the boundaries of spiritual desolation are extended far and wide. Every day the ruin spreads by the death of more fathers in God; so pitiful is her state, that the very heresiarchs of former times, to say nothing of contemporary heretics, might well have looked with pity on peoples orphaned of their pontiffs and oppressed by desperation at this catastrophe of their faith. [8] Diocese and parish lie waste without ministers. You may see the rotten roofs of churches fallen in, the doors unhinged and blocked by growing brambles. More grievous still, you may see the cattle not only lying in the half-ruined porticoes, but grazing beside altars green with weeds. And this desolation is not found in country parishes alone; even the congregations of urban churches begin to fall away. [9] What comfort remains to the faithful, when not only the teaching of the clergy perishes, but their very memory is lost out of mind? When a priest departs this life, not merely the holder of the sacred office dies, but the office itself dies with him, unless with his failing breath he gives his blessing to a successor. What hope remains when the term of a man's life implies the end of religion in his parish? If you examine more closely the ills of the body spiritual, you will soon perceive that for every bishop snatched from our midst, the faith of a population is imperilled. I need not mention your colleagues Crocus and Simplicius, removed alike from their thrones and suffering a common exile, if different punishments. For one of them laments that he cannot see whither he is to return; the other that he sees only too clearly where he is to return no more. [10] You for your part have about you the most holy bishops Faustus, Leontius, and Graecus, environed by the city, your order and their fraternal love. To you these miserable treaties are submitted, the pacts and agreements of two kingdoms pass through your hands. Do your best, as far as the royal condescension suffers you, to obtain for our bishops the right of ordination in those parts of Gaul now included within the Gothic boundaries, that if we cannot keep them by treaty for the Roman State, we may at least hold them by religion for the Roman Church. Deign to bear me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

VII.

To the Lord Bishop Graecus A.D. 474-5*

[1] HERE is Amantius, the usual bearer of my trifles; off once more to his Marseilles, to bring home a little profit out of the city, if he is fortunate in his business at the port. I could use the opportunity of his journey to gossip gaily on, if a mind that bears a load of sorrow could at the same time think of cheerful things. For the state of our unhappy region is miserable indeed. Every one declares that things were better in war-time than they are now after peace has been concluded. [2] Our enslavement was made the price of security for a third party; the enslavement, ah! the shame of it! of those Arvernians who by old tradition claimed brotherhood with Latium and descent from the sons of Troy; who in our own time stood forth alone to stay the advance of the common enemy; who even when closely beset so little feared the Goth that they sallied out against his leaguer, and put the fear of their valour into his heart. These are the men whose common soldiers were as good as captains, but who never reaped the benefit of their victories: that was handed over for your consolation, while all the crushing burden of defeat they had to bear themselves. These are the patriots who did not fear to bring to justice the infamous Seronatus, betrayer of imperial provinces to the barbarian, while the State for which they risked so much had hardly the courage on his conviction to carry out the capital sentence. [3] And this is to be our reward for braving destitution, fire, sword, and pestilence, for fleshing our swords in the enemy's blood and going ourselves starved into battle. This, then, is the famous peace we dreamed of, when we tore the grass from the crannies in the walls to eat; when in our ignorance we often by mistake ate poisonous weeds, indiscriminately plucking them with livid hands of starvation, hardly less green than they. For all these proofs of our devotion, it would seem that we are to be made a sacrifice. [4] If it be so, may you live to blush for a peace without either honour or advantage. For you are the channel through which negotiations are conducted. When the king is absent, you not only see the terms of peace, but new proposals are brought before you. I ask your pardon for telling you hard truths; my distress must take all colour of abuse from what I say. You think too little of the general good; when you meet in council, you are less concerned to relieve public perils than to advance private fortunes. By the long repetition of such acts you begin to be regarded as the last instead of the first among your fellow provincials. [5] But how long are these feats of yours to last? Our ancestors will cease to glory in the name of Rome if they have no longer descendants to bear their memory. Oh, break this infamous peace at any cost; there are pretexts enough to your hand. We are ready, if needs must, to continue the struggle and to undergo more sieges and starvations. But if we are to be betrayed, we whom force failed to conquer, we

shall know beyond a doubt that a barbarous and cowardly transaction was inspired by you.

[6] But it little avails to give the rein to passionate sorrow; you must make allowance for us in our affliction, nor too nicely weigh the language of despair. The other conquered regions have only servitude to expect; Auvergne must prepare for punishment. If you can hold out no help in our extremity, seek to obtain of Heaven by your unceasing prayers that though our liberty be doomed, our race at least may live. Provide land for the exile, prepare a ransom for the captive, make provision for the emigrant. If our own walls must offer an open breach to the enemy, let yours be never shut against your friends. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

* Partly translated by Fertig, Part ii, p. 16.

VIII.

To the Lord Bishop Euphronius A. D. 472

[1] I AM now held in the bonds of my clerical duty, but I should regard my undistinguished position as a veritable blessing if only the walls of our cities were as near as the borders of their territories. If that might only be, I should consult your holiness on all things small and great; my activities would flow like a placid and untroubled stream, could they but rise from your converse as from a life-giving spring. They should never know the froth of vain conceit, or the turbid course of pride, or the muddiness of a bad conscience, or the falls of headstrong youth; if defilement and corruption were found in them, they should be washed clean by the clear vein of your counsel. [2] But alas! the distance that divides us prevents the fulfilment of these desires; I therefore beg you to send a representative to advise on a perplexing question which has arisen here. The inhabitants of Bourges demand the consecration of the admirable Simplicius as their bishop; I want your decision in the matter. Your consideration for me, and your authority over others, are such that you need never press your views; you have simply to indicate your will, which is sure to coincide with justice. [3] I must tell you that of Simplicius all good is spoken, and by the best men in the city. At first I was inclined to view this testimony with little favour; it seemed to me to suggest favouritism. But when I observed that his rivals could find nothing better to do than to hold their tongues, especially those of the Arian persuasion; when I saw that no irregularity could be alleged to his discredit, though he is only a candidate and not yet in orders, I came to the conclusion that a man against whom the bad citizen could say nothing and on whose behalf the good could never say enough must be regarded as almost a perfect character. [4] But how foolish I am to make these comments, as if I were giving advice in place of asking it! The clergy will act in accordance with the decision contained in your letter; the people will acclaim it in the same spirit. We are not altogether irrational; we should not have decided to secure, if possible, your present aid, or if not, your advice, unless we had made up our minds to follow your counsel in all things. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

IX.

To the Lord Bishop Perpetuus A. D. 472*

[1] YOUR ardour for religious books has given you a most intimate acquaintance with everything written for the Catholic faith, whether by the Canonical authors or by the controversialists. You are even curious about productions unworthy the honour of your attention; for instance, you now wish me to send a copy of my public address delivered in the church at Bourges, an oration without the orthodox rhetorical divisions, or emphasis, or figures of speech to lend it a proper style and dignity. [2] It has none of the qualities of a finished eloquence; the weight of historical allusion, the enrichment of poetical quotation, the sparkling points of dialectic had all to be abandoned. I was distracted by the rancorous intrigues of the various factions; my mission occupied all my time; the abuses before my eyes were the one and only subject for my pen. So great was the company of the competitors, that two benches would not have held the candidates for the single vacant throne. And every one of these was as pleased with himself as he was critical of all his rivals. [3] If the people had not grown reasonable, and subordinated their judgement to that of the bishops, there would have been little chance of effecting anything. As it was, one saw small groups of priests whispering together in corners, though not a word was uttered openly, most of them being just as afraid of their own order as of every other. The result was that every one was suspicious of his neighbour; all were induced to hear our proposals without too much difficulty, and afterwards to explain them in their turn to others.

[4] Here, then, I append the address. It was written in two vigils of a single summer night, under no eyes but those of Christ; my haste is, I fear, too obvious from internal evidence for you to need my assurance that it existed.

ADDRESS.*

[5] Secular history relates, beloved brethren, that a certain philosopher used to teach new pupils the discipline of keeping silence before the art of speaking. They had to sit through five mute years listening to the disputations of their fellow students echoing all round them, and not even the quickest brains were allowed to anticipate the proper hour of recognition. When, after that long repression these pupils spoke at last, the audience could not repress applause; for until the mind is steeped with knowledge there is less credit in displaying what you know than in holding your peace on things of which you are ignorant. [6] Far other is the position of the indifferent orator who now addresses you. While he yet walked among lamentable pitfalls and wallowing-places of sin, the heavy charge of the sacred calling was laid upon him; and without ever having himself rendered a disciple's duty to a master of repute, he has himself to play the teacher of other men. That task is in itself

impossible enough; it is made heavier by the diffidence which I feel at having been selected by your decretal letter to choose you a bishop, while all the time I see before me a saintly prelate worthy of the highest of pontifical thrones, one who stands at the head of his province, and is my superior in everything, in experience, in training, in eloquence, in prestige, in seniority, and in years. Speaking thus as a junior and provincial bishop, before one metropolitan on the election of another, I am doubly embarrassed by my lack of qualification, and by the odium of presumption which I may well incur. [7] The responsibility, however, rests on you, since you have been rash enough to impose upon one deficient in wisdom the task of finding you, with God's aid, a bishop wiser than himself, and combining in a single person a host of different virtues: you must be well aware that honourable though the task may be, it is yet more clearly onerous. I would have you in the first instance reflect to what a crushing burden of criticism you subject me, requiring a perfected judgement from a beginner, and right guidance from one who hitherto has shown you nothing but his fallibility. Since, however, this has been your will, I entreat your prayers, that I may really become all that you now suppose me to be, and that if I am to be exalted to the skies, it may be not by your plaudits but by your supplications.

[8] But first you ought to know on what Scylla-rocks of slander, on what barking mouths (alas! that they should be human) I have been driven by the tempestuous fury of those who seek to bring you into discredit. Evil manners have this power: they allow the offences of the few to disfigure the innocence of the multitude, whereas the good are too rare to communicate their virtues to the many, and so to palliate their crimes.

[9] If I name a monk to you, were his austerities to rival those of a Paul, an Antony, a Hilarion, or a Macarius, my ears will at once be deafened by the confused outcries of ignoble pygmies who will object in these terms: 'The man you nominate is trained not for a bishop's but for an abbot's work, and better fitted to intercede for souls before the celestial Judge than for their bodies before the judges of this world.' Now who could keep his patience, hearing singleness of heart besmirched by such imputation of imaginary defects? [10] If we choose one distinguished for humility, he will be called an abject; if, on the other hand, we propose a man with self-respect, he will be set down as arrogant; if our choice be one of small learning, his ignorance will make him fair game; if he be erudite, he will be declared conceited. If he is austere, all will shrink from an inhuman creature; if indulgent, they will blame his lenience. If he is simple, he will be an oaf; if clever, a sly fellow. Is he diligent? he must be superstitious. Is he easy-going? he stands convicted of negligence. Does he love a quiet life? he is a coward. If our candidate is abstemious, he becomes a skinflint; if charitable with hospitality, a glutton; if with fasting, one vain of his austerities. [11] A free manner will argue vice; a modest one contemptible rusticity. They mislike the stern man for his severity, and depreciate the affable for making himself cheap. And so,

whichever of two virtues may adorn his life, he will be caught on the two-barbed hook of the malicious tongues whose points pierce all good qualities. Besides all this, the people in their perversity, and the clergy in their love of licence, are equally averse from the idea of monastic discipline.

[12] If, instead of a monk, I take a member of the secular clergy, his juniors will be consumed with a jealousy which his seniors will openly express. For among the clergy there are not a few — I may say this without offence to the rest — in whose eyes seniority counts before merit; they would like us to consider age alone and disregard efficiency, as if mere length of life were the one qualification for the highest office in the priesthood, and the prerogative, the amenity and charm of personal accomplishments were to count for nothing. On this principle a few individuals strive to direct the Church, though they are so old that they will soon need direction themselves — persons remiss in ministration, prompt in obloquy, indolent in affairs, busy in faction, weak in charity, sturdy in intrigue, steady in feud, vacillating in judgement.

[13] Enough: I will not stigmatize the many for the machinations of a few; I only add this, that I shall mention no names. Whoever looks aggrieved proclaims his own discomfiture. I may freely admit that the multitude surrounding me to-day includes many of episcopal ability. But then, all cannot be bishops. Every man of them may be satisfied with his own particular gifts, but none has gifts to satisfy us all.

[14] Suppose I were to nominate one who had followed an administrative career, I can imagine the storm of disapproval: ‘Sidonius was transferred to the Church out of the great world, and because of this is reluctant to accept a cleric as metropolitan; he looks down on every one from the height of his distinguished birth and the great offices he has held; he despises Christ’s poor.’ [15] Now therefore, in fulfilment of the trust imposed upon me, not so much through the esteem of the well disposed as through the suspicions of the slanderous (Almighty God liveth, the Holy Spirit, who by the voice of Peter condemned Simon Magus for thinking to buy for gold the glory of the blessing), I testify that in the man whom I have chosen as suited for your needs I have considered neither money nor influence; I have weighed to the last scruple every circumstance affecting his own person; the times in which we live, the respective needs of city and province, and I decide that the man most fitted for this office is he whose career I shall now briefly relate.

[16] He is Simplicius, on whom a blessing already rests. Hitherto a member of your order, but henceforth of ours, if God approve him through your voices, he answers by conduct and profession, so well satisfying the claims of both, that the State will find in him one to admire and the Church one to love.

[17] If birth is still to command respect, as the Evangelist teaches (for St. Luke, beginning his eulogy of St. John, considers it of the highest moment that he sprang from a line of priestly tradition, and exalts the importance of his family before celebrating the nobility of his life), I will recall the fact that his relatives have presided alike over the Church and the tribunal. His family has

been distinguished in either career by many bishops and prefects; it had become almost their hereditary privilege to administer the divine and human laws. [18] If we scrutinize rather more narrowly his personal qualifications, we shall find him conspicuous among the most respected. You may say that the illustrious Eucherius and Pannychius stand higher; they may have been so regarded, but on the present occasion they are excluded by the canon, because each of them has married again. Turning to his age, we find that he has at once the vigour of youth and the caution of maturity; comparing his talents with his acquirements, we see nature and learning rivalling each other. [19] If we ask whether he is given to hospitality, we find him generous to a fault, lavishing his substance on all men small and great, whether they are clerics, laymen, or strangers, and entertaining those most of all who are least likely to return his kindness. When an embassy had to be undertaken, more than once he has represented his city before barbaric kings in furs, or Roman emperors in purple. If you ask from what master he learned the rudiments of the faith, I will make the proverbial response: 'the source of knowledge flowed for him at home.' [20] Lastly, let us not forget, beloved brethren, that this is he whom the barbarians held in darkness and duress, and for whom God flung wide the prison gates with all their bolts and bars. This is the man whom, if report be true, you yourselves once with a single voice called to the priesthood before his father-in-law or father; but he returned home covered with glory because he preferred to be honoured in his parents' dignity rather than in his own. [21] I had almost overlooked a point which should under no circumstances have been omitted. In the days of old time, as the Psalmist tells, all Israel heaped offerings at the feet of Bezaleel in the desert for the erection of the Tabernacle of the Covenant. Afterwards Solomon, to build his temple in Jerusalem, exhausted the whole strength of his people, though he had not merely the riches of Palestine and the tribute of surrounding kingdoms, but in addition the treasures of the Queen of Sheba at his command. But Simplicius built a church alone out of his own slender resources, when he was still a young official under paternal control, and already burdened with the expenses of a family. Neither consideration of his young children nor the steady opposition of his parents could divert him from the fulfilment of his vow; it was his way to do good works, and hold his peace about them. [22] For unless I misread his character, he is one to whom all popularity is abhorrent; he does not court every man's good opinion, only that of the worthiest; it is not his custom to make himself common by indiscriminating familiarity, but rather to enhance his value by according his friendship only after the most careful thought. His is a manly nature which would rather help than please a rival, comparable in this to that of the stern father, who thinks more of his children's real advantage than of their present comfort. He is a man constant in adversity, loyal in danger, unassuming in prosperity; of simple tastes in dress, affable in conversation, never putting himself forward among his friends, but in discussion easily the first. A friendship of which he knows the worth he will

pursue with ardour, hold with constancy, and never abandon; on the other hand, a declared hostility he pursues with honourable frankness, not believing in it till the last moment, and laying it down at the earliest. Extremely accessible just because he seeks nothing for himself, he desired not so much to assume the priest-hood as to prove himself worthy to hold it. [23] But some one will say: 'How did you learn so much about him in so short a time?' My answer is that I made acquaintance with men of Bourges long before I knew their city. I have travelled with some and served with others; many I have met in affairs of business or in debate; many when either they or I were away from our several countries. Moreover, a short cut to knowledge of a man is given by the general opinion about him, since nature does not confine our reputations within such narrow limits as our abodes. If, then, a city is to be judged less by the circumference of its walls than by the merit of its inhabitants, I could not fail to discover, before your town was known to me, not only what manner of men you are, but where you stand in the world as well.

[24] The wife of Simplicius belongs to the Palladian family, which alike in the schools and in the Church has occupied the chief seats with the approbation of its own order. To speak of a woman's life demands both delicacy and reticence; I will only say here that this lady has shown herself worthy of the ecclesiastical dignity enjoyed by her two families, both that in which she was born, and that into which she married. She is associated with her husband in the education of their sons on sound and careful principles; so that the father, comparing them with himself, is all the happier for the discovery that he is already being surpassed.

[25] You have sworn to abide by my humble advice in this election; the spoken binds no less fast than the written word. I pronounce, then, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit that Simplicius is the man whom you are to choose as the head of the Church in your city, and as Metropolitan of our province. If you agree with this my new pronouncement, give it the applause which your old promise demands.

* Partly translated by Guizot, *Histoire de la civilisation en France*, ed. 1846, pp. 84 ff.

* Translated by Chaix, ii. 26 ff.

X. (XI)

To the Lord Bishop Graecus A.D. 474

[1] I ENVY the fortune of my habitual messenger who has the chance of seeing you so often. Nor do I confine my envy to Amantius; I am jealous of the very letters opened by the hands, and perused by the eyes which I so much revere. Alas! penned as I am within the narrow enclosure of half-burned and ruinous walls, with the terror of war at the gates, I am never allowed to satisfy my longing to greet you again. Would that the state and prospects of Clermont were such as to make our excuses for not meeting less excusable! [2] It is the hardest stroke of all that the very punishment of our old lapses from justice should become our justification. My salutations rendered, I now earnestly beg you to release me from my duty of paying you a visit; I must discharge the debt as well as I can by letter. If peace ever makes the roads secure again, your only fear need be that I shall present myself so often as to become in future a mere nuisance. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

XI. (X)

To the Lord Bishop Auspicius A.D. 473

[1] IF the state of our country and our times allowed me freedom, I should not keep up my friendships by the poor expedient of correspondence. But since the storms aroused by the shock of kingdoms confound all hopes of fraternal peace and quiet, let us retain in separation that constant exchange of letters so long ago devised for the solace of absent friends, and approved by the example of antiquity. You must forgive one who so reveres you the rarity of his visits; but the unbroken enjoyment of your sainted converse is denied him by the menace of formidable neighbours and by the delicacy of his relations with his own protectors. On these points I need say no more: I have already said too much. [2] This letter introduces to you the bearer Peter, a man of tribunician rank; he personally pressed for the introduction, and will be better able to explain his business orally. I beg that the sight of this page from me may secure him your support, in so far as may be consistent with justice; it is not my custom to urge even my friends' claims unfairly. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

XII.

To his friend [Tonantius] Ferreolus c. A.D. 479

[1] IF, disregarding our friendship and relations, I had considered only your rank and position, your name would have taken its proper place at the beginning of this small work, and the dedication would have been yours. My pen should have recounted the curule chairs of your ancestors and the *infulae* of their patrician dignity; it should not have omitted the twice repeated prefecture, or refused to herald with due praise your great Syagrius for three times changing the heralds of his office. It should have proceeded to celebrate your father and your uncles, whom it were impossible, indeed, to pass in silence; [2] and however worn by transcribing the long roll of your ancestral triumphs, it should not have been so spent by the unfolding of your genealogy as to grow too blunt for the record of your own achievements. Why even if the recital of your ancestral glories had dulled it, that of your great personal qualities would lend it a new point. In place of all this, it is determined to pay you here conspicuous homage and, leaving your past career to speak for itself, to consider rather what you are to-day. [3] It has passed over your administration of the Gauls when they were still at their greatest extent. It has been silent on the efficacy of your measures against Attila the enemy on the Rhine and Thorismond the guest of the Rhone, and on your support of Aetius the Liberator of the Loire. It has not related the dragging of your chariot by cheering provincials, whose fervent applause proclaimed their gratitude for the prudence and the foresight with which you handled the reins of power; since you ruled the Gauls with such wisdom that the exhausted proprietor was relieved from the unbearable yoke of taxes. It passed over the address with which you influenced the savage Gothic king by a language blending grace with gravity and astuteness, a language unfamiliar in his ears, causing him to withdraw from the gates of Arles by a banquet, where Aetius could not have succeeded by force of arms. [4] All this it forbore to dwell upon because it was my hope that you might more fitly find a place among the bishops than the senators; I deemed it more appropriate that your name should be found among the perfect of the Lord than among the prefects of Valentinian. Malice need not misconstrue your insertion among the priests; only great ignorance can hold that a man could lose rank thereby. Just as at a public banquet the last guest at the first table takes precedence of the first guest at the second, so in the opinion of all reasonable men the least of the religious is beyond dispute above the holder of the highest office. I ask your prayers on my behalf.

XIII.

To his friend Sulpicius c. A. D. 470

[1] YOUR son Himerius the priest, of whom I had hitherto seen little but heard much, his reputation being wide, came to Lyons not long ago from Troyes, and there I had a hurried opportunity of forming an opinion of him. In character he reminds me of the sainted Lupus, the foremost of our Gallic bishops, master of his sacred profession, and author of his rank within it. [2] Just God! how charming is his way of enouncing his views, whether he is urging or debating any given course of action! With what point he speaks when asked his advice, with what sweetness when he has resort to that of others! He is an enthusiast for letters, above all for sacred literature, in which he ever avoids the froth of verbiage and chooses the substantial marrow. The end of his every action is Christ's service; if he accelerates or delays, it is for that. It is a thing at once wonderful and admirable, that although he is always tranquil he does nothing idle. [3] Fasts are a joy to him, yet he does not abjure the social board; the way of the cross keeps him faithful to the first, love of his kind inclines him sometimes to the last. In either case he uses the utmost moderation; when he dines, he mortifies his appetite; when he fasts, it is without vainglory. On others he showers favours, but is reluctant to accept theirs; and when his turn to receive an equivalent comes, prefers that the debt should remain unpaid. [4] It is his way to give his inferiors precedence at table, or in council, or when travelling; this makes his superiors in rank delight to follow his example, and place themselves below him when they can. In intercourse with others he shows the utmost tact. The stranger is put at his ease; the feelings of a friend are never hurt. The over-credulous are not placed in false positions, nor are the curious rebuffed. Suspicion he meets without malice; he does not say hard things of knowledge, or treat ignorance with contempt. In the Church he has the simplicity of the dove, in the world the wisdom of the serpent. In his dealings with the good he has a name for prudence, with the bad for caution; but with neither does he resort to guile. [5] Enough: he seemed to me your second self, reproducing in the most charming manner all your moderation, your piety, your frankness, your modesty, the supreme purity of a sensitive and delicate mind. So that in future you can enjoy your privacy, and retire from the world as much as ever you like, since my brother Himerius with his grandsire's name, his father's looks, and the sage qualities of both will always be at my disposal. Farewell.

XIV.

To his friend Philagrius c. A. D. 470

[1] A SHORT while since at a large gathering of the principal persons here, some one mentioned your name. All were unanimous in sounding your praises, though one esteemed you for one quality and a second for another. Then certain individuals took on themselves to claim a more intimate acquaintance, on the ground that they saw you frequently. That made me flare up; I could not for a moment allow it to be said that one distinguished in all kinds of letters is better known by his countrified neighbours than by men of culture living a great distance away. [2] The discussion was carried further; some present argued the point with obstinacy, for it is characteristic of stupid people that they are easily proved wrong, but very hard to silence. I stood my ground, and maintained that it might indeed be trying for such a man's cultured friends to be deprived of his society, but that all the same it was endurable; their brains and their pens gave them access to the remotest province where the need of Culture was felt, while the unlettered fellow citizen was always a stranger within the gates. It was matter of frequent experience, I said, for men of education, separated by wide distances, to conceive for each other an esteem as great as any which can be produced by the most assiduous of personal relations. That being so, they had better leave off exaggerating the effect of unavoidable separations, for they only showed that they thought more of face than character. [3] People may argue, if they like, that matter, not mind, makes the man, but I am at a loss to find anything to wonder at in the human race, viewed corporeally, for its limits are so narrow, however wide its range of action; by the conditions of its birth, it is the most miserable and helpless of all that sees the light. The ox has his hairy coat, the boar his bristles, the bird its feathers; and in addition, these creatures have arms for offence and for defence in their horns and tusks and claws. But man's limbs are such poor things that they seem to have been flung at random into the world, not brought into it by intelligible laws. For other animals broad-bosomed Nature, like a true mother, provides all manner of protection; the human body she just casts forth, to give it thenceforward the stepmother's indifferent usage. [4] To me, who hold that your mind is greater than your body, the contrary supposition is untenable; it would be ridiculous, on that hypothesis, that man should be differentiated by possession of a reasoning mind from beasts unable to distinguish the true from the false. I should like to ask those who so absurdly judge friends by appearances instead of investigation, what remains when they have even in the slightest degree impaired the dignity of the human soul, what after that they find so eminent and admirable in man? [5] Is it height? that, is often a quality more appropriate in a beam. Is it strength? that reigns more mightily in the lion's sinewy neck.

Grace of feature? the clay of the statue and the wax of the portrait hold its impress better. Is it speed? for that, dogs are more justly famed than we. Vigilance? for that prize the owl competes. Is it strength of voice? the ass's bray is loudest. Industry? therein, on its tiny scale, the ant fears no comparison. [6] Do they allege keenness of sight? how absurd! as if the eagle's vision were not far above that of man. Keenness of hearing? as if the coarse-skinned swine were not his rival. Keenness of scent? as if in that the vulture were not supreme. Discernment of taste? as if there we were not far behind the monkey. I need hardly trouble to speak of touch, our fifth sense; the philosopher shares it with the worm. Why speak of the carnal appetites? the man's lust is satisfied in the same way as that of the brute. [7] And this poor thing is the humanity, paraded and tricked out by fools who give themselves airs and flout me because they know you more or less by sight! But I have always before my eyes a Philagrius other than theirs, a Philagrius who would not be himself if I saw him and he did not speak. The whole argument recalls to me a certain well-known remark, made on a different kind of occasion, it is true, but nevertheless to our point: 'The son of Marcus Cicero was speaking, and Rome did not even know who he was.' For accomplishments of mind bring with them dignity, worth, and the pre-eminence recognized by universal consent, and by their means alone man gradually attains the heights of merit. [8] First you have the animal frame, which by virtue of its form excels formless matter. Above that comes the body, possessing intelligence. And above the intelligence of beasts rises the mind of man. For as mere flesh is below life, so mere life is below reason, of which the Creator has made our substance alone capable, and not the substance of animals. Yet how variously conditioned is the human mind! There are souls which are rational indeed, but by reason of slowness and dull wits are spurned by others which see further and more clearly. In like manner, there are souls which, having only a natural understanding, accept the superiority of those more enlightened than themselves. [9] When I consider these gradations I always have before my mind's eye the Philagrius whom a similarity of tastes has made, potentially at least, my friend. However popular you may be, with the worthiest among us, no man has a clearer insight into your inner nature than he who strives outwardly to imitate you. And how closely I for my own part try to follow you in your inclinations, the rest of this letter shall reveal. [10] They say you like quiet people; I go further, and like the idle. You shun barbarians because of the bad name they bear; I avoid them even when they bear a good one. You are ardent in study; I do not suffer a natural indolence to hold me back. You act up to your religion; I only seem to do so. You do not covet your neighbour's goods; I hold it sufficient gain not to lose my own. [11] You love the society of the learned; to me the bigger the crowd of the unlettered, the vaster is the solitude. You are said to be of a cheerful countenance; I hold that every tear shed on earth except in prayer is vain. You are reported to be given to hospitality; my poor table, like the cave of Polyphemus, rejects no possible

guest. You are indulgent with your servants; it is no torture to me that mine are not tortured for each trivial fault committed. ^[12] Is it your view that a man should fast on alternate days? I am with you. That he should dine? I am not ashamed to anticipate you there. If Providence would grant me a sight of you, I should be as delighted as only he can be to whom even your smaller traits are familiar; with your greater qualities I am of course thoroughly acquainted. So that if I ever do manage to see you face to face, I shall hardly know you any better than I do now, though I may gain a new pleasure in existence. Farewell.

XV.

To his friend Salonius c. A. D. 470

[1] EVERY time I go to Vienne, I would give a great deal if you and your brother stayed more frequently in the town, for we three are all united not only by the ties of friendship but by those of a common literary interest. But your brother eludes my reproaches by pretending the visits he has constantly to make to his suburban property, so that he is never present to stand on his own defence; you in your turn find a similar excuse, as one possessed by a newly-acquired possession. [2] Be all this as it may, come this time, and I will let you go on condition that you both promise to come again, either in turn, or [together?] at some later time. You may live in the country and be model cultivators; but not till you give more labour yet to the Church which you love, will you bring increase to the true land of your souls. Farewell.

XVI.

To Abbot Chariobaudus A.D. 477

[1] IN alleviating by a letter of condolence the trouble of an absent friend, O my one patron in Christ, you have acted like your benevolent self. May your thoughts ever turn to me thus; may this interminable chain of anxieties which your exhortations have worn down be finally broken by your prayers. [2] I think your freedmen have concluded the business on which you sent them, and are on their way home; they have done everything with such energy that they never required any assistance. I send you by them a cowl for nightwear, though I admit that the end of winter, with summer in sight, is not quite the right time to send you woollens. When you are exhausted by long fasting, it shall give you proper protection as you pass from your bed to Vigils and back again. Farewell.

XVII.

To his brother Volusianus A.D. 477

[1] You ask me, my lord brother, by the law of friendship which none may infringe, to set my long inactive fingers to the old forge. I am to write a sad funeral dirge for the sainted Abraham, newly departed this life. I shall not fail to obey, moved alike by your authority, and even more by the devotion of the noble Count Victorius, my patron according to the world, my son according to the Church, whom I honour as a client, and love as a father. He gave abundant proof of his ardent solicitude for the servants of Christ, when by the sick priest's couch he humbled his dignity and bent his body low above the dying, his own face sympathetically paling with that already colourless by the approach of death; while his tears betrayed his deep feeling for the friend he was to lose. [2] He has insisted on taking the funeral almost entirely upon himself and defraying all the expenses required for the due obsequies of a priest; to complete the honour due to the memory of the departed, I can only contribute these few words, confining my pen to a plain testimony of a mutual affection.

*'Abraham, worthy to stand beside the celestial patrons whom I shall not fear to call thy colleagues, since they are gone before on the path which thou shalt follow; a share in the martyr's glory gives a share in the kingdom of heaven. Born by Euphrates, for Christ thou didst endure the prison, chains, and hunger for five long years. From the cruel King of Susa thou didst fly, escaping alone to the distant land of the West. Marvels born of his holiness followed the steps of the confessor; thyself a fugitive, thou didst put to flight the spirits of evil. Wherever thy footsteps passed, the throng of Lemures cried surrender; the exile's voice bade the demons go forth into banishment. All sought thee, yet didst thou yield to no vain ambition; the honours acceptable in thy sight were those that brought the heaviest burdens. Thou didst shun the tumult of Rome and of Byzantium, and the walls of the city that warlike Titus breached. Not Alexandria held thee, not Antioch; thou spurnedst Byrsa, the famed home of Dido. Thou didst condemn the populous lands of Ravenna by the marshes, and the city named from the woolly swine. But this corner of earth was pleasing to thee, this poor retreat, this hut roofed with reeds. Here didst thou rear a sacred house to God, thou whose own frame was already itself His temple. Here ended thy wanderings, here thy life's course; now thy labours are rewarded by a twofold crown. Now dost thou stand in Paradise amid the thousands of the Saints, with Abraham for thy fellow wanderer. Now art thou entered into thine own land, from which Adam fell; now lies thy way clear to the sources of thy native stream.'

[3] With these lines I have paid, as you desired, the last observance due to him who is now laid to rest. But if it is the duty of those who yet live, of

brothers, friends and comrades, to obey the commands of brotherly affection, I shall make you a request in my turn: I would beg you to use the principles with which you are so eminently endowed for the consolation of the dead man's followers, confirm by the discipline of Lerins or of Grigny the shaken rule of a brotherhood now cast adrift without a leader. If you find any insubordinate, see to it in person that they are punished; if any obedient, give them praise from your own lips. The holy Auxanius is presumed to be their head; but he, as you well know, is too infirm of body and of too diffident a character, and more fitted to obey than to command. He himself insists that you should be called in, that in succeeding to the headship of the house, he may have the support of your overheadship; for if any of the younger monks should treat him with disrespect, as one lacking alike in courage and experience, thanks to you, a joint rule would not be slighted with impunity. I say no more. If you would have my wishes in a few words, they are these; I desire brother Auxanius to be abbot over the rest, and you yourself to be above the abbot. Farewell.

* The verses are translated by Fertig, Part ii, p. 45.

XVIII.

To his friend Constantius c. A. D. 479

[1] 'WITH you my work began, with you it shall end.' I send the volume for which you asked, but the choice of letters has been rather hurried. I could only find comparatively few; I had not preserved any number, never having contemplated their appearance in this form. Few and trivial as they are, I was soon done with them; though when I had once started, I found the love of scribbling by no means dead within me, and that I was keen to balance any deficiency in their number by an addition to their length.

[2] At the same time, I thought that if it was to attract so fine a critic, the book would be handier and need less apology if you had a smaller weight of parchment to deal with, since in parts there was a certain lightness of style and subject which might give you cause of offence. I therefore submit to your judgement these manifold emotions of my heart, well aware that a book as surely reflects a man's mind as a mirror his face. A few of the letters preach, a number congratulate; some offer advice, others consolation; not a few are humorous.

[3] If here and there you find that I show unexpected heat, I would have you know that while Christ is my defender I will never suffer my judgement to be enslaved; I know as well as any one that with regard to this side of my character there are two opinions: the timid call me rash, the resolute a lover of freedom; I myself strongly feel that the man who has to hide his real opinions cuts a very abject figure. [4] To return to my original subject. If you ever allow yourself a rest from your unending studies in religious literature, these trivialities should afford you innocent distraction. There is here no interminable theme to weary you; each subject ends with its containing letter; you can see where you are at a glance, and have done before the inclination to read has died within you. Farewell.

BOOK VIII

I.

To his friend Petronius c. A. D. 480

[1] A MAN who makes it a principle, whenever he can, to encourage his friends along the path of glory deserves the gratitude of all good men everywhere: the practice is your honourable distinction; be true to it always. To no other cause can I ascribe this new request that I should turn out my cases at Clermont in the search for further letters. I should have thought the examples already published would have satisfied you; but I must needs obey, though I shall merely append a few at the end to supplement the original series, and crown the completed volume, as it were, by a marginal addition. [2] I shall now have fresh reason to be on my guard against malignant critics, for adding in this way to a book which has already seen the light. How, indeed, could I hope to escape the edged tongues of the spiteful-born, when even a Demosthenes and a Cicero for all their masterly periods and their perfected eloquence were not permitted to go free? The first found his detractor in Demades, the second in Antonius, carpers both, whose malice was as clear as their diction was obscure, and who have come down to posterity simply through their hate of excellence. [3] But since the command has gone forth, I set my sail to the old winds; I have navigated oceans, and shall I not cross this quiet water? I have always been convinced that a man should give of his best in anything he writes, and then tranquilly face all criticism. There is no middle course; one must either care no jot for what the malignant say, or else hold one's peace altogether. Farewell.

II.

To his friend Johannes A. D. 478

[1] I SHOULD hold myself guilty of something like a crime against polite learning, most accomplished of friends, were I for a moment to defer congratulation on your own success in deferring the decease of Literature. One might almost speak of her as dead and buried; it is your glory to have revived, supported and championed her, and in this tempest of war which has wrecked the Roman power, you are the sole master in Gaul who has brought the Latin tongue safely into port. [2] Our contemporaries and our successors should all with one accord and fervent gratitude dedicate statues or portraits to you, as to a new Demosthenes or Tully; by your example they were formed and educated, and they shall preserve in the very midst of an invincible but alien race this evidence of their ancient birthright. Since old grades of rank are now abolished which once distinguished the high from the low, in future culture must afford the sole criterion of nobility. None is more deeply indebted to your learning than I; for like all authors professed, who write for posterity, I shall owe to your school and your teaching the certainty of an understanding audience. Farewell.

III.

To his friend Leo A. D. 478

[1] I SEND you, at your request, the *Life of Apollonius the Pythagorean*, not in the transcription by Nicomachus the Elder, from Philostratus, but in that from Nicomachus himself by Tascius Victorianus. I was so eager to fulfil your wish, that the result is a makeshift of a copy, obscure and over-hurried, and rough as any version could be. Yet the work took me longer than I expected, and for this you must not blame me, for all the time I was a captive within the walls of Livia, release from which I owe, next to Christ, to you. My mind was sick with care and really unable to fulfil my task even in the most desultory manner; all kinds of hindrances prevented me — various obligations by day, my utter misery at night. [2] When the evening hour brought me at last to my quarters, ready to drop with fatigue, my heavy eyelids knew small repose; there were two old Gothic women established quite close to the window of my chamber, who at once began their chatter — quarrelsome, drunken, and disgusting creatures, whose like will not easily be seen again. As soon as my restoration to my own home gave me a little leisure, I dispatched the book with all its faults upon it, uncorrected, ill-digested, as you might say, an immature wine; in doing so, I thought more of your anxiety to have it, than of my own responsibilities. [3] Now that your wish is gratified, forsake awhile Apollo's bays and the fount of Hippocrene; forget the measures of which you alone are absolute master, and which, in those who have only your learning without your eloquence, seem not so much to rise from a well-spring as to drip painfully from fevered brows. Stay the renowned stream of an eloquence peculiar to your race and line, which, flowing from your ancestor the great Fronto through successive generations, has now passed in due course into your breast. Lay aside awhile the universally applauded speeches composed for the royal lips, those famed deliverances with which the glorious monarch from his exalted place strikes terror into the hearts of tribes beyond the seas, or binds a treaty on the necks of barbarians trembling by the Waal, or throughout his newly extended realm curbs force itself by law as once he curbed his foes by force. [4] Shake off the burden of your endless cares and steal a little leisure from the affairs and agitations of the court. Not till you surrender yourself wholly to this book, and in imagination voyage with our Tyaneus to Caucasus and Ind, among the Gymnosophists of Ethiopia and the Brahmins of Hindostan, not till then shall you know the story you desired in its right hour and as it should be known. [5] Read, then, the life of a man who, but for his paganism, in many points resembled you, as one who did not pursue riches, but was pursued by the rich; who loved knowledge and did not covet money; who was abstemious among the feasters and went in coarse linen among princes robed in purple; who was grave amid luxurious follies;

whose hair was matted, whose face was rough and hirsute among smooth, anointed peoples; who was conspicuous in the dignity of his squalor among satraps of crowned monarchs exquisite in person and drenched with nard and myrrh; who abstained from animal flesh and would not clothe himself in wool, — for such abstinence, indeed, held more in honour than contempt in the Eastern kingdoms which he traversed. When royal treasures were placed at his disposal, he asked only the gifts he liked to offer others and would not keep himself. [6] Why pursue the subject further? Unless I am much at fault, it may be doubted whether our ancestors' days produced a biographer fit to write so great a life; but of this there is no doubt at all, that in your person our own times have produced a student worthy to peruse it. Farewell.

IV.

To his friend Consentius c. A. D. 478

[1] WILL Providence ever allow us to meet once more, honoured lord, on your estate of Octaviana — I call it yours, but it seems really to belong to your friends just as much as to you. Situated as it is near town and sea and river, it offers continual hospitality to all comers, and to yourself a regular succession of guests. How charming, too, is its first aspect, with its walls so cleverly designed in perfect architectural symmetry! how brilliant is the gleam of chapel colonnade and baths conspicuous near and far! Then there is the amenity of its fields and waters, its vines and olives, its approach, its beauty of hill and plain. Well stocked and furnished with abundance, it has also a large and copious library; when the master is there, dividing his interests between pen and plough, one might be in doubt whether his mind or his estate enjoys the finer culture. [2] No wonder this was the chosen place (unless my memory deceives me) where you have produced the swift iambics, the pointed elegiacs, the rounded hendecasyllables, and all the other verses fragrant with thyme and flowers of poesy to be sung by every one at Béziers and Narbonne! These poems, no less remarkable for speed of composition than for charm of style, make you beloved of your contemporaries and must increase your fame among those who shall come after us. I have always been convinced of it myself every time a new poem of yours has been brought me, as it were hot from the composer's anvil, and though I may be an indifferent writer, I am no such despicable critic. [3] My earlier life might not improperly find time for such pursuits, and in fact it did so. But now I only read and write of serious things, for now it is high time to think rather of eternal life than of posthumous renown, and to remember that after death our good works, and not our literary work, will be weighed in the balance. [4] I am far from implying by this that you do not excel in both, or that the lively style which you still affect is inconsistent with gravity of judgement; but since by Christ's grace you are already a saint in secret, I would have you openly submit to His salutary yoke a head and heart alike devoted to His service, your tongue unwearying in prayer and praise, your mind filled with pious thoughts, your hand ever open in benefaction. Especially would I insist upon the open hand, for all that you cast abroad among the churches is really gathered in for yourself. Let this reflection above all incite you to the exercise of generosity, that whatever be our opportunities in respect of the things which the foolish call this world's goods, all that we give in charity remains our own, all that we keep is really lost to us. Farewell.

V.

To his friend Fortunalis c. A. D. 480

[1] You too shall figure in my pages, dear Fortunalis, column of friendship, bright ornament of your Spanish country. Your own acquaintance with letters is not, after all, so slight as to deprive you of any immortality which they can confer. The glory of your name shall live; yes, it shall survive into after ages.

[2] If my writings win any favour or respect, if they command any confidence among men, I will have posterity know that none were more stout of heart than you; that none were goodlier to see or more equitable in judgement, none more patient, none weightier in council, gayer in company, or more charming in conversation. Last, and not least, it shall learn that these praises have been enhanced by your misfortunes. For it is more likely to hold you great, as one proved in the hard day of adversity, than as one who lay hidden in the bosom of kind fortune. Farewell.

VI.

To his friend Namatius c. A. D. 480*

[1] CAIUS JULIUS CAESAR, reputed the greatest master of strategy who ever lived, was a great reader and a great writer also. Though he was the first man of his age, and the arts of war and rhetoric disputed his genius with equally glorious results, yet he never considered himself to have attained the summit in either branch of knowledge until your orator of Arpinum proclaimed him without a rival among men. [2] To compare small things with great, it has been the same in my own case, however vast my inferiority. No one should know this better than yourself, concerned as you have always been for my success and for my modesty in bearing it. I learn that Flavius Nicetius, distinguished above all his countrymen by his birth, his rank, his merit, his prudence, his wise knowledge of the world, has accorded my small work unlimited praise. He has gone further and declared that while yet in the prime of life I have surpassed in the two fields of literature and war the great number of our young men and not a few of the older among us. [3] If I may say it without vanity, I derive real satisfaction from the approval of so eminent a judge. If he is right, his weight counts for much; if partial, I have a fresh proof of his friendship; though nowadays every man of us is but a sluggard in deed, and in word an infant in comparison with his forefathers. To the men of earlier ages the ruler of all ages granted supreme excellence in these arts; but now the world waxes old, the quickening seed is exhausted, the marrow lost; and if in our time aught of admirable or memorable appears, it is manifest in exceeding few. [4] Nicetius may lead all learning and all letters, but I fear that our intimacy may have led him to exaggerate my merit through the bias natural to friendship. And were it so, I will not deny that in the past I used often to attend the delivery of his luminous speeches, and however fleeting or imperfect my memories, I may properly recall some of them in the present place, even at the risk of being thought to join a game of mutual admiration.

[5] I heard him speak when I was growing to manhood and had just left boyhood behind me; at that time my father was praetorian prefect presiding over the tribunals of Gaul, and in his term of office Astyrius assumed the *trabea* and in a propitious hour inaugurated his consulship. On that day I hardly stirred from the *curule* chair; my age gave me no right to a seat, but my rank allowed me to keep in the foreground; so I stood next to the censor's men who in their official mantles stood nearest to the consul. As soon as the largess had been distributed (and that took little time though it was no little one), as soon as the diptychs had been bestowed, the representative advocates of the province who had come in from every district asked with one consent that the assumption of the consul's office might be celebrated in a panegyric. The ceremonies had anticipated the day, and there was yet some time before

the late dawn, which otherwise would have been passed in silence. [6] All eyes turned at once towards Nicetius, the first men present were the first to look his way; the assembly called upon him not by a voice here or there, but by general acclamation; he reddened, and cast down his eyes, giving us such an earnest of his modest nature as gained him hardly fewer bravos than the eloquence he subsequently displayed. He spoke with method, with gravity, with fire; if his ardour was great, his fluency was yet greater, and his science greatest of all; his coloured and golden language seemed to enhance the splendour of the consul's palm-embroidered robe, steeped though it was in Sarranian dyes and rich with applied strips that rustled at every movement of the wearer. [7] About that time (to speak like a decemvir) was promulgated the statute of limitations which decreed in summary terms that all cases protracted to thirty years should automatically lapse. It was our orator who first introduced this law, as yet unknown in Gaul; he advocated it at the tribunal; he expounded it to the various parties; and he finally saw it added to the statute-book, before a great audience whose members mostly kept their feet in their excitement and only interrupted by applause. [8] I had many other occasions of observing his intellectual capacity, myself unobserved, and therefore in the best of all positions to see the real man; for though my father governed the province, it was to Nicetius that he went for advice. It must suffice to say that I never heard of a single action of which I did not like to hear, and which I did not admire.

[9] The union in his person of all these fine qualities naturally makes me proud to receive the suffrage of a critic so high in the public esteem. Whatever his opinion, it must have great influence; if rumour is true, he is on my side, and I shall have just as good reason to be reassured as I should have had to feel uneasy had his vote gone the other way. In any case, I am determined, as soon as I know for certain what he thinks, either to give silence a loose rein, or curb my facility according to the verdict. For if he supports me I shall be inclined to go on talking like an Athenian; if he condemns, no citizen of Amyclae shall hold his tongue like me.

[10] But no more of myself or of my friend: how does the world go with you? I am every whit as eager to hear your news as to give you mine. Are you hunting, or building, or playing the country gentleman? Are you indulging one only of these pursuits or each in turn, or all together? As for Vitruvius and Columella, you do well to study either one or both, for you are competent to deal with either admirably, as one who is equally at home in agriculture and in building. [11] With sport the case is different, and I beg you not to plume yourself upon your prowess. It is useless to invite the boar to meet your spears, so long as you take the field alone with those exceedingly merciful hounds of yours; you just rouse the quarry, but not enough to make him run. It is excusable enough that your dogs should dread close quarters with such formidable beasts as boars; but what apology can you make when they hunt poor helpless kids and timid does, head high and spirits prone, stinting the

pace but prodigal of music? [12] You will find it more profitable to net in the rough rocks and likely coverts, and cry the dogs on from a chosen post; if you have any self-respect left, you will give up galloping over the open country and lying in wait for the leverets of Oléron. Indeed it is hardly worth while to worry them on rare occasions by unleashing the hounds in the open, unless our good Apollinaris comes to help you and your father, and gives you a better run.

[13] But, joking apart, do let me know how things go with you and your household. Just as I was on the point of ending a letter which had rambled on long enough, lo and behold! a courier from Saintonges. I whiled away some time talking with him about you; and he was very positive that you had weighed anchor, and in fulfilment of those half military, half naval duties of yours were coasting the western shores on the look-out for curved ships; the ships of the Saxons, in whose every oarsman you think to detect an arch-pirate. Captains and crews alike, to a man they teach or learn the art of brigandage; therefore let me urgently caution you to be ever on the alert. [14] For the Saxon is the most ferocious of all foes. He comes on you without warning; when you expect his attack he makes away. Resistance only moves him to contempt; a rash opponent is soon down. If he pursues he overtakes; if he flies himself, he is never caught. Shipwrecks to him are no terror, but only so much training. His is no mere acquaintance with the perils of the sea; he knows them as he knows himself. A storm puts his enemies off their guard, preventing his preparations from being seen; the chance of taking the foe by surprise makes him gladly face every hazard of rough waters and broken rocks.

[15] Moreover, when the Saxons are setting sail from the continent, and are about to drag their firm-holding anchors from an enemy's shore, it is their usage, thus homeward bound, to abandon every tenth captive to the slow agony of a watery end, casting lots with perfect equity among the doomed crowd in execution of this iniquitous sentence of death. This custom is all the more deplorable in that it is prompted by honest superstition. These men are bound by vows which have to be paid in victims, they conceive it a religious act to perpetrate this horrible slaughter, and to take anguish from the prisoner in place of ransom; this polluting sacrilege is in their eyes an absolving sacrifice. [16] I am full of anxiety and apprehension about these dangers, though on the other hand there are factors which encourage me mightily. Firstly, the standards under which you sail are those of an ever-victorious nation. Secondly, men of prudence, among whose number you may fairly be included, are not in the habit of leaving anything to chance. Thirdly, very intimate friends who live far from each other are apt to feel alarm without due cause, because it is natural to be apprehensive of events at once incalculable and occurring very far away. [17] You will perhaps argue that the cause of my uneasiness need not be taken so seriously. That may be true; but it is also true that we are most timid in regard to those whom we love best. So take the first

opportunity of relieving the fears which your situation has aroused by a good account of your fortunes. I am incorrigible on this head, and shall always fear the worst for friends abroad until they contradict it themselves, especially those harassed by the watchword or the signal for attack.

[18] In accordance with your request, I send you the *Libri Logistorici* of Varro and the Chronology of Eusebius. If these models reach you safely, and you find a little leisure from the watches and the duties of the camp, you will be able, your arms once furbished, to apply another kind of polish to an eloquence which must be getting rusty. Farewell.

* The latter part translated by Hodgkin (ii. 366-8), who also refers to the episode of Nicetius' oration (ibid. 306-7).

VII.

To his friend Audax A. D. 474

[1] I WISH you would tell me into what corner of the world the folk are crept who used to be so proud of wealth amassed, and heaps of tarnished family plate. Where, too, are the men who on mere grounds of seniority thought to overbear those whose one sin it was to be younger? Where are the people gone whose real affinities come out in nothing so clearly as in their capacity for hatred? [2] As soon as ever merit found recognition, as soon as ever weight of character, and not weight of coin, began to tell in the scales of imperial opinion, these worthies were left in the cold with their insolent claim to precedence by simple right of property. Brooding over their money-bags, and, I may add, their vices, they want to brand those who rise in the world as vain upstarts, while they would be shocked at the suggestion that they owe their own riches to greed. Athletes in this arena of defamation, they rub in the poisonous juice of spite in place of oil, and so reduce their weight. [3] But all hail to you, whose way is the opposite of theirs. You have now the honour of prefectorian rank, and though the prestige of high descent was always yours, you have if anything laboured rather the more on that account to shed a new lustre upon your posterity. To an enlightened mind, none seems nobler than he who steadily devotes all his power, his intellect, and his resources to the single end of excelling his forefathers. [4] Well, it shall be my prayer that your sons may equal you, or even (a better prayer still) leave you behind; and that if there is any envious soul who cannot bear to see you advanced above him, he may just endure the seething torment of his own spite, and never having had the chance of patronizing you, have now the fullest reason for his jealousy. It is only justice that under a just prince he should come at the bottom who is personally nothing and only important in personalty; a starveling spirit, and counting only for his money. Farewell.

VIII.

To his friend Syagrius A. D. 474 (?)

[1] TELL me, fine flower of our Gallic youth, how much longer your ardour for country labours will bid you scorn the town? How long shall rustic implements unrightfully usurp the hands only worn before by throwing dice? How much longer is your estate of Taionnacus to weary your patrician limbs with a peasant's toil? How much longer, O cavalier turned ploughman, will you go on burying in the winter fallows the spoil of the waving meadows? how much longer ply your blunt and heavy hoe along the interminable vine-rows? [2] Why, professed rival of Serranus and Camillus, do you guide the plough, yet renounce the embroidered toga? Give up this rustic folly; cease to disgrace your birth. Who cultivates in moderation is lord of his land, who does too much is slave of it. Return to your fatherland, return to your father, return to all the loyal friends who can justly claim a place in your affections. Or, if the life of Cincinnatus the Dictator attracts you so, first wed a Racilia to yoke your oxen for you. [3] I don't suggest that a man of sense should neglect his domestic affairs; but he should use moderation and think not merely of what he ought to have but what he ought to be. If you renounce all higher interests, if your one motive in life is the increase of your property, then, what can it avail you to descend from a line of consuls and see every day their ivory curule chairs with applied ornament of gold and their calendars enriched with purple? Your plodding and obscure career will bring you rather burdens from the revenue officials than honour from the censor. Farewell.

IX.

*To his friend Lampridius * A. D. 478*

[1] ON my arrival at Bordeaux, your messenger brought me a letter from you full of nectar, rich with blooms and pearls. You arraign my silence, and ask me for some of my poems, in a few of those verses of yours which your cadenced voice so often sends echoing from your melodious palate, like music poured from a flute of many stops. In this you take mean advantage of your royal munificence; you have sent your gift; you feel impregnable. Perhaps you have forgotten one satirist's remark about another:

'When Horace says "Evohe", he has plenteously dined.'

[2] Enough! You are right to send a command from your place of ease, bidding me sing because you are in the mood to dance. In any case I must obey; and far from acknowledging compulsion, I yield of my own free will; but spare me, if you can, the criticism of your proud Catonian brow. You know well enough what manner of thing a poet's gladness is; his spirit is entangled in grief as the fish in nets; if sorrow or affliction comes, his sensitive soul does not so lightly work free from the bonds of anguish: I am still unsuccessful in obtaining a decision about my mother-in-law's estate, even provisionally, though I have offered a third part of it as ransom. [3] You must see whether the theme of my verses is such as to please you; but my cares forbid me to live in one mood and write in another. It would be unfair to me were you to institute a comparison between our two poems. I am harassed; you are happy. I am in exile; you enjoy your rights of citizenship. I cannot attain your level; I want of you verse like my own, but receive something infinitely better. [4] But if by any chance these trifles composed in the midst of much mental tribulation obtain indulgence at your hands, I will let you persuade me that they are like the swan's notes, whose song is more harmonious just before his death; or that they are like lyre-strings tensely drawn, which make the sweeter music the tighter they are strained. But if verses without suggestion of gaiety or ease can never really please, you will find nothing satisfactory in the enclosed. [5] Do not forget, moreover, a second point which tells against me, namely that a piece which you only read and cannot hear recited is robbed of all the advantage which delivery by the author lends it. His manuscript once dispatched, the most musical of poets has no further resource; distance does not allow him to do for himself what mimics do by their accompaniment — make bad verse acceptable by dint of fine delivery.

* 'Lampridius, glory of our Thalia, why urge me now to sing of Cirrha, or the Boeotian Muses, or Helicon's poetic stream called by neighing Pegasus to life at a stroke of his hoof? Why would you make me write as if I had received the Delphic insignia from your Delian god, and, myself a new

Apollo, possessed the hangings, and the tripods, the lyre, the quivers, the bows, and gryphons, or tossed from my brow the laurel and the ivy? You, O happy Tityrus, have won your lands again; you may wander through the groves of plane and myrtle, and strike a lyre with which your voice makes perfect harmony. Wondrous is the music of string and tone and measure.

Twice has the moon risen upon me prisoned here; and but once have I been received into the presence. For scant leisure has the King even for himself, since all the subjugated earth awaits his nod. We see in his courts the blue-eyed Saxon, lord of the seas, but a timid landsman here. The razor's keen blade, content no more to hold its usual course round the head's extremity, with clean strokes shearing to the skin, drives the margin of the hair back from his brow, till the head looks smaller and the visage longer. We see thee, aged Sygambrian warrior, the back of thy head shaven in sign of thy defeat; but now thou guidest the new-grown locks to the old neck again. Here strolls the Herulian with his glaucous cheeks, inhabitant of Ocean's furthest shore, and of one complexion with its weedy deeps. Here the Burgundian bends his seven feet of stature on suppliant knee, imploring peace. Here the Ostrogoth finds a powerful patron, and crushing the Hun beyond his border, triumphs at home only through his homage to this mighty patron. And here, O Roman, thou also seekest thy protection; if the Great Bear menaces commotion, and the Scythian hordes advance, the strong arm of Euric is invoked, that Garonne, drawing power from the Mars who loves his banks, may bring defence to the dwindled stream of Tiber. Here the Parthian Arsacid himself asks grace to hold, a tributary, his high hall of Susa. He perceives in the regions of the Bosphorus dread war arise with all its enginery, nor hopes that Persia, dismayed at the mere sound of conflict, shall avail to guard alone Euphrates' bank. He who boasts himself kin with stars and near allied to Phoebus, even he becomes a simple mortal, and descends to lowly supplication.

At such a court my days go by in vain. But do you, O Tityrus, refrain, nor invite me more to song. I envy thee no longer; I can but marvel at thy fortune. For myself, I effect nothing; I utter fruitless prayers, and so become another Meliboeus.'

[6] There is the poem. Read it at your leisure, and like a charioteer already crowned, look down from the balcony to the arena where I struggle still in the sweat and dust of contest. Do not expect me to do the like again, whatever pleasure you derive from this present effort, until the happy day arrives when I can turn my mind once more from dark vaticinations to the service of the Muse. Farewell.

* The poem partly translated by A. Thierry, *Lettres sur l'histoire de France*, p. 103.

* Translated into verse by Fertig, Part ii, p. 23; and into prose by Chaix, ii. 229.

[1] I AM indeed delighted that you derive from letters at once a benefit and a pleasure. But I should be freer to extol the fire and fluency of your style, were it not that while assiduously praising me yourself you forbid me to return the compliment with interest. Your letter had all the sweetness of affection, all the grace of natural eloquence, all the mastery of style; it failed only in one respect — the choice of subject, and even there you have the credit of good intention, an error of judgement forms its only fault. You cover me with immense laudation. But you should have spared my blushes, and recalled betimes the saying of Symmachus: ‘True praise adorns, false praise lashes.’ [2] But unless I misjudge your genius you have not only shown sincere affection, but also remarkable dexterity. The really eloquent love to show the stuff they are made of by choosing a subject full of difficulty; they drive the accomplished pen as if it were the plough of fertile speech through matter sterile as dry and barren soil. Life abounds with examples of skill similarly applied. The hopeless case proves the great doctor, the tempest proves the steersman; for both, the perils traversed enhance reputation; their talent wastes unseen until it finds a proper scope. [3] In the same manner the great orator proves his ample genius most effectively in strait places. Thus Marcus Tullius, who always surpassed his rivals, in his speech for Aulus Cluentius surpassed even himself. Marcus Fronto stood head and shoulders above others in all his pleadings, but in that against Pelops he rose above his own high level. Gaius Plinius won greater fame for his defence of Attia Viriola from the centumvirs’ tribunal than for the panegyric which almost matched the matchless Trajan. [4] You have followed these great examples; confident in your powers, you have not feared to take so miserable a subject as myself. But let me rather have the succour of your prayers in my depression; do not lure me with a cozening eloquence, or crush my frail and ailing soul by the weight of an illusory renown. Your diction indeed is fine, but your life finer; and I think you will serve me better by your orisons than by your perorations. Farewell.

XI.

To his friend Lupus c. A. D. 480*

[1] TELL me about your folk of Périgueux and Agen, whose competing claims upon you are ever a source of pious emulation? You are bound to the people of the one place by your own property, to those of the other by your wife's family connexions; your birth tells in favour of the first, your marriage speaks for the second; and the best of it is that each place has good ground for its contention. God has verily marked you for happiness, when the privilege of securing you and keeping you longest becomes an object of ambition to two rival communities. [2] You grant the favour of your presence to each in regular alternation, restoring to one its Drepanius, to the other its Anthedius; if rhetoric be the object of their desire, neither need regret a Paulinus and an Alcimus as long as you are with them. All this makes me marvel more that you should care to ask for any old poems of mine when any day you like you have the rummaging of so representative a library as your own. I cannot refuse you, though this is a time of mourning, and the revival of the old jests is somewhat out of place.

[3] It is but recently that the news reached me of Lampridius the rhetor's murder. He was my very dear friend; and even if no violent death had snatched him from our midst, his end would have smitten me with profound affliction. In the days that are gone, we had our jokes together, as intimates will; I was Phoebus, he the Odrysian bard. So much it was necessary to premise, or the use of these fanciful epithets would have obscured the sense of the following poem. You must know that once upon a time, when about to visit Bordeaux, I wrote him a letter of inquiry as to quarters, sent with the Muse in advance. Sad though the present occasion is, I feel less constraint in sending these verses, than if I had forwarded some mournful composition on our loss; anything of that sort I should have written ill, while the subject would have been no less painful to yourself.

'Orders of Phoebus to his own beloved Thalia. Dear pupil, lay aside the lyre awhile; bind up your flowing hair with a verdant wreath, and let a zone of ivy gird the up-bound folds of your full-bosomed robe. See you put no soccus on, plunge not the foot deep, as your custom is, in the loose cothurnus; but bind on such sandals as did Harpalyce, or she who felled her wooers with victorious sword. You shall go the swifter, you shall leap and fly along, if your toes are left uncovered to guide your sandalled feet with quick firm steps, and if the chain of laces, with their converging loops, is brought up through a great loop to the leg. So equipped for speed, see that you find my Orpheus, who daily by his sweet and tuneful art softens rocks and trees, aye, and the hardest hearts; my Orpheus, whose style the sonorous tongue of the Arpinate enriches, and the pen of Maro, or thine, Horace, which gladdens the heart of

Latium. As lyric bard he excels the great Alcaeus; he is skilled to indite the high strain of tragedy, or the humours of the comic Muse; he can flame out in satire, and arraign the raging tyrant with resounding voice. To this Orpheus say: "Phoebus comes; he has left the road, his oars now smite the bosom of Garonne, white with sails. He bids you meet him, but first be swift to prepare him hospitable welcome." And to Leontius whom Livia bore, she of the old Senatorial line, say this: "He is almost here." Then go to Rusticus, whose wit belies his name. But if they say they have no room, and that their houses are full, go next to the bishop's gate; kiss the holy Gallicinus' hand, and ask the freedom of his lowly dwelling lest, rejected on all sides, I am driven to turn sadly to some sodden tavern, where I should soon need to hold my nose and inveigh against the reeking kitchen with its ruddy sausages which hang in two rows, exhaling odours from thymy pots, while jars and hissing plates send up clouds of steam together. Even there, when the feast-day rouses the hoarse song, and the parasite in the ecstasy of his grumbling makes the air resound, yes, even there and even then, my voice incited by the muse of a thirsty host, I, worse barbarian than all, shall whisper verses more worthy of your praise.'

[4] Alas for the abject necessity of being born, alas for the miserable necessity of living, alas for the hard compulsion of death! to these things we are borne round on the voluble wheel of human life. I liked the dead man well; he had his failings, which were venial enough, blending with his virtues qualities of less worth. The slightest cause would excite him, but his wrath was also slight; I always tried to persuade his other friends that these were defects of temperament, and nowise due to malice; I suggested other points in his favour, as that his passion was a physical tyranny, dominating his nature; I tried to clear him of the blot of cruelty by lending it the colour of mere severity. Though before his mind was made up he was weak, he was most resolute when once convinced. Like all credulous men, he was reckless; like all those who mean no harm, he suspected none in others. He hated no one enough to abuse him, and liked no one enough to resist the pleasure of sometimes breaking out against him. Though a very conspicuous figure, he was not ready of access; he had to be borne with, but he was bearable.

[5] If one were to attempt an estimate of him as orator, one would say that he was at once terse and copious, concise and ample; if as poet, that he had feeling, that he was a master of measure, and a consummate literary craftsman. He had the gift of writing verse of extreme finish, and wonderfully varied alike in metre and in metaphor. His hendecasyllables were easy and fluent, his hexameters stately and sonorous; in elegiacs he could handle the 'echoing' or the 'recurrent' line, and could link end with beginning by ingenious repetitions. [6] He could adapt his style to person, place or occasion as the subject required, and that too, not with commonplaces, but by chosen terms replete with dignity and beauty. In controversy he was a power, and wielded a strong arm; in satire alert and mordant. If his subject was tragic, he could command terror and pathos; if comic, he was polished and infinite in

resource. In Fescennines his diction was of a vernal freshness and ardent in vows; his bucolics were terse, alert, and musical. In georgics he could strike the perfect rustic note, though he had no touch of rusticity about him. [7] In epigram he shunned diffuseness and aimed at point; he would always write at least two lines, but never exceeded four; there was often a sting in the words, more often still some graceful turn, and, without exception, wit. Horace was his model in lyrics; his iambics went with a swing, his choriambics with a fine gravity; his Alcaics had a supple grace, and his Sapphics were inspired. In short, his work was so fine, so accomplished, so happy in expression, that one might fairly think of him as a bird of glorious wing, following next after the Horatian and Pindaric swans.

[8] His interest in different amusements was very unequal. Hazard was a weariness, the ball game a delight. He liked to chaff his friends; and it was a nice feature in him that he liked being chaffed himself still better. He wrote a great deal, but was always longing to write more. He read the ancients with perseverance and reverent admiration, the moderns without jealousy; he would give ungrudging praise to talent, perhaps the most difficult form of generosity on earth. [9] Unfortunately he had the indefensible, I might say the fatal, fault of superstition. He was curious as to the manner of his death, and consulted those African astrologers whose nature is as fiery as their native clime. They considered the position of the stars when he was born, and told him his climacteric year, month, and day — I use the astrological terms — as men to whom the scheme of his nativity was revealed in all its sinister conditions. It seemed that in the year of his birth, all the planets which rose favourably in the zodiac sank with blood-red fires; whether it was that Mercury made them baleful, asyndetic upon the diameter, or Saturn retrograde upon the tetragon, or Mars returning to his old position upon the centre. [10] Beliefs like these, whatever their precise form, are false, and cannot but delude; if we are to discuss them openly, and at length, we must wait until we meet, for you too are deep in the science of numbers, and with your wonted diligence study Vertacus, Thrasybulus, and Saturninus from end to end: yours is a mind always intent on things lofty and arcane. It must be admitted that in the present case there was neither appearance of mere conjecture nor deliberate ambiguity: death enmeshed our reckless inquirer into the future exactly when and how it had been foretold; all his shifts to evade it were in vain. [11] He was strangled by his own slaves in his own house; choked and throttled he died the death of Scipio of Numantia, if not quite that of Lentulus, Jugurtha, and Sejanus. The one relieving feature in the cruel business was the discovery of crime and criminal as soon as the day broke. The first sight of the body was enough to show a fool or a blind man that death had come by violence. [12] The livid hue, the protruding eyes, the distorted features with their look of mingled fury and anguish, all were so many proofs of what had happened. The floor was wet about his lips, because the scoundrels had turned him with his face to the ground when the deed was done, as if to suggest that

life had left him with a sudden haemorrhage. The source, inciter, and ringleader of the conspiracy was first captured; next his accomplices were seized and separately confined till the terror of torture drew the truth from their unwilling breasts. [13] Would we could say that our friend had not deserved his end by his rash and ill-advised resort to vain advisers. But I fear that he who presumes to probe forbidden secrets sets himself beyond the pale of the Catholic faith; he deserves the lot of all who put unlawful questions and receive replies that point to doom. His death was avenged, it is true, but only the survivors gain by that, for the execution of a murderer cannot mend the mischief; it only affords a certain satisfaction of revenge.

[14] My attachment to the dead man has led me to write at too great length; such a grief I could not vent in silence. I will end by begging you to give me any news you can, if only a line or two, to relieve the burden of my melancholy. For the relation of this sad story with all its horror has naturally troubled me, and filled my mind with mournful thoughts; indeed, for the time being I can neither think, speak, nor write on any other subject. Farewell.

* An abridged translation is given by Hodgkin, ii. 331 ff.

XII.

To his friend Trygetius A. D. 461-7

[1] HAS Bazas, built on dust in place of good green earth, such charms, have lands sandy as Syrtes, and moving soil and dunes bandied by retorting winds such hold upon you, that neither earnest prayers of invitation, nor force of friendships, nor even the most succulent oysters of our pools, suffice to bring you this trifling distance in to Bordeaux, where we have been expecting you all these days? Is it that the hardships of a winter journey deter you? those wild winds of Bigorre will often obliterate the soft tracks, and perhaps you dread a kind of shipwreck upon land? [2] If so, your memory is short; how long ago was it that Gibraltar was conquered by your bold foot? or that your camp was pitched on the uttermost shores of Cadiz? or the last goal of great wanderings reached, common to Hercules and to my Trygetius? Are you grown such a traitor to your proper nature as to abandon yourself wholly to sloth, you who once ranged the lands of mystery and fable, you whose limbs might fail, but never your indefatigable purpose? [3] Yet with such a record, you come down to Langon harbour crawling with no less reluctance than one bound for the Danube to resist the all-invading Massagetae, or for the dull flood of Nile with all its awful crocodiles. If a bare twelve miles can so delay you, what would you have done had you been with Marcus Cato on his marches through the deserts of Leptis?

[4] You shiver, it seems, at the mere name of the winter months; but I can assure you we enjoy the gentlest, mildest, and clearest skies, where the lightest breezes serve as winds; so nominal a winter season should less deter than the temperate reality attract. But if my letter of invitation leaves you still obdurate, you shall not resist the verses which in two days' time shall go forth to the attack, more insidious in persuasion, yet I trust none the less strenuous agents of my wishes. [5] My friend Leontius, first of all our Aquitanians, with Paulinus, worthy son of worthy sire, are to meet you with the falling tide on the Garonne at the appointed place; so that not only the boats, but the very river itself shall come out with them to greet you. The oarsmen at the thwarts, the steersmen on the poops, shall tune their chants to sing your praises. They shall pile high for you a couch of cushions, there shall be a board set with men of two colours; the dice shall await you, ready to be thrown and thrown again from the ivory steps of the boxes. A pine-wood grating shall be fixed across the bottom of the boat so that the bilge flowing to and fro shall never wet your dangling foot; a wicker screen above shall protect you from the treacherous winter sun. [6] What more could the most pampered of the indolent expect than to find himself at his destination before he seemed well under weigh? A truce to your objections and delays; I could swear that the snail with his house on his back would easily outstrip you. And to think that there is a store-room at

your command crammed with piles of the most exquisite delicacies and only wanting an enterprise to do it justice! [7] Come, then, to be entertained or to entertain; or, best of all, to do both; come with all your armoury of Mediterranean fare to crush and subjugate the finely equipped gourmets of Médoc. On our battle-ground let us see the fish of Adour triumph over the mullets of Garonne, and our coarse crew of crabs fall back before the lobster-armies of Bayonne. Join battle after this wise with the rest of us; but if you value my opinion, take a veteran's advice as a wise man should, and leave my senatorial host out of the contest; if you once come beneath his hospitable roof, you will feast as if you enjoyed continual feasts or the banquets of a Cleopatra. His own and his country's honour will be involved in the competition; and it is generally agreed that he surpasses all his rivals just as far as his city leaves all other cities behind. Farewell.

XIII.

To the Lord Bishop Nunechius A.D. 472-4

[1] No one, most blessed father, rejoices more than I over the number and variety of virtues with which you are so richly endowed by Heaven. You are described as a man of birth who is never arrogant, a man of influence who makes a blameless use of power, a man of piety untouched by superstition. You are praised as one who is learned without airs and serious without fatuity; one whose wit is never rehearsed, who is courteous, but knows his mind, and sociable without any love of popularity.

[2] And not content with allowing you these qualities, Fame crowns them with another of yet higher degree, the supreme gift of charity — Fame who, however she may sing your praises, must leave the greater part unsung. For though she can explain to distant friends the aim of your good deeds, their number is beyond the powers of her relation. The tale of them fires me now to make you a first advance, as a conscious inferior should. I therefore proceed to pay my homage; hitherto I might so justly have been accused of backwardness, that I have no apprehension now of being considered forward.

[3] I commend to your kindness the bearer Promotus, whom you already know, and whom your prayers have now made my fellow penitent. Though by birth a Jew, he has preferred to be numbered with those chosen by faith rather than blood; he has sought the franchise of the heavenly city; by grace of the Spirit which makes alive he has rejected the letter that kills. Considering, on the one hand, the rewards laid up for the just, on the other the punishment, endless as eternity, awaiting him who dares not desert the Circumcision for the camp of Christ, he has made up his mind to be accounted no longer a citizen of the Solyma on earth, but a son of the Holy Jerusalem which is above. [4] Which thing perceiving, let now the spiritual Sara take to her maternal arms the truer son of Abram; for he ceased to belong to the handmaid Hagar when he exchanged the servitude of conformity according to law for the freedom which comes of grace. The special reason for his journey you will more conveniently learn from his own lips. To me he will always be very dear for the cause above related; I have dwelled upon it because the most effective introduction of all is that which simply sets forth a man's indisputable claim to be well received. Deign to hold us in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

XIV.

To the Lord Bishop Principius A. D. 472-4

[1] THOUGH I have never seen your face, venerable father, for a long time I have seen the effect of your activities. The praise of such saintliness as yours is widely spread; it overleaps mere bounds of space; and just as the influence of a great character knows no bound, so no term is set to the range of a noble reputation. [2] You will put this all down as my exaggeration unless I adduce in support of my statement some competent witness. I therefore cite a revered member of the famous brotherhood at Lerins, a contemporary there with Maximus and Lupus, one who went such lengths in renunciation that he might claim to rival the archimandrites of Memphis or the Holy Land. I mean Bishop Antiolus, who was the first to tell me about your father and brothers, and the high example which both of you set in the exercise of your exalted functions in the Church; his account of you first kindled in me the desire to know a story, familiarity with which has ever since been my delight. [3] One might almost compare your father to Aaron the High Priest of old, whom his brother, the Lawgiver, first anointed with the oil of sanctification in the midst of the people in the wilderness, calling next his sons to the same sacred office. But Aaron's happiness in Ithamar and Eleazar was marred when Nadab and Abihu were destroyed by lightning; they were cut off and punished in the flesh, but we may believe that in the spirit they had absolution. [4] I never heard that you offer strange fire when you come to lay your hands upon the altar; rather with the censer of the heart you burn a glowing incense, offering the sacrifices of chastity and love. As often as with the cords of exhortation you bind the yoke of the law upon the necks of the proud, so often in spirit do you sacrifice bulls to the Lord. As often as with the goad of your rebuke you drive sinners polluted by the rankness of sensual indulgence to the sweet savour of a modest life, so often do you offer rank goats in the sight of Christ. [5] As often as your rebuke leads the soul to sigh in penance and compunction over the committed fault, who shall doubt that you present in mystic sacrifice the pair of turtle-doves and the two young pigeons which by their number and their plaints symbolize the twofold nature of man? As often as your warning voice moves the glutton to parch by fire of frequent fastings his gross body and heaving swollen stomach, who shall doubt that you consecrate, as it were, the finest flour in the pan of continence? [6] Every time that you persuade a sinner to renounce the vanities of misbelief, to profess right doctrine, to hold the faith, to keep the way, or to hope for eternal life, who doubts that in the making of a convert triply freed from heresy, hypocrisy, and schism, you dedicate the purest shewbread with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth? [7] Who, in fine, is not aware that the corporeal sacrifice slain as type under the Law is more than replaced by the spiritual sacrifice which you offer

under grace? That is why I give abundant thanks to God for your letter, from which I perceive that although the aforesaid prelate told me great things of you, there were greater things which he left unsaid. I am persuaded that you who seem so admirable in other men's description, and more admirable yet in your own letter, will prove best of all seen face to face.

[8] The clerk, Megethius, who brought your message, has satisfactorily concluded his affairs, and carries back my respects. I fear I may be of little practical use to him, but if good wishes avail, he has mine. Through him I urgently entreat your brother and yourself frequently to quench my thirst with a stream of your most literary letters, and you must write the oftener of the two. If the difficulties of the road and the distance between us prove an obstacle to my desires, at least pray sometimes for those who ask your prayers. Honoured though I should be by your regular correspondence, your occasional prayers promise me something more than honours, they promise me salvation. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

XV.

To the Lord Bishop Prosper A. D.478 (?)

[1] You wished me to celebrate the glory of the holy Annianus, the greatest and most perfect of prelates, equal to Lupus, and no unworthy rival of Germanus; you would fain see graven on the hearts of all the faithful the memory of a character so fine, so eminent, so richly endowed with so many virtues and so many merits, to which I myself should like to add this, that he made way for such a successor as yourself. You exacted a promise from me at the same time that I would hand down for the benefit of those who come after us the history of the war with Attila, with the whole tale of the siege and assault of Orleans when the city was attacked and breached, but never laid in ruins, and the bishop's celebrated prophecy was divinely answered from above. [2] I actually set to work upon the book; but when I grasped the extent of my undertaking I repented of having ever begun; I therefore suffered no one else to hear a work which my own judgement already condemned. But to the first part of your request I can return a different answer: your wishes, and the merit of that great bishop make it my duty to enhance his fame without delay by every means within my power. I only ask you, as a fair creditor, to treat with laudable indulgence this promise of your reckless debtor, and in that other matter to refrain from asking what I must refrain from attempting to do. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

XVI.

To his friend Constantius c. A. D. 478

[1] I PROMISED the illustrious Petronius to conclude this little book in a few letters; but in endeavouring to spare you, I have been very hard on him. He was to have the drudgery of revision, you the honour of the issue; the responsibility of conveying the volume to you was to be his, the pleasure of paying the homage mine. I have carried out my intention; if you will cast your practised eye over the numerous superscriptions I think you will be struck by the manner in which the pages are filled. I have reached the very margins near the *umbilicus*; as the Satirist says, it is time to finish my Orestes, even if I have to write on the other side of the parchment.

[2] In this work I have not been classical, or enlisted in my service a fabulous Terpsichore, nor have I led my pen by dewy banks and mossy rocks to the well-spring of Aganippe. I only hope that what I have written may not prove rambling pointless stuff, and full of trivial commonplaces. For an accomplished reader like yourself can take no pleasure in an invertebrate, soft and enervated style; what he requires is something nervous and masculine in the antique manner. Those qualities must be left to a greater talent than mine; enough for me, if you forgive me for keeping you waiting so long.

[3] It is fortunate that our illustrious friend requested no further additions; that would have involved me in long delays, for not a single cabinet or case contains anything more worth production. This will show you that although my time of silence is still to come, I have certainly begun to think of it, and that for two reasons. If I win approval, I shall give my readers pleasure at the smallest cost to themselves; if, on the other hand, I am disapproved, their weariness will soon be over. For my style has no polished graces; it is of a positively heathen bluntness. [4] What use should I have, indeed, for an austere archaic manner, or for far-fetched terms of Salii or Sibyls, or the old Sabine Cures? Such things the masters for the most part avoid; they are for some flamen to expound, or some antiquated reader of the law's conundrums. My diction is dry and jejune; mine is a vocabulary of common words in too general use to claim distinction, too ready to every one's hand to find acceptance with the critical. [5] If my writing lacks eloquence and force, I can confidently say that it contains nothing which is not genuine and absolutely true to fact. Why should I insist upon the point? If my style pleases my friends, it is good enough for me. I am content with either kind of verdict: they may either be critical and tell me the truth, or partial and deceive themselves. All I shall ask of Providence in future is that posterity may judge or be deceived in the same manner. Farewell.

BOOK IX

I.

To his friend Firminus After A. D. 480

[1] You insist, my honoured Son, that I should exceed the existing limit of my collected letters; that I should adventure further, and refuse to content myself with the present total. Your reason in favour of adding a ninth volume is that Pliny, in whose steps you deem me to follow in this work, assigns the same term to his own collection. [2] I may yield to your desire; but all the same, this friendly invitation raises difficulties, and is far from promising advantage to such poor reputation as I already possess. In the first place, it is very late in the day to append this new addition to the volume already issued. Secondly, I do not know the umpire who would not hold it indecent in an author to give a single work three supplements. [3] Nor, having definitely announced the work done, should I know what excuse to make for not curbing my incorrigible loquacity, unless indeed it were this, that one cannot constrain one's friendships as one can limit one's page. For these reasons, I think you ought to stand on guard before my reputation, and make my motives clear to the inquisitive; I should like you to send me regular intelligence of the views expressed by those whose opinions I should value. [4] If after forcing me to chatter on, you yourself persevere in silence, you will have no fair ground for complaint if I pay you out in your own coin. It is incumbent on you above all others to be lenient in judging my endeavour to fulfil the task and obligation imposed upon me. Meanwhile, I will at once insert in the margin of the eighth book any fresh letter which comes into my hands.

[5] Apollinaris, all ardour in most pursuits, is utterly remiss in one; study has but a faint attraction for him, whether he reads by his own choice or by compulsion. At least, that is how it appears to me, since I count myself one of those fathers who are so eager, so ambitious, and so apprehensive about the progress of their sons that they hardly ever find anything to commend, or if they do, are hardly ever satisfied. Farewell.

II.

To the Lord Bishop Euphronius c. A. D. 472

[1] THE missive with your saintly greeting has been delivered by the priest Albiso and the Levite Proculus, whom I may accept as my masters in conduct, since they have proved themselves your worthy pupils. The letter does me a great honour, but it imposes a yet greater burden. Although your benediction delights me, the accompanying injunction fills me with dismay. Indeed, I am so perturbed that I cannot think even of a partial obedience. You bid me attempt too intricate a task, and much too far beyond my capacity. At a time when my powers wane towards their end, I am to essay a work which I should be mad to begin and could never hope to finish. [2] If I know your loyal heart aright, your real aim was rather to give me proof of your affection than to see my completed labours. But I shall take good care that while from Jerome, the master of exegesis, Augustine, the master of dialectic, and Origen, the master of allegory, you reap full ears of spiritual emotion and a harvest of saving doctrine, that no dry stubble shall rustle in your ears from this parched tongue of mine. As well blend the hoarse cry of the goose with the swan's music, or the sparrow's impudent chirp with the tuneful plaint of nightingales. [3] Should I not show a certain effrontery and want of proper feeling were I to approach so formidable a task — I, a novice in the Church, but a veteran, alas! in transgression — I, light in learning, but weighed down by a heavy conscience? If I were to send what I had written to be seen by other eyes, I should become the laughing-stock even of critics who never set eyes on me.

I entreat you, therefore, my Lord Bishop, not to insist on spoiling a modesty which would fain avoid publicity, or tempt me into so rash an adventure. Such is the envy of the backbiters, that a mere beginning is more sure of their censure than a successful conclusion of their applause. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

III.

To the Lord Bishop Faustus c. A.D. 477

[1] YOUR old loyalty to a friend, and your old mastery of diction are both unchanged; I admire equally the heartiness of your letters, and the perfect manner of their expression. But I think, and I am sure that you will concur with me, that at the present juncture, when the roads are no longer secure owing to the movements of the peoples, the only prudent and safe course is to abandon for the present any regular exchange of messages; we must be less assiduous correspondents; we must learn the art of keeping silence. This is a bitter deprivation, and hard to bear when a friendship is as close as ours; it is imposed upon us not by casual circumstance, but by causes at once definite, inevitable, and diverse in their origin.

[2] First among them I must set the examination of all letter-carriers upon the highways. Messengers may run small personal risk, since nothing can be alleged against them; but they have to put up with endless annoyance, while some vigilant official subjects them to an inquisitorial search. At the first sign of faltering in reply to questions, they are suspected of carrying in their heads instructions which cannot be found upon their persons. The sender of a letter is thus placed in an awkward position, and the bearer is liable to rough usage, especially at a time like this, when fresh disputes between rival nationalities have destroyed a treaty of long duration. [3] In the second place I set the soreness of my heart over my own private troubles, for I was taken from home with a show of great consideration, but really removed by compulsion to this distant spot, where I am broken by every kind of mental anguish, enduring all the hardships of an exile and the losses of a proscript. It is therefore by no means the right moment to ask me for finished letters, and were I to attempt them, it would be impertinence, for the exchange of a lively or elaborate correspondence should be confined to happy people; to me it seems little less than a barbarism for a man to write gaily when his spirit is vexed within him.

[4] How much better it would be for you to give the benefit of your unremitting orisons to a soul conscious of its guilt and trembling as often as it recalls the debts of a sinful career! For you are versed in the prayers of the Island brotherhood, which you transferred from the wrestling-place of the hermit congregation, and from the assembly of the monks of Lerins, to the city over whose church you preside, for all your episcopal rank, an abbot still in spirit, and refusing to make your new dignity a pretext for any relaxation in the rigour of the ancient discipline. Obtain for me, then, by your most potent intercession that my portion may be in the Lord; that enrolled from henceforth among the companies of my tribesmen the Levites, I may cease to be of the earth earthly, I to whom not a yard of earth remains; and that I may begin to estrange myself from the guilt of this world, as I am already estranged from

its riches.

[5] In the third place, and perhaps this after all is the chief reason why I have given up writing to you, I have a boundless admiration for your tropical figurative style, and for that consummately varied and perfected diction of which your last letter affords such ample evidence. Many years ago I sat a hoarse demonstrative listener when you preached either extempore, or, if occasion demanded, after careful preparation. I especially remember the week's festival of the dedication of the church at Lyons, when you were called upon by the general desire of your venerable colleagues to deliver an oration. On that occasion you proved yourself a master both of forensic and religious eloquence, and held the balance between them with such perfection that we hung upon your words with ears strained and roused emotions; you cared less to indulge our simple predilections because you knew that you had wholly satisfied our reason.

[6] There you have the cause of my present and my future silence; I could not refuse a few words without disobedience, but henceforward I shall hold my peace and learn in silence. In future the word lies with you, my Lord Bishop. It is yours to devote yourself to the teaching of sound and perfect doctrine in works destined to live; for not a man hears you in argument or exposition who does not learn to deserve the praise of others in deed no less than word. Forgive my simple letter, which has at least the virtue of conforming to your desires; I have myself to admit that, by comparison with yours, my style is inarticulate as a child's. [7] But there is little point in all this heavy repetition; the most foolish thing in the world is to be always deprecating one's own follies. Judgement rests with you, and if you put things to a thorough test, you will find much to laugh at, and even more to censure. I shall welcome it if your notorious kindness of heart allows you for once to abandon your dislike of being critical, and condemn such points as need correction. Only if you strike out passages here and there, shall I have the satisfaction of feeling that you approve what you leave intact. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

IV.

To the Lord Bishop Graecus A. D. 473 (?)

[1] OUR traveller and bearer of mutual salutations treads a path of which he knows every yard from having to traverse over and over again the roads and tracts between our several cities. We ourselves must keep to the ideal set before us; we ought, indeed, to be more intent on it than ever, and redouble our zeal now that so many messengers are constantly upon the way, and above all, Amantius. If we fail in this, it will look as if we corresponded just because he regularly calls for letters, and not because we really wish to write them. You must think more often of the friends among whose number I venture to count myself; all of us feel no less elated by your good, than depressed by your adverse fortune. [2] Were we not moved to sympathetic tears by the mournful story of your anguish at the fate of certain brethren? Flower of the priesthood, jewel among pontiffs, mighty in learning, in righteousness mightier yet, spurn from you the threatening waves of earthly storms, for we have often heard from your own lips that the way to the promised feasts of patriarchs and the celestial nectar lies through the bitter cups of earthly sorrows. Whether he will or no, each follower of the Mediator who endured the world's contempt must follow his Lord's example. Whatever draughts of trouble the affliction of this present life sets to our lips, we shall perceive how small our burden is if we will but remember what He who calls us to His heaven once drank upon the tree. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

V.

To the Lord Bishop Julianus c. A.D. 477

[1] **THOUGH** we dwell further apart than either of us could wish, the distance dividing us has had less to do with the interruption of our intercourse than the fact that we live under different laws; national disagreements born of opposing interests have hindered our frequent correspondence. But now that a peace has been concluded, and the two peoples are to become trusty allies, our letters will be able to pass in greater numbers since they will arouse no more suspicion. [2] Unite your prayers, then, with those of your reverend brothers, that Christ may deign to prosper our handiwork, restraining the quarrels of our princes, making their wars to cease, granting to them the gift of good intention, to us peace, and to all security. Deign to hold us in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

VI.

To the Lord Bishop Ambrose After A. D. 472

[1] YOUR holiness has interceded before Christ with effect on behalf of our well-beloved friend (I will not mention his name — you will know whom I mean), the laxity of whose youth you used sometimes to lament before a few chosen witnesses of your sorrow, sometimes to bemoan in silence and alone. For he has suddenly broken off his relations with the shameless slave-girl to whose low fascination he had utterly abandoned his life; by this prompt reformation he has taken a great step in the interests of his estate, of his descendants, and of himself. [2] He dissipated his inheritance until his coffers were empty; but when he once began to consider his position, and understood how much of his patrimony the extravagance of his domestic Charybdis had swallowed up, not a moment too soon he took the bit in his teeth, shook his head, and stopping his ears, as one might say, with Ulysses' wax, he was deaf to the voice of evil, and escaped the shipwreck that follows meretricious lures. He has led to the altar a maid of high birth and ample fortune, and for that we must give him credit. [3] It would of course have been a greater glory to have abandoned the voluptuous life without taking to himself a wife; but few of, those who forsake error at the call of virtue can begin upon the highest level, and after indulging themselves in everything, cut off all indulgence at one stroke. [4] It is now your part by assiduous prayer to obtain for the newly married couple good hope of issue; and then, when they have one or two children (perhaps even in that we concede too much), to see to it that this stealer of unlawful joys shall abstain thereafter even from lawful pleasures. At present the conduct of this bride and bridegroom is so seemly that to see them once together is enough to reveal the gulf between the honourable love of a wife and the feigned endearments of the concubine. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

VII.

To the Lord Bishop Remigius A.D. 472-4(?)

[1] ONE of our citizens of Clermont (I know the man, but forget his business, which is immaterial) went recently on a journey to Belgic Gaul, and while at Rheims so won your copyist or your bookseller by the charms of his manner or of his purse that he wormed out of him, without your consent, a complete set of your *Declamations*. After his triumphant return with such a splendid spoil of volumes, he insisted on presenting the whole series to us as his fellow townsmen, though we were quite ready to purchase them — a rather graceful act. All of us here who are devoted to literature were properly desirous of reading the books, and we at once began to transcribe the whole, committing to memory as much as we were able. [2] It was the universal opinion that there were few men living who could write as you do. There are few or none who before even beginning to write could arrange their subjects so well, so calculate the position of syllables, or the juxtaposition of consonant and vowel; and besides, there is none whose illustrations are so apposite, whose statements are so trustworthy, whose epithets are so appropriate, whose allusions so full of charm, whose arguments are so sound, whose sentiments carry such weight, whose diction has such a flow, whose periods come to so fulminant a conclusion. [3] The framework is always stout and firm, bound with many a delightful transition, and close caesura, but withal quite easy and smooth, and rounded to perfection; it helps the reader's tongue to pass without obstacle, so as never to be troubled by rough divisions, or roll in stammering accents on the palate. All is fluent and ductile; it is as when the finger glides lightly over a surface of polished crystal or onyx, where there is not the slightest crack or fissure to stay its passage. [4] I have said enough. There is no orator alive whom your masterful skill would not enable you easily to surpass and leave far behind. I almost dare to suspect (forgive my audacity) that a flow of eloquence so copious and so far beyond my powers of description must sometimes make you vain. But do not think that because you shine with the twofold brilliance of your holy life and your consummate style you can therefore disregard our opinion; remember that though our authorship may be worth little, our criticism may count for much. [5] In future, then, cease to evade our judgement, from which you have nothing either mordant or aggressive to fear. For I must warn you that if you leave our barrenness unenriched by the stream of your eloquence, we shall take our revenge by engaging the services of burglars, whose clever hands will soon despoil your roll-cases with our connivance and support. If you are imperturbable before a friendly request to-day, you will soon learn what perturbation means to-morrow, when the thieves have cleared your shelves. Deign to keep me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

VIII.

To the Lord Bishop Principius A.D. 472-474

[1] I WAS longing for a line from you when quite unexpectedly our old messenger brought me your answer; his efficiency in the present case proves him a fit and proper person to be entrusted with our further correspondence. Your second letter is a gift, or rather blessing, which I repay with my further greetings: the account is now numerically but far from qualitatively equal. [2] And since we live in spiritual communion, while our homes are remote, so that we are debarred by our situation from the pleasure of meeting, pray for me, that I may be released from the burden and travail of this present life by a holy death such as my heart desires, and that when the day of Judgement dawns and the dead are raised, I may join your throng a servitor, were it even on the terms of the Gibeonites. For in accordance with the divine promise, the sons of God shall come together from every nation, and if pardon be given to my grievous sin, however diverse my deserts, I shall not be separated far from the place where glory awaits you among the saints. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

IX.

To the Lord Bishop Faustus After A. D. 475

[1] You have lamented our long silence, venerable father, but while I recognize and applaud your desire that it should at last be broken, I cannot admit that any blame attaches to me. When you bade me some time back give you my news, I wrote before receiving your last communication, and my letter actually reached Riez; but though you were at Apt, you aptly escaped its perusal. I was most anxious, both to receive my due credit for having written, and to escape too severe a criticism when you read the missive. [2] But on this point I need say no more at present, especially as you again ask me for a letter, and one as voluminous as I can make it. I long to satisfy you; the goodwill is there, but unfortunately I have no subject for my pen. Greetings should take up little space, unless they introduce some matter of real interest; to spin them out with mere verbiage, is to deflect from the path defined by Sallust when he said that Catiline had words enough but little wisdom. So my *vale* will have to follow my *ave* at an exceedingly short interval. I beseech your prayers for me.

[3] What a stroke of luck! Just as I was on the point of folding up my letter, something has occurred for me to write about, and if either the pleasure or the annoyance of the event delays my protest a single moment, I will own myself deserving of the indignity to which I have been exposed. You have fallen into my hands, Great Master, I do more than triumph; I have you at my mercy, and in my captive I find one of no less stature than the anticipations of years had led me to expect. I cannot say whether you are caught against your will, but it looks like it. For if you did not mean your books to pass me without my knowledge, you certainly did nothing to prevent the passage. It aggravates the offence that in traversing Auvergne they not merely went close under my walls but almost grazed my person. [4] Were you afraid that I should be jealous? Thank God, I am less open to the charge of envy than any other; and were it otherwise, were I as guilty of this as of other defects, the hopelessness of a successful rivalry would be enough to purge me of emulation. Did you fear the frown of so severe and difficult a critic as your servant? What critic so swollen or so opinionated as not to kindle at your least ardent passages! [5] Was it your low estimate of a junior that led you to ignore and to disdain me? I hardly think it. Was it that you thought me ignorant? I could put up with that if you mean ignorant of the art of writing, not ignorant in appreciation. I must remind you that only those who have taken part in the games presume to pass judgement on the racing chariots. Was there any casual disagreement between us, leading you to suppose that I might decry your work? Thanks be to God, my worst enemies cannot make me out a lukewarm friend. Why waste these words? you ask. [6] Well, I will now let you have the whole story of this

secretiveness which so incensed me, and of the discovery which has put me in such high spirits again. I had read those works of yours which Riochatus the priest and monk, and thus twice a stranger and pilgrim in this world, was taking back for you to your Bretons; for you, who may well be called Faustus to-day, since you cannot grow old, since you will always live in the mouths of men, and after your bodily death, attain immortality by your works. The venerable man made some stay in our city, waiting till the agitated main of peoples should calm down, for at that time the vast whirlwind of wars rose dreadful against us on this side and on that. All your other good gifts he freely produced; but managed to keep back, always with the most exquisite courtesy, the chief treasure he conveyed, unwilling perhaps to let me feel the contrast between your roses and my brambles. [7] After rather more than two months, he hurriedly left us, a rumour having got abroad that he and his company had with them mysterious things of great price, carefully wrapped up from view. I went after him with horses swift enough easily to cancel the day's start he had gained; I came up with my felon, I leapt at his throat with a kiss, laughing like a man but pouncing like a wild beast; I resembled a robbed tigress that with winged feet springs like a flash upon the neck of the Parthian hunter to dash her stolen cub from his grasp. [8] To cut the story short, I embraced the knees of my captive friend; I stopped the horses, tied the bridles, opened his baggage, discovered the volume I sought, dragged it forth in triumph, and began reading away and dismembering it by making lengthy excerpts from the important chapters. I dictated as fast as I could, and the skill of my secretaries yet further abbreviated my task, for they were able to skip letters wholesale, using a system of substituted signs. The story of our parting would be an overlong tale, and after all of no great interest; our cheeks were wet with tears; we embraced and embraced again, hardly able to tear ourselves away. My exultation was justified by my safe return, laden with the spoils of loving-kindness and master of great riches for the soul.

[9] And now for my opinion of this booty. I should rather like to hold it back, in order to keep you in suspense; judgement withheld were vengeance more complete. But I despair of taking down your pride; for you are conscious of so masterly an eloquence that sheer delight in what they read wrings eulogy from your readers, whether they wish to withstand the charm or not. Listen, then, to the sentence which an injured friend now passes on your book. [10] It is a work of the most fruitful labour, varied, ardent, sublime, excellent in classification, rich in apt examples, well balanced by its form as dialogue, and by the fourfold division of its subject. There is much that is inspiring, much that is grand; here I find simplicity without clumsiness, there point not too far-fetched; grave matters are handled with ripe judgement, deep matters with proper caution; on debatable ground you take firm stand; in controversy your argument is always ready. Now persuasive, now severe, always intent to edify, you write with eloquence, with force, and with exquisite discrimination.

[11] Following you over the whole wide field traversed in so many manners,

I find you easily superior to all other writers alike in conception and in execution. You must appreciate my sincerity in this the more, when you remember that I pronounce my opinion under the smart of your affront. I think your work could only be improved by one thing — your presence in person to read it, when something might yet be added by the author's own voice, his gesture, his restrained art of physical expression. [12] Endowed thus with all these intellectual and literary gifts, you have united yourself with a fair woman according to the precept of Deuteronomy. You saw her among the hostile squadrons; and then and there you loved her as she stood in the forefront of the adversary's battle; through all the resistance of the foe, you bore her off in the strong arm of passion. Her name is Philosophy, she it is whom you snatched by force from among the impious arts; and having shorn the locks betokening a false faith, with the eyebrows arched with pride of earthly learning, and cut away the folds of her ancient vesture, which are the folds of sad dialectic, veiling perverse and unlawful conversation, you purified her and joined her to you in a close and mystical embrace. [13] She has been your faithful follower from your early years; she was ever at your side, whether you practised your skill in the arena of the crowded city, or subdued the flesh in remote solitudes; in the Athenaeum she was with you, and in the monastery; with you she abjured the wisdom of the world, with you proclaims that which is from above. Whoever provokes you as her lawful spouse shall soon perceive the noble range of your philosophy, and find himself confronted by the Platonic Academy of the Church of Christ. [14] He shall hear you first declare the ineffable omniscience of God and the eternity of the Holy Spirit. He shall not see you grow long hair or flaunt the pallium or staff as insignia of the philosophic state. He shall not see you pride yourself in nice apparel, indulging the exquisite's pretension, or making squalor your boast. He shall not see you betray your envy when in the gymnasia, or the Schools of the Areopagus; Speusippus is pictured for admiring eyes with bowed head, Aratus with open countenance; Zeno with contracted brows, Epicurus with unwrinkled skin, Diogenes with hirsute beard, Socrates with failing hair, Aristotle with arm freed from the mantle, Xenocrates with his contracted leg, Heraclitus with his eyes closed by tears, Democritus with lips parted in a laugh, Chrysippus counting with clenched fingers, Euclid measuring with open hands, Cleanthes biting his nails over problems both of space and number. [15] Far from all this, whoever challenges you shall see the Stoic, the Cynic, the Peripatetic, the Heresiarch all beaten with their own weapons and crushed by their own devices. Their followers who dare resist Christian faith and dogma to venture a bout with you shall soon be bound hand and foot and fall headlong into the toils of their own nets. The barbed syllogisms of your logic shall hook these voluble tongues even while they seek escape; you shall noose their slippery problems in categoric coils after the fashion of the clever doctor, who, if need be, will prepare his antidote for poison from the very venom of the serpent. [16] I have said enough for the moment on your spiritual

insight and on the soundness of your learning. For no one can follow in your footsteps with an equal stride, since to no other is it given to speak better than the masters who taught him, and to make his actions better than his words. Not without reason shall you be called by those qualified to judge, most blessed above all in our generation, as one who in deed and word enjoys a great and twofold glory; who after numbering years to be counted on the right hand, after being the model of this century and the desire of every other, shall die honoured for his excellence in every field, leaving his possessions to his own folk, and himself to the nations of the world. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

X.

To the Lord Bishop Aprunculus After A.D. 475 (?)

[1] MY letter was delivered to you by a messenger who ought to have brought me back a reply; for our brother Celestius, on his return recently from Béziers, extracted from me a document of surrender relating to my [clerk] Injuriousus. I wrote it urged by the compelling force of your modesty rather than by any inclination of my own; the least that I could do, confronted with such an attitude was to meet you halfway upon the swift feet of my respect. [2] Regard him, then, as yours by my deliberate act, but use him with generosity; indeed, I am sure you proposed nothing but the solace of your kindness. I have no further resentment against him, and write this rather as an introduction to you than as a formal dismissal for him. But I should like it to be a condition that he is to render you obedient service and assistance, and that if he stays with you he shall be regarded as neither yours nor mine; but that if he leaves you, it shall be open to both of us to treat him as a fugitive. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

XI.

To the Lord Bishop Lupus A.D. 478 (?)

[1] THAT unfortunate book which you regard as sent not so much to you as through you, has inspired a letter which I in my turn regard as written not so much to me as against me. I cannot reply to your reproaches with an eloquence equal to yours; I rely only on the justice of my cause; how indeed am I to plead 'not guilty' when you imply the opposite? At the very outset, therefore, I frankly ask your pardon for my offence, such as it is; but I confess only to an error born of diffidence and by no means of improper pride. [2] The strictness of your judgement is no less formidable to me in literary than in moral questions, but I must admit that when I opened the volume it was the thought of the friendship you profess for me which oppressed me most. And that I think is natural; for it is human nature for a friend who suspects an injury to be severer than any one else. [3] It is true enough, as you point out, that my book is a medley packed and piled with multifarious subjects, episodes and personal facts; it would have been outrageous had I been so infatuated with my work as to imagine that no part of it would displease you. Whatever your judgement might prove to be, it was evident that I should derogate from my loyalty, if I failed to give you at least the first sight of the volume, even though I might not formally present it. If I were lucky enough to meet with your approval, you could not accuse me of having arrogantly neglected you; if on the other hand I were less fortunate, you could not say that I had forced my work upon your notice. [4] Nor did I expect to find it very difficult to excuse the motive which saved me from possibly having to blush for myself. I imagined you to be as well aware as I myself that modesty becomes the writer of a new book better than assurance, and that timidity is far more likely to win the vote of the severe critic than a provocative spirit. On the other hand, if a man boldly announces a volume on a fresh subject, however much he may really have done to satisfy the legitimate expectation of the public, he will soon find that he will be expected to do more. Whatever strictures you may pass on the tenor of this reply, I prefer to make a clean breast of it rather than resort to disingenuous evasions. [5] Any one but myself would probably have argued somewhat after this wise: 'I never gave any one the advantage over you; no one else had received a special letter from me. The man whom you believed to be preferred before you had to be content with one letter to his credit, and that, too, having no relation to the present matter. You on the other hand, for all your complaints at being overlooked, must have been simply exhausted by the three garrulous sheets you received; you must have been sickened by so long an immersion in empty and dull verbiage. Moreover you may not have observed that, even so, your position and your high deserts have received ample consideration; your name appears in the first

superscription of the book, as befits that of the primate among our bishops. His name, on the contrary, only occurs once in a letter addressed to himself; yours is so mentioned more than once, and you are cited besides in letters addressed to other persons. [6] Remember, too, that where there is a subject likely to please you, I have encouraged you to read it, whereas the person in question can only do so by your kindness; he is probably so embarrassed by your attitude to my little gift that I should be surprised if even now he has had a real chance of perusal, while you long ago reached the stage of transcribing. I expect he will hardly regard as my holograph a copy over which you have glanced; for to an example revised by you he can never impute either excess of barbarisms or defects in punctuation. In fine, it might appear that all rights in the book had been handed over to you, seeing that you have the use of it while you please, and can dispose of it for so long that you may be said to keep it rather in your memory than in your bookcase.' [7] Such arguments, with more of the same kind, might readily be adduced. I, however, shall waive them all, and prefer frankly to seek your pardon instead of making excuses for a problematical offence. I make even less excuse for the carelessness of the present letter, first, because I have no longer the art of fine writing, even if I attempt it; second, because, when one has got a book off one's mind, one is longing for a holiday and cannot bring oneself to elaborate what one does not care to make public. [8] But as I rightly make a point of giving way to you in everything — for where, indeed, is your equal to be found? — and as for ten whole lustres, as often as a comparison has been instituted, you have been preferred to all priests that have ever been, whether in our own time or before it, I would have you understand, that though your lamentations may shake the stars, though you call the glowing ashes of your fathers to witness my outrage to the laws of friendship, yet if there is to be any contest in mutual affection, my foot shall stand firm against yours, were it for no other reason than that to be beaten in anything is bad, but to be vanquished in loyalty an abomination. Whether you approve or no, I have right on my side in replying by this open declaration to reproaches, which for all their bitterness, are yet more to me than all the honeyed flatteries of others.

[9] I have given you as communicative a letter as you could desire. But all my correspondence with you is that; no letters of any writer could be more so. For you have the gift of encouraging men to write with confidence. I say no more of myself; but there is not a literate, however retiring, whom you do not know how to draw out, just as the sun's rays by their absorbent power extract the moisture hidden in the bowels of the earth. So sharp are those rays, that they can penetrate not the fine sand or surface soil alone, but if there be a concealed spring deep under some massive mountain, there too the ardent nature of the mysterious powers of heaven reveals the secret of the liquid element. In like manner, venerated father, your lucid eloquence knows admirably how to influence and draw into the light, by its subtle address, all the studious who from love of quiet, or from modesty, lie in the obscurity of

dark corners, their fame yet unawakened. [10] Enough: I come back to the point; I have talked endlessly and at large, but since I have surrendered and confessed my fault, I entreat you to be placable and give me the benefit of your clemency and forgiveness. Such are your holy cheerfulness and love of others that you will derive a greater pleasure from this my written apology than you would from any positive act of reparation. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

XII.

To his friend Oresius c. A. D. 484

[1] I HAVE just received your letter, which I may compare to the salt mined in the hills of Tarragona. The reader finds it sharp and lucid, yet none the less of a bland savour. The phraseology is charming, but the matter is also full of point. Taking small account of my present state of life, it asks me for a new poem, and this demand brings me no less trouble of mind than the admirable diction delight. At the very outset of my religious career, the art of versifying was the first thing that I renounced; gravity of deed was now my business, and if I occupied myself with such frivolous things as verses, I might well be accused of levity. [2] Besides, it is a matter of universal experience that a pursuit which has been intermitted for any time is only resumed with difficulty. Every one knows that both art and artist achieve their highest by constant practice; if the usual exercise be forgone, arm and intellect alike will grow inert. The later or the more seldom the bow is used, the more refractory it is under the hand; it is the same with the ox under his yoke and the horse with his bridle. Moreover, disinclination is not my only motive; it is accompanied by a certain timidity. After three whole Olympiads of silence, to begin rhyming again would be no less embarrassing than irksome. [3] But it seems almost a crime to refuse you even the most difficult things; your warm heart is quite unused to be denied, and it would be a shame to deceive you of your confident hope. I shall therefore choose a middle path: I will compose nothing new; but if I can find any of my former letters containing poems, written before the pressure of my present duties, you shall have them. I shall merely ask you not to be unfair, and set me down as an incurable poetaster. I shall pride myself just as much on your good opinion if you deign to think of me rather as a modest than as an accomplished man. Farewell.

XIII.

To his friend Tonantius c. A. D. 481

[1] I MUST admit that your judgement on my verses has long been too flattering and appreciative: I must admit that you rank me among the elect of poets and even above many of their number. I might be inclined to listen, were not your critical acumen influenced by your friendship. Praises born of partiality, though uttered in perfect good faith, are really based on error. [2] You ask me now to send you some Asclepiads forged on the Horatian anvil, that you may keep yourself in practice by declaiming them at table. I do so, though never in my life have I been so busily engaged in writing prose.

‘Long time, with hand well worn by the pen, have I written smooth hendecasyllables which you might sing more easily than choriambics, dancing on lighter foot to freer measure. But you will that our way should henceforth run by the Calabrian road, where, with reins of mighty music, Flaccus guided his lyric steeds to the melody of Pindar, while the strings were struck to the Glyconian rhythm, to the Alcaic also and the Pherecratian, the Lesbian and the anapaestic; in the freshness of his varied song he went, with words like violets of diverse hue about him. Hard was it for bards of old, hard for me to-day to see that the tongue, essaying the various music of verse, trips not by reason of too many written letters, and their male style which forbids luxuriant graces. Hardly may Leo himself attempt it, king of the Castalian choir; hardly he who most nearly follows him, Lampridius, though he professes prose and verse alike before his students of Bordeaux. Yet this it is which I must try for you: spare me, then, your jests. Suffer your poet to keep to the close his pledge of modesty; for nothing is less excellent than this, to end with laxity where the beginning was with rigour.’

[3] I should personally much prefer that when you divert yourself at the banquet you should confine yourself to pious histories; recite them often among your friends, and let an eager audience encourage their repetition. And if (for you are yet young) these salutary distractions but faintly appeal to you, then borrow from the Platonist of Madaura his formulae of festal questions; and to master them more fully, practise answering them when others propound, or yourself propound them for solution; make this your study even in leisure. [4] But as festive occasions have been mentioned, and you insist upon a poem, even one composed on another theme and for another person, I cannot hesitate to produce one longer. Take, therefore, with what grace you may, one written in Majorian’s reign, when a number of us were invited to a banquet by a common acquaintance, and I had to produce something extempore on a book by Petrus, the emperor’s secretary, which was just out, the master of the feast delaying the first course awhile for the occasion. My friends Domnulus, Severianus, and Lampridius, summoned from their several

homes to a single city, had also been invited, and had to write as I did. That sounds presumptuous; they wrote, of course, far better. [5] We were only granted just time for the allotting of the metres; for we had agreed, as honourable members of the poetical fraternity, that though the subject should be the same for all, the verses of each should be in a different measure, so that the unsuccessful competitors might be spared immediate mortification and subsequent jealousy of the victor. For if all is composed in the same metre, inequality of talent is much more easily detected. I recommend the enclosed to your approval, preferably at some hour of perfect relaxation. It would hardly be fair to subject it to a severe criticism when your friend was never able to give his whole mind to the composition.

* 'Come, flower of youth, called happily together. The place, the hour, the festal board, the theme, bid you extol to the skies the book which you now hear recited, now yourselves recite. It is the book of Petrus, master alike of prose and verse. Brothers, let us celebrate the pious festival of letters. Let all things ministering to delight usher out the day which now moves to its close, fair cheer, and wine and the dance.

Bring out hangings of fine linen ruddy of hue; bring purple steeped with Meliboean dye in brazen vessels to enrich the fleece with purest stain. Let the fabric from a far land display the heights of Ctesiphon and of Niphates, and the wild beasts racing over the field, driven to madness by wounds skilfully feigned in red, from which a blood which is no blood seems to issue, as though a real dart had pierced their sides. There the Parthian fierce of mien and adroit in the backward gaze vanishes on swift steed and turns again to launch a second dart, now flying, now putting in turn to flight the wild beasts' counterfeited forms.

Let the round table be spread with linen purer than snow, and covered with laurel, with ivy and the green growths of the vine. Pile great baskets high with cytissus and crocus, starwort and cassia, privet and marigold; let sideboard and couch be gay with garlands of sweet scent. Let some hand perfumed with balsam smooth your disordered hair; let frankincense of Araby smoke to the lofty roof. Come the dark, let many a light be hung from the glittering ceiling, high in the chamber's upper space; innocent of oil and clammy grease, let each lamp's bowl yield flame from Eastern balms alone.

Let servitors bear in on laden shoulders viands fit for kings, their necks bowed under silver richly chased. In patera and bowl and cauldron let nard mingle with Falernian wine; let wreaths of roses crown tripod and cup. For we shall tread where garlands sway from many an unguent-vase; in mazy rounds our languid limbs shall know disport; by step, by garb, by voice, each shall play the quivering Maenad. From her seat between two seas let Corinth send her players of the cithara trained in the best of schools to mimetic dance and song; let their tuneful lingers accompany their melodious voices, the plectrum cast aside, and deftly ply the wires that leap to life beneath their touch.

Give us, too, the bronze pipe loved of the nude Satyr; give us deep-

sounding flute-players for our chorus, who from cavernous mouth and full-blown cheek shall chant the loud wind into the tubes.

Give us songs for the tragic buskin, for the comic soccus songs; give us eloquence of rhetors and melody of poets, of each in his several part, the best.

Give us all these, yet Petrus shall surpass them all. In our hands is his book woven of prose and verse, faring swift over roughest paths and labyrinthine ways. In every kind he makes essay, in every kind approved; from this side and from that he bears the palm; even learned lips must celebrate his praise. Away with the well of Hippocrene, away with Aganippe's fount; avaunt! Apollo, maker of sweet song, with all thy train of Muses; avaunt! Minerva, arbitress of melody. Away with all the names of legend; one God alone has dowered him with these gifts.

When this man raised his voice, all sat dumb — emperor and senator, warrior, knight, and all the folk of Romulus. And still their acclamations roll through forum, temple, camp, and country, while Po and Liguria's loyal cities add their loud plaudits to the chorus. Like greetings echo through the towns of Rhone, even the wild Iberian shall imitate the Gaul. Nor shall the sound die in this region of earth; it shall press onward to the lands where Eurys reigns; Zephyr, Aquilo, and Auster shall bear it on their wings.'

[6] Seeking a song for your lips, I have found one of my own. These trifles I drag into the light from the bottom of my desk, where for well-nigh twenty years they have lain for the rats and mice to gnaw: such verses as Ulysses might have found when he came home from Troy. I pray you give me gracious pardon for this distraction of an idle hour; it is surely neither false modesty nor impudence which begs you to bow before the force of precedent, and judge my small performance in the spirit with which I judged the whole book of my friend. Farewell.

* The poem is translated into German rhymed decasyllabics by Fertig, i, p. 13.

XIV.

To his friend Burgundio (No indication of date)

[1] IT doubles my own pain to learn that you too are driven to keep your bed. No fate is so hard to bear as the separation of friends through sickness, when they are quite close to each other. Unless they share one room, they cannot exchange a word of mutual comfort or offer a prayer together. Each has burden of anxiety enough on his own account, but a greater for his friend. However ill a man may be, his fears for himself vanish before the knowledge of his friend's danger. [2] But God, most affectionate son, has relieved me of my worst disquietude, since you begin to regain strength. They say you even want to get up, and what I long even more to hear, that you are strong enough to do so. I really think you must be, or you would not have begun to ask my advice again, and set me literary problems with the ardour of one perfectly recovered. Though you are only a convalescent, you seem far more inclined for some ethical discourse of Socrates, than any physical treatise of Hippocrates. Verily you deserve, if ever man did, the encouragement of Rome's applauding hands, the thunder of the Athenaeum hailing you master, till the seats shake with the clamour through every tier. [3] And were but peace ours, and the roads free, these triumphs you would attain, given the opportunity of forming yourself in the society of our senatorial youth. Of such fame and such distinction I judge you capable from the becoming speech you recently made; you delivered extempore the matter of a written discourse, with the result that the kindly acclaimed you, the supercilious marvelled, the most accomplished had no fault to find. But I ought not to embarrass your modesty by impertinent excess of praise; my eulogies are better made to third persons than to yourself. I will proceed to the real subject of my letter.

[4] The inquiry which your messenger brings is: what do I mean by recurrent verses? you want an immediate answer, with a concrete illustration. A recurrent verse is one which reads the same backwards and forwards without changing the position of a single letter, or making any alteration in the metre. Here is the classic example:

Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor.

[Here is another:

Sole medere pede, ede perede melos.]

[5] There is another kind in which, though the metre is unchanged, only the words are read backwards, not the several letters. A distich of my own shall illustrate the point, though I am sure I have met with many others in the course of my reading. I amused myself by composing it about a brook which had been filled by sudden rain storms, crossing the highway with a noisy rush of waters, and overflowing all the tilled lands below.

[6] It was merely a passing flood, swollen with transient rains, and not

sustained by any perennial flow from spring above. I happened to arrive by the road, and while I waited for the banks to reappear, for the moment giving up the ford, I amused myself by writing the following two verses, on the feet of which, if not on my own, I crossed the foaming torrent.

‘Praecipiti modo quod decurrit tramite flumen,
Tempore consumptum iam cito deficiet.’

You see that, inverting the order, you get the following:

‘Deficiet cito iam consumptum tempore flumen,
Tramite decurrit quod modo praecipiti.’

Of course the merit all lies in the arrangement of the words; elegance you must not expect, for there is none. The example sufficiently explains, I think, what you wanted to know. [7] It now falls to you to oblige me in a similar way by following my lead, and sending me something which I in my turn request. An ideal chance is yours in the near future of speaking in public on the most notable of subjects, the glory of that Julius Caesar in praise of whom you have already written. The theme is so great that even the most exuberant of orators might doubt his power of rising to the occasion. Even if we leave out of the account all that the historian of Padua has written on the fame of the invincible dictator, who could hope to challenge with the living word the work of Suetonius, or Juvenius Martialis, or the *Ephemerides* of Balbus? Be the enterprise reserved for your hand. [8] My friendly care it shall rather be to see that the benches are well filled with auditors, and to prepare men’s ears for the coming bursts of applause. While you exalt the virtues of another, it shall be my part to celebrate yours. Have no fear that I shall bring an audience of ignorant or spiteful Catos, ready to cloak either defect under a pretence of critical severity. One can make allowance for honest lack of culture, but people sly enough to detect good work, and at the same time grudge it credit, are detected and discredited themselves by every man of honour.

[9] Do not, then, be apprehensive on this account; every one will lend a favouring ear and a fostering support; we shall all enjoy together the refreshing pleasure which your recitation will give us. Some will extol your fluency, more your talent, all of us your freedom from conceit. For it is laudable indeed, when a young man, I might almost say a boy, can stand forth in the open arena and be adjudged the prize on the double ground of character and talent. Farewell.

XV.

To his friend Gelasius c. A. D. 481

[1] You prove my offence against you, and I do not defend myself on the charge. In so far as no letter in this collection bears your name, I have indeed offended. But you write that you will regard the fault as venial, provided I send you something for recital at table, like the letter in prose and verse which I sent not long ago to my friend Tonantius for a similar purpose. You conclude by deploring that when I drop into poetry I never write anything but hendecasyllables, preferring that in the present case I should substitute for this trochaic facility something composed in verses of six feet. I acquiesce, only hoping that the enclosed will please you, whether you style it ode or eclogue. The composition was hard work, for when one is out of practice in a given metre, to write in it is far from easy. 'You wish, dear friend, the fierce iambic to echo through my pages with impetuous rhythm, as hitherto the trochee; the spondee with its two slow feet and its time of four, to hold the flighty dactyl in check awhile; you wish that other swiftest of all feet to resound with these, named fitly from the Pyrrhic dance, and always to be placed at the conclusion; you wish next the anapaest to bound the beginning or the end of the verse, which only in strictness deserves its name when a third long syllable follows upon two short.

An ordinary poet — for such, you know, your Sollius is — has not the skill to manage all these measures. My note is uncertain, my wandering tongue has no art to unroll from echoing mouth the long-drawn epic. That skill is rather Leo's, or his who in Latin song follows in Leo's steps, and in the Greek stands first, who descends from the Sire of the Consentii; who with lyre and tone and measure has sung, men say, by the ford of Pegasus in every form we know, and in the Greek tongue has held the high stars by Pindar's side, and ranged victorious the twin-peaked hill, second to none among the caves of Delphi. But if either bard forsake the Doric speech, and sing to the poet's lyre a Latian strain, then, Flaccus, all too feebly shalt thou wield the plectrum of Venusia, and thou, O vanquished swan of Aufidus, shalt bow thy white and tuneful neck, moaning to hear the music of the swans of Atax.

Nor these alone are skilled, albeit than the common skilled more skilful. For the rhetor Severianus had sung with a more transcending voice, and Domnulus, the subtle bard of Africa, with more elegance, and the learned Petrus with more harmonious strength, whose love of writing letters would never have stayed him from composing marvellous verse. And ever more masterly had been the melodious music of Proculus, him of Ligurian home and race, so finishing his graceful poems as to make his country rival in men's love Mantua of the Venetian land, and himself arise the peer of Homer in his glory, or drive abreast with Maro's car.

But I, whose thought and style merit contempt, how should I raise my babbling voice among these, even for your pleasure, without proof of babbling unashamed and achievement falling ever short of my ambition? Yet if even this shame suffice not to deter me, how shall I deny you? Love knows not fear: 'tis therefore I obey.'

[2] Do not, now, be critical with one who picks up a lost thread; all I ask is some indulgence for an art I rarely practise. If in future you make more such demands, you will have to smooth the path of my obedience, by giving me either a subject for my Muse, or a dance to put me in the comic vein. Farewell.

XVI.

To his friend Firminus c. A. D. 484

[1] You may remember, honoured Son, asking me to add a ninth book, specially composed for you, to the eight already issued: those addressed to Constantius, whose great qualities are known to you, his eminent capacity, his sanity in counsel, his pre-eminent gift of eloquence, by which, in the discussion of public affairs, he eclipses all other speakers on his own or on the opposite side. Herewith I fulfil my promise with punctuality, if not strictly as proposed. [2] For on my return after my diocesan visitation, I began going through all my mouldering old papers for any chance drafts of letters that might be among them; I worked as fast and as hard as I could, and then had them out and transcribed them with all speed. I did not allow the wintry season to interfere with my resolve of fulfilling your desire, though the copyist was hindered by the cold which prevented the ink drying on the page; the drops froze harder than the pen, and as the hand pressed the point on the page, they seemed to break from it rather than to flow. I have done my best to acquit my obligation before the mild Favonian breeze brings his natal showers to fertilize our twelfth month, which you call the month of Numa. [3] I must now ask you not to require of me the two incompatible virtues of perfection and rapidity; for when a book is written, as it were, to order, the author may perhaps expect credit for punctual delivery but hardly for the quality of his work.

As you profess delight with the iambics I recently sent to our very genial friend Gelasius, you too shall have your present in the shape of these little slaves of Mytilene.

* 'Now has my bark steered its bold course on the twin seas of prose and verse, nor have I feared to ply the tiller on their sundered tides. I have lowered the yards, furled the great sails, and laid down the oar; my thwarts have run alongside, I have leapt ashore to kiss the dear-loved sands.

The jealous chorus of my foes makes muttering; they snarl like furious dogs; but openly they dare say nothing; they fear the public approval which is mine. Hissings of evil tongues beat upon the poop, and shake the keel, and toss the curved sides of my boat; they fly about the mast.

For I, having recked nought of the heaving storms, with the steersman's guardian art have held my prow straight and come safe to port, winner of a twofold crown. One the Roman people granted, and the purple-robed senate assigned, and with a single voice the company of the lettered, what time Nerva Trajan's forum saw arise a lasting statue to my honour, set up between the founders of the two Libraries. The other was mine wellnigh two lustres after, when I received the honour of that high office which now alone maintains the rights of people and of senate.

Heroic verse I have written, and much have I woven in lighter vein;
elegiacs in six feet I have turned with twin caesura.

Now, trained to ride my course in lines of eleven syllables I have gloried in
a swift way; singing many a time in Sapphic metre, rarely in the impetuous
iambic.

Nor can I now call to mind all that once I wrote in the ardour of past youth;
would that the mass of it might be buried away and withdrawn into silence!

For as we come to our last years, and the goal of old age draws nearer, the
deeper grows our shame, remembering the levities of our callow youth.

In the dread of that remembrance, I transferred all my care to the epistolary
style, that though guilty of foolishness in song I might be innocent in deed;
nor be esteemed one all dissolved in pretty phrases, filling my page with
tropes and idle trappings, by which the poet's empty fame might stain the
austerity of the priest.

Henceforth I plunge no more into any kind of verse; be the measure light
or grave, I shall not readily be drawn to produce a song again;

Unless it be to sing the trials of men persecuted for the faith, and martyrs
worthy of heaven, who have bought by death the reward of eternal life.

First my chant should celebrate the prelate who held the throne of
Toulouse, whom they flung headlong down from the highest steps of the
Capitol.

Who denied Jove and Minerva, and confessed the blessing of Christ's
cross, and therefore was bound by a raging mob to the wild bull's back.

That when the beast was driven to full speed over the height, his rent body
was flung to earth, and the rock reddened with the pulp of his reeking brain.

And after Saturninus my lyre should sing all those other guardian saints
who through many tribulations have proved my helpers at need.

Their several names my pious song may not rehearse; but though they
sound not from the strings, they shall ever find echo in my heart.'

[4] Let me at the end drop verse for prose, and so conform to the scheme
originally proposed for my book. If I closed an unmetrical work with rhyme, I
should break the rule of Horace, and turn out as common pot what began as
amphora. Farewell.

* Translated into German verse by Fertig, Part iii, pp. 23-4.

The Latin Texts



The Forum at Rome — in 457 the prominent general of the Late Roman army, Majorian, seized Lyons. However, the reputation of Sidonius' learning led Majorian to treat him with the greatest respect. In return Sidonius composed a panegyric in his honour, which won for him a statue at Rome and the title of Count. In c. 468 the emperor Anthemius rewarded him for the panegyric which he had written in honour of him by raising him to the post of Urban Prefect of Rome until 469 and afterwards to the dignity of Patrician and Senator.

LIST OF LATIN TEXTS



In this section of the eBook, readers can view the original Latin texts of Sidonius' works. You may wish to Bookmark this page for future reference.

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Source text: Sidonius Poems and Letters; W.B. Anderson. William Heinemann Ltd.; Harvard University Press. London; Cambridge, Massachusetts. 1936. With thanks to the Pegasus Digital Library.

Poems

Praefatio panegyrici dicti Anthemio Augusto bis consuli

Cum iuvenem super astra Iovem natura locaret
susciperetque novus regna vetusta deus,
certavere suum venerari numina numen
disparibusque modis par cecinere sophos.

[5] Mars clangente tuba patris praeconia dixit
laudavitque sono fulmina fulmineo;
Arcas et Arcitenens fidibus strepuere sonoris,
doctior hic citharae pulsibus, ille lyrae;
Castalidumque chorus vario modulamine plausit,

[10] carminibus, cannis, pollice, voce, pede.
sed post caelicolas etiam mediocria fertur
cantica semideum sustinuisse deus.
tunc Faunis Dryades Satyrisque Mimallones aptae
fuderunt lepidum, rustica turba, melos.

[15] alta cicuticines liquerunt Maenala Panes
postque chelyn placuit fistula rauca Iovi. [p. 4]
hos inter Chiron, ad plectra sonantia saltans,
flexit inepta sui membra facetus equi;
semivir audiri meruit meruitque placere,

[20] quamvis hinnitum, dum canit, ille daret.
ergo sacrum dives et pauper lingua litabat
summaque tunc voti victima cantus erat.
sic nos, o Caesar, nostri spes maxima saeculi,
post magnos procures parvula tura damus,

[25] audacter docto coram Victore canentes,
aut Phoebi aut vestro qui solet ore loqui;
qui licet aeterna sit vobis quaestor in aula,
aeternum nobis ille magister erit.

ergo colat variae te, princeps, hostia linguae;

[30] nam nova templa tibi pectora nostra facis.

Panegyricus

Auspicio et numero fasces, Auguste, secundos
erige et effulgens trabealis mole metalli
annum pande novum consul vetus ac sine fastu [p. 6]
scribere bis fastis; quamquam diademate crinem
[5] fastigatus eas umerosque ex more priorum
includat Sarrana chlamys, te picta togarum
purpura plus capiat, quia res est semper ab aevo
rara frequens consul, tuque o cui laurea, Iane,
annua debetur, religa torpore soluto
[10] quavis fronde comas, subita nec luce pavescas
principis aut rerum credas elementa moveri,
nil natura novat: sol hic quoque venit ab ortu.
Hic est, o proceres, petiit quem Romula virtus
et quem vester amor; cui se ceu victa procellis
[15] atque carens rectore ratis respublica fractam
intulit, ut digno melius flectenda magistro,
ne tempestates, ne te, pirata, timeret.
te prece ruricola expetiit, te foedere iunctus
adsensu, te castra tubis, te curia plausu,
[20] te punctis scripsere tribus collega misit
te nobis regnumque tibi; suffragia tot sunt
quanta legit mundus, fateor, trepidavimus omnes,
ne vellet collega pius permittere voto
publica vota tuo. credet ventura propago?
[25] in nos ut possint, princeps, sic cuncta licere,
[p. 8] de te non totum licuit tibi. facta priorum
exsuperas, Auguste Leo; nam regna superstat
qui regnare iubet: melius respublica vestra
nunc erit una magis, quae sic est facta duorum.
[30] Salve, sceptrorum columen, regina Orientis,
orbis Roma tui, rerum mihi principe misso
iam non Eoo solum veneranda Quiriti,
imperii sedes, sed plus pretiosa quod exstas
imperii genetrix. Rhodopen quae portat et Haemum,
[35] Thracum terra tua est, heroum fertilis ora.
excipit hic natos glacies et matris ab alvo
artus infantum molles nix civica durat.
pectore vix alitur quisquam, sed ab ubere tractus
plus potat per vulnus equum; sic lacte relicto
[40] virtutem gens tota bibit, crevere parumper:
mox pugnam ludunt iaculis; hos suggerit illis

natrix plaga iocos, pueri venatibus apti
lustra feris vacuant, raptio ditata iuventus
iura colit gladii, consummatamque senectam
[45] non ferro finire pudet: tali ordine vitae
cives Martis agunt, at tu circumflua ponto
Europae atque Asiae commissam carpis utrimque [p. 10]
temperiem; nam Bistonios Aquilonis hiatus
proxima Calchidici sensim tuba temperat Euri.

[50] interea te Susa tremunt ac supplice cultu
flectit Achaemenius lunatum Persa tiaram.
Indus odorifero crinem madefactus amomo
in tua lucra feris exarmat guttur alumnis,
ut pandum dependat ebur; sic trunca reportat
[55] Bosphoreis elephas inglorius ora tributis.
porrigis ingentem spatiosis moenibus urbem,
quam tamen angustam populus facit; itur in aequor
molibus et veteres tellus nova contrahit undas;
namque Dicarcheae translatus pulvis harenae

[60] intratis solidatur aquis durataque massa
sustinet advectos peregrino in gurgite campos,
sic te dispositam spectantemque undique portus,
vallatam pelago terrarum commoda cingunt.
fortunata sat es Romae partita triumphos,

[65] et iam non querimur: valeat divisio regni.
concordant lancis partes; dum pondera nostra
suscipis, aequasti. Tali tu civis ab urbe
Procopio genitore micas, cui prisca propago
Augustis venit a proavis; quem dicere digno [p. 12]

[70] non datur eloquio, nec si modo surgat Averno
qui cantu flexit scopulos digitisque canoris
compulit auritas ad plectrum currere silvas,
cum starent Hebri latices cursuque ligato
fluminis attoniti carmen magis unda sitiret.

[75] Huic quondam iuveni reparatio credita pacis
Assyriae; stupuit primis se Parthus in annis
consilium non ferre senis; conterritus haesit
quisque sedet sub rege satraps: ita vinxerat omnes
legati genius, tremuerunt Medica rura,

[80] quaeque draconigenae portas non clauserat hosti,
tum demum Babylon nimis est sibi visa patere,
partibus at postquam statuit nova formula foedus
Procopio dictante magis, iuratur ab illis
ignis et unda deus, nec non rata pacta futura
[85] hic divos testatur avos. Chaldaeus in extis

pontificum de more senex arcana peregit
murmura; gemmantem pateram rex ipse retentans
fudit turicremis carchesia cernuus aris.
suscipit hinc reducem duplicati culmen honoris: [p. 14]
[90] patricius nec non peditumque equitumque magister
praeficitur castris, ubi Tauri claustra coercens
Aethiopasque vagos belli terrore relegans
gurgite pacato famulum spectaret Orontem.
Huic socer Anthemius, praefectus, consul et idem,
[95] iudiciis populos atque annum nomine rexit.
purpureos Fortuna viros cum murice semper
prosequitur; solum hoc tantum mutatur in illis,
ut regnet qui consul erat. sed omittimus omnes:
iam tu ad plectra veni, tritus cui casside crinis
[100] ad diadema venit, rutilum cui Caesaris ostrum
deposito thorace datur sceptroque replenda
mucrone est vacuata manus, cunabula vestra
imperii fulsere notis et praescia tellus
aurea converso promisit saecula fetu.
[105] te nascente ferunt exorto flumina melle
dulcatis cunctata vadis oleique liquores
isse per attonitas baca pendente trapetas. [p. 16]
protulit undantem segetem sine semine campus
et sine se natis invidit pampinus uvis.
[110] hibernae rubuere rosae spretoque rigore
lilia permixtis insultavere pruinis.
tale puerperium quotiens Lucina resolvit,
mos elementorum cedit regnique futuri
fit rerum novitate fides, venisse beatos
[115] sic loquitur natura deos: constantis Iuli
lambebant teneros incendia blanda capillos;
Astyages Cyro pellendus forte nepoti
inguinis expavit diffusum vite racemum;
praebuit intrepido mammas lupa feta Quirino;
[120] Iulius in lucem venit dum laurea flagrat;
magnus Alexander nec non Augustus habentur
concepti serpente deo Phoebumque Iovemque
divisere sibi: namque horum quaesiit unus
Cinyphia sub Syrte patrem; maculis genetricis
[125] alter Phoebigenam sese gaudebat haberi,
Paeonii iactans Epidauria signa draconis.
multos cinxerunt aquilae subitumque per orbem
lulit venturas famulatrix penna coronas.
ast hunc, egregii procures, ad sceptrum vocari

[130] iam tum nosse datum est, laribus cum forte paternis
protulit excisus iam non sua germina palmes.
[p. 18] imperii ver illud erat; sub imagine frondis
dextra per arentem florebant omina virgam,
at postquam primos infans exegerat annos,
[135] reptabat super arma patris, quamque arta terebat
lammina cervicem gemina complexus ab ulna
livida laxatis intrabat ad oscula cristis,
ludus erat puero raptas ex hoste sagittas
festina tractare manu captosque per arcus
[140] flexa reluctantes in cornua trudere nervos,
nunc tremulum tenero iaculum torquere lacerto
inque frementis equi dorsum cum pondere conti
indutas Chalybum saltu transferre catenas,
inventas agitare feras et fronde latentes
[145] quaerere, deprensas modo claudere cassibus artis,
nunc torto penetrare veru: tum saepe fragore
laudari comitum, frendens cum belua ferrum
ferret et intratos exirent arma per armos,
conde Pelethronios, alacer puer et venator,
[150] Aeacida, titulos, quamquam subiecta magistri
terga premens et ob hoc securus lustra pererrans
tu potius regereris equo. non principe nostro
spicula direxit melius Pythona superstans
Paean, cum vacua turbatus paene pharetra
[155] figeret innumeris numerosa volumina telis.
[p. 20] Nec minus haec inter veteres audire sobbistas:
Mileto quod crete Thales vadimonia culpas;
Lindie quod Cleobule canis ‘modus optimus esto;’
ex Ephyra totum meditaris quod Periander;
[160] Attice quodve Solon finem bene respicis aevi;
Prianaee Bia, quod plus tibi turba malorum est;
noscere quod tempus, Lesbo sate Pittace, suades;
quod se nosse omnes vis, ex Lacedaemone Chilon.
praeterea didicit varias, nova dogmata, sectas:
[165] quidquid laudavit Scythicis Anacharsis in arvis;
quidquid legifero profecit Sparta Lycurgo;
quidquid Erechtheis Cynicorum turba volutat
gymnasiis, imitata tuos, Epicure, sodales;
quidquid nil verum statuens Academia duplex
[170] personat; arroso quidquid sapit ungue Cleanthes;
quidquid Pythagoras, Democritus, Heraclitus
deflevit, risit, tacuit; quodcumque Platonis
ingenium, quod in arce fuit, docet ordine temo, [p. 22]

quae vel Aristoteles, partitus membra loquendi,
[175] argumentosis dat retia syllogismis;
quidquid Anaximenes, Euclides, Archyta, Zenon,
Arcesilas, Chrysippus Anaxagorasque dederunt,
Socraticusque animus post fatum in Phaedone vivus,
despiciens vastas tenuato in crure catenas,
[180] cum tremere mors ipsa reum ferretque venenum
pallida securo lictoris dextra magistro.
praeterea quidquid Latialibus indere libris
prisca aetas studuit, totum percurrere suetus:
Mantua quas acies pelagique pericula lusit
[185] Zmyrnaeas imitata tubas, quamcumque loquendi
Arpinas dat consul opem, sine fine secutus
fabro progenitum, spreto cui patre polita
eloquiis plus lingua fuit, vel quidquid in aevum
mittunt Euganeis Patavina volumina chartis;
[190] qua Crispus brevitate placet, quo pondere Varro,
quo genio Plautus, quo fulmine Quintilianus,
qua pompa Tacitus numquam sine laude loquendus. [p. 24]
His hunc formatum studiis, natalibus ortum,
moribus imbutum princeps cui mundus ab Euro
[195] ad Zephyrum tunc sceptrum dabat, cui nubilus atque
unica purpureos debebat nata nepotes,
elegit generum; sed non ut deside luxu
fortuna soceri contentus et otia captans
nil sibi deberet; comitis sed iure recepto
[200] Danuvii ripas et tractum limitis ampli
circuit, hortatur, disponit, discutit, armat,
sic sub patre Pius moderatus castra parentis,
sic Marcus vivente Pio, post iura daturi,
innumerabilibus legionibus imperitabant.
[205] hinc reduci datur omnis honos, et utrique magister
militiae consulque micat, coniuncta potestas
patricii, celerique gradu privata cucurrit
culmina conscenditque senum puer ipse curulem,
sedit et emerito iuvenis veteranus in auro.
[210] Iamque parens divos: sed vobis nulla cupido
imperii; longam diademata passa repulsam [p. 26]
insignem legere virum, quem deinde legentem
spernere non posses: soli tibi contulit uni
hoc Fortuna decus, quamquam te posceret ordo,
[215] ut lectus princeps mage quam videre relictus.
post socerum Augustum regnas, sed non tibi venit
purpura per thalamos, et coniunx regia regno

laus potius quam causa fuit; nam iuris habenis
non generum legit respublica, sed generosum.

[220] fallor, bis gemino nisi cardine rem probat orbis:
ambit te Zephyrus rectorem, destinat Euris,
ad Boream pugnare et formidaris ad Austrum.

Ante tamen quam te socium collega crearet,
perstrinxisse libet quos Illyris ora triumphos
[225] viderit, excisam quae se Valameris ab armis
forte ducis nostri vitio deserta gemebat.

haud aliter, caesus quondam cum Caepio robur
dedit Ausonium, subita cogente ruina
electura ducem post guttura fracta Iugurthae
[230] ultum Arpinatem Calpurnia foedera lixam
opposuit rabido respublica territa Cimbro. [p. 28]
hic primum ut vestras aquilas provincia vidit,
desiit hostiles confestim horrere dracones.

ilicet edomiti bello praedaeque carentes
[235] mox ipsi tua praeda iacent. Sed omittimus istos
ut populos: belli magis acta revolve;

quod bellum non parva manus / nec carcere fracto
ad gladiaturam tu Spartace vincte parasti,
sed Scythicae vaga turba plagae, feritatis abundans,
[240] dira, rapax, vehemens, ipsis quoque gentibus illic
barbara barbaricis, cuius dux Hormidac atque
civis erat. quis tale solum est moresque genusque:

Albus Hyperboreis Tanais qua vallibus actus
Riphaea de caute cadit, iacet axe sub Vrsae
[245] gens animis membrisque minax: ita vultibus ipsis
infantum suus horror inest, consurgit in artum

massa rotunda caput; geminis sub fronte cavernis
visus adest oculis absentibus; acta cerebri
in cameram vix ad refugos lux pervenit orbis,
[250] non tamen et clausos; nam fornice non spatioso
magna vident spatia, et maioris luminis usum [p. 30]
perspicua in puteis compensant puncta profundis.

tum, ne per malas excrescat fistula duplex,
obtundit teneras circumdata fascia nares,
[255] ut galeis cedant: sic propter proelia natos
maternus deformat amor, quia tensa genarum
non interiecto fit latior area naso.

cetera pars est pulchra viris: stant pectora vasta,
insignes umeri, succincta sub ilibus alvus.
[260] forma quidem pediti media est, procera sed exstat
si cernas equites: sic longi saepe putantur

si sedeant, vix matre carens ut constitit infans,
mox praebet dorsum sonipes; cognata reare
membra viris: ita semper equo ceu fixus adhaeret

[265] rector; cornipedum tergo gens altera fertur,
haec habitat, teretes arcus et spicula cordi,
terribiles certaeque manus iaculisque ferendae
mortis fixa fides et non peccante sub ictu
edoctus peccare furor, gens ista repente

[270] erumpens solidumque rotis transvecta per Histrum
venerat et siccas inciderat orbita lymphas.

hanc tu directus per Dacica rura vagantem contra
is, aggredieris, superas, includis; et ut te
metato spatio castrorum Serdica vidit,

[275] obsidione premis, quae te sic tempore multo
[p. 32] in vallo positum stupuit, quod miles in agros
nec licitis nec furtivis excursibus ibat.

cui deesset cum saepe Ceres semperque Lyaeus,
disciplina tamen non defuit; inde propinquo

[280] hoste magis timuere ducem, sic denique factum est

ut socius tum forte tuus, mox proditor, illis
frustra terga daret commissae tempore pugnae.

qui iam cum fugeret flexo pede cornua nudans,
tu stabas acies solus, te sparsa fugaci

[285] expetiit ductore manus, te Marte pedestri
sudantem repetebat eques, tua signa secutus
non se desertum sensit certamine miles.

I nunc et veteris profer praeconia Tulli,
aetas cana patrum, quod pulchro hortamine mendax

[290] occuluit refugii nutantia foedera Metti!

nil simile est fallique tuum tibi non placet hostem,

tunc vicit miles, dum se putat esse iuvandum:

hic vicit postquam se comperit esse relictum,
dux fugit: insequens; renovat certamina: vineis;

[295] clauditur: expugnas; elabitur: obruis atque

Sarmaticae paci pretium sua funera ponis,

paretur; iussum subiit iam transfuga letum

atque peregrino cecidit tua victima ferro,

ecce iterum, si forte placet, conflige, vetustas! [p. 34]

[300] Hannibal ille ferox ad poenam forte petitus,

etsi non habuit ius vitae fine supremo,

certe habuit mortis: quem caecus carcer et uncus

et quem exspectabat fracturus guttura lictor,

hausit Bebrycio constantior hospite virus;

[305] nam te qui fugit, mandata morte peremptus,

non tam victoris periit quam iudicis ore.
Nunc ades, o Paeon, lauro cui grypas obuncos
docta lupata ligant quotiens per frondea lora
flectis penniferos hederis bicoloribus armos;
[310] huc converte chelyn: non est modo dicere tempus
Pythona exstinctum nec bis septena sonare
vulnera Tantalidum, quorum tibi funera servat
cantus et aeterno vivunt in carmine mortes,
vos quoque, Castalides, paucis, quo numine nobis
[315] venerit Anthemius gemini cum foedere regni,
pandite: pax rerum misit qui bella gubernet.
Auxerat Augustus naturae lege Severus
divorum numerum, quem mox Oenotria casum
vidit ut aerei de rupibus Appennini,
[320] pergit caerulei vitreas ad Thybridis aedes,
non galea conclusa genas (nec sutilis illi [p. 36]
circulus inpactis loricam texuit hamis),
sed nudata caput; pro crine racemifer exit
plurima per frontem constringens oppida palmes,
[325] perqueumeros teretes, rutilantes perque lacertos
pendula gemmiferae mordebant suppara bullae,
segnior incedit senio venerandaque membra
viticomam retinens baculi vice nectit ad ulmum.
sed tamen Vbertas sequitur: quacumque propinquat,
[330] incessu fecundat iter; comitataque gressum
laeta per impressas rorat Vindemia plantas. I
licet ingreditur Tiberini gurgitis antrum,
currebat fluviuſ residens et harundinis altae
concolor in viridi fluitabat silva capillo;
[335] dat sonitum mento unda cadens, licet hispida saetis
suppositis multum sedaret barba fragorem;
pectore ructabat latices lapsuque citato
sulcabat madidam iam torrens alveus alvum,
terretur veniente dea manibusque remissis
[340] remus et urna cadunt, veniae tum verba paranti
illa prior: ‘venio viduatam praesule nostro
per te, si placeat, lacrimis inflectere Romam:
expetat Aurorae partes fastuque remoto
hoc unum praestet, iam plus dignetur amari,
[345] instrue quas quaerat vires orbique iacenti
[p. 38] quo poscat dic orbe caput, quemcumque creavit
axe meo natum, confestim fregit in illo
imperii Fortuna rotas, hinc Vandalus hostis
urget et in nostrum numerosa classe quotannis

[350] militat excidium, conversoque ordine fati
torrida Caucaseos infert mihi Byrsa furores,
praeterea invictus Ricimer, quem publica fata
respiciunt, proprio solus vix Marte repellit
piratam per rura vagum, qui proelia vitans
[355] victorem fugitivus agit. quis sufferat hostem
qui pacem pugnamque negat? nam foedera nulla
cum Ricimere iacit, quem cur nimis oderit audi.
incertum crepat ille patrem, cum serva sit illi
certa parens; nunc, ut regis sit filius, effert
[360] matris adulterium, tum livet quod Ricimerem
in regnum duo regna vocant; nam patre Suebus,
a genetrice Getes. simul et reminiscitur illud,
quod Tartesiacis avus huius Vallia terris
Vandalicas turmas et iuncti Martis Halanos
[365] stravit et occiduam texere cadavera Calpen.
quid veteres narrare fugas, quid damna priorum? [p. 40]
Agrigentini recolit dispendia campi,
inde furit, quod se docuit satis iste nepotem
illius esse viri quo viso, Vandale, semper
[370] terga dabas, nam non Siculis inlustrior arvis
tu, Marcelle, redis, per quem tellure marique
nostra Syracusios presserunt arma penates;
nec tu cui currum Curii superare, Metelle,
contigit, ostentans nobis elephanta frequentem,
[375] grex niger albentes tegeret cum mole iugales
auctoremque suum celaret pompa triumphi.
Noricus Ostrogothum quod continet, iste timetur;
Gallia quod Rheni Martem ligat, iste pavori est;
quod consanguineo me Vandalus hostis Halano
[380] diripuit radente, suis hic ultus ab armis.
sed tamen unus homo est nec tanta pericula solus
tollere, sed differe potest: modo principe nobis
est opus armato, veterum qui more parentum
non mandet sed bella gerat, quem signa moventem
[385] terra vel unda tremant, ut tandem iure recepto
Romula desuetas moderentur classica classes.’
Audiit illa pater, simul annuit. itur in urbem,
continuo videt ipse deam, summissus adorat,
pectus et exsertam tetigerunt cornua mammam; [p. 42]
[390] mandatas fert inde preces; quas diva secuta
apparat ire viam. laxatos torva capillos
stringit et inclusae latuerunt casside turre;
infula laurus erat. bullis hostilibus asper

applicat a laeva surgentem balteus ense,
[395] inseritur clipeo victrix manus; illius orbem
Martigenae, lupa, Thybris, Amor, Mars, Ilia complent.
fibula mordaci refugas a pectore vestes
dente capit, micat hasta minax, quercusque tropaeis
curva tremit placitoque deam sub fasce fatigat.
[400] perpetuo stat planta solo, sed fascia primos
sistitur ad digitos, retinacula bina cothurnis
mittit in adversum vincto de fomite pollex,
quae stringant crepidas et concurrentibus ansis
vinclorum pandas texant per crura catenas.
[405] ergo sicut erat liquidam transvecta per aethram
nascentis petiit tepidos Hyperionis ortus.
Est locus Oceani, longinquis proximus Indis,
axe sub Eoo, Nabataeum tensus in Eurum:
ver ibi continuum est, interpellata nec ullis [p. 44]
[410] frigoribus pallescit humus, sed flore perenni
picta peregrinos ignorant arva rigores;
halant rura rosis, indiscriptosque per agros
fragrat odor; violam, cytisum, serpylla, ligustrum,
lilia, narcissos, casiam, colocasia, caltas,
[415] costum, malobathrum, myrrhas, opobalsama, tura
parturiunt campi; nec non pulsante senecta
hinc rediviva petit vicinus cinnama Phoenix.
hic domus Aurorae rutilo crustante metallo
bacarum praefert leves asprata lapillos.
[420] diripiunt diversa oculos et ab arte magistra
hoc vincit, quodcumque vides; sed conditur omnis
sub domina praesente decor, nimioque rubore
gemmarum varios perdit quia possidet ignes.
fundebat coma pexa crocos flexoque lacerto
[425] lutea depressus comebat tempora pecten.
fundebant oculi radios; color igneus illis,
non tamen ardor erat, quamvis de nocte recussa
excepti soleant sudorem fingere rores.
pectora bis cingunt zonae, parvisque papillis
[430] invidiam facit ipse sinus; pars extima pepli
perfert puniceas ad crura rubentia rugas. [p. 46]
sic regina sedet solio; sceptri vice dextram
lampadis hasta replet; Nox adstat proxima divae,
iam refugos conversa pedes, ac pone tribunal
[435] promit Lux summum vix intellecta cacumen.
hinc Romam liquido venientem tramite cernens
exsiluit propere et blandis prior orsa loquellis

‘quid, caput o mundi,’ dixit, ‘mea regna revisis?
quidve iubes?’ paulum illa silens atque aspera miscens
[440] mitibus haec coepit: ‘venio (desiste moveri
nec multum trepida), non ut mihi pressus Araxes
imposito sub ponte fluat nec ut ordine prisco
Indicus Ausonia potetur casside Ganges,
aut ut tigriferi pharetrata per arva Niphatis
[445] depopuletur ovans Artaxata Caspia consul.
non Pori modo regna precor nec ut hisce lacertis
frangat Hydaspeas aries inpactus Erythras.
non in Bactra feror nec committentia pugnas
nostra Semiramiae rident ad classica portae.
[450] Arsacias non quaero domus nec tessera castris
in Ctesiphonta datur, totum hunc tibi cessimus axem: [p. 48]
et nec sic mereor nostram ut tueare senectam?
omne quod Euphraten Tigrimque interiacet olim
sola tenes: res empta mihi est de sanguine Crassi,
[455] ad Carrhas pretium scripsi; nec inulta remansi
aut periit sic emptus ager; si fallo, probasti,
Ventidio mactate Sapor, nec sufficit istud:
Armenias Pontumque dedi, quo Marte petitum
dicat Sulla tibi; forsán non creditur uni:
[460] consule Lucillum. taceo iam Cycladas omnes:
adquisita meo servit tibi Creta Metello,
transcripsi Cilicas: hos Magnus fuderat olim.
adieci Syriae, quos nunc moderans, Isauros:
hos quoque sub nostris domuit Servilius annis.
[465] concessi Aetolos veteres Acheloiaque arva,
transfudi Attalicum male credula testamentum;
Epirum retines: tu scis cui debeat illam
Pyrrhus, in Illyricum specto te mittere iura
ac Macetum terras: et habes tu, Paule, nepotes.
[470] Aegypti frumenta dedi: mihi vicerat olim
Leucadiis Agrippa fretis. Iudaea tenetur
sub dicione tua, tamquam tu miseris illuc
insignem cum patre Titum, tibi Cypria merces
fertur: pugnaces ego pauper laudo Catones.
[475] Dorica te tellus et Achaica rura tremiscunt,
[p. 50] tendis et in bimarem felicia regna Corinthon:
dic, Byzantinus quis rem tibi Mummius egit?

Sed si forte placet veteres sopire querellas,
Anthemium concede mihi. sit partibus istis
[480] Augustus longumque Leo; mea iura gubernet

quem petii; patrio vestiri murice natam
 gaudeat Euphemiam sidus divale parentis.
 adice praeterea privatum ad publica foedus:
 sit socer Augustus genero Ricimere beatus;
 [485] nobilitate micant: est vobis regia virgo,
 regius ille mihi. si concors annuis istud,
 mox Libyam sperare dabis, circumspice taedas
 antiquas: par nulla tibi sic copula praesto est.
 proferat hic veterum thalamos discrimine partos
 [490] Graecia, ni pudor est: reparatis Pisa quadrigis
 suscitet Oenomaum, natae quem fraude cadentem
 cerea destituit resolutis axibus obex;
 procedat Colchis prius agnita virgo marito
 crimine quam sexu; spectet de carcere circi
 [495] pallentes Atalanta procos et poma decori
 Hippomenis iam non pro solo colligat auro;
 Deianira, tuas Achelous gymnade pinguis
 inlustret taedas et ab Hercule pressus anhelus [p. 52]
 lassatum foveat rivis rivalibus hostem:
 [500] quantumvis repetam veteris conubia saeculi,
 transcendunt hic heroas, heroidas illa.
 hos thalamos, Ricimer, Virtus tibi pronuba poscit
 atque Dionaeam dat Martia laurea myrtum.
 ergo age, trade virum non otia pigra fiventem
 [505] deliciisque gravem, sed quem modo nauticus urit
 aestus Abydenique sinus et Sestias ora
 Hellespontiacis circumclamata procellis;
 quas pelagi fauces non sic tenuisse vel illum
 crediderim cui ruptus Athos, cui remige Medo
 [510] turgida silvosam currebant vela per Alpem;
 nec Lucullanis sic haec freta cincta carinis,
 segnis ad insignem sedit cum Cyzicon hostis,
 qui cogente fame cognata cadavera mandens
 vixit morte sua. sed quid mea vota retardo?
 [515] trade magis.

,

Tum pauca refert Tithonia coniunx: 'duc age, sancta parens, quamquam mihi
 maximus usus
 invicti summiue ducis, dum mitior exstes
 et non disiunctas melius moderemur habenas.
 nam si forte placet veterum meminisse laborum,
 [520] et qui pro patria vestri pugnaret Iuli,
 ut nil plus dicam, prior hinc ego Memnona misi.'

Finierant; geminas iunxit Concordia partes,
electo tandem potitur quod principe Roma. [p. 54]
nunc aliquos voto simili vel amore, vetustas,
[525] te legisse crepa, numquam non invida summis
emeritisque viris. Brenni contra arma Camillum
profer ab exilio Cincinnatoque secures
expulso Caesone refer flentemque parentem
a rastris ad rostra roga, miseroque tumultu
[530] pelle prius, quos victa petas; si ruperit Alpes
Poenus, ad adflictos condemnatosque recurre;
improbis ut rubeat Barcina clade Metaurus,
multatus tibi consul agat, qui milia fundens
Hasdrubalis, rutilum sibi cum fabricaverit ense,
[535] concretum gerat ipse caput, longe altera nostri
gratia iudicii est: scit se non laesus amari.
Sed mea iam nimii propellunt carbasa flatus;
siste, Camena, modos tenues, portumque petenti
iam placido sedeat mihi carminis ancora fundo,
[540] at tamen, o princeps, quae nunc tibi classis et arma
tractentur, quam magna geras quam tempore parvo,
si mea vota deus produxerit, ordine recto
aut genero bis mox aut te ter consule dicam. [p. 56]
nam modo nos iam festa vocant, et ad Vlpia poscunt
[545] te fora, donabis quos libertate, Quirites,
quorum gaudentes exceptant verbera malae.
perge, pater patriae, felix atque omine fausto
captivos vincture novos absolve vetustos.

ad libellum

Quid faceret laetas segetes, quod tempus amandum
messibus et gregibus, vitibus atque apibus,
ad Maecenatis quondam sunt edita nomen;
hinc, Maro, post audes arma virumque loqui,
[5] at mihi Petrus erit Maecenas temporis huius;
nam famae pelagus sidere curro suo.
si probat, emittit, si damnat carmina, celat,
nec nos ronchisono rhinocerote notat.
i, liber: hic nostrum tutatur, crede, pudorem;
[10] hoc censore etiam displicuisse placet.

Praefatio panegyrici dicti domino Imperatori Caesari Iulio Valerio Maioriano Augusto

Tityrus ut quondam patulae sub tegmine fagi
volveret inflatos murmura per calamos,
praestitit adflicto ius vitae Caesar et agri,
nec stetit ad tenuem celsior ira reum;
[5] sed rus concessum dum largo in principe laudat,
caelum pro terris rustica Musa dedit;
nec fuit inferius Phoebeia dona referre:
fecerat hic dominum, fecit et ille deum.
et tibi, Flacce, acies Bruti Cassique secuto
[10] carminis est auctor qui fuit et veniae.
sic mihi diverso nuper sub Marte cadenti
iussisti invicto, victor, ut essem animo,
serviat ergo tibi servati lingua poetae
atque meae vitae laus tua sit pretium,
[15] non ego mordaci fodiam modo dente Maronem
nec civem carpam, terra Sabella, tuum.
res minor ingenio nobis, sed Caesare maior;
vincant eloquio, dummodo nos domino.

Panegyricus

Concipe praeteritos, respublica, mente triumphos:
imperium iam consul habet, quem purpura non plus
quam lorica operit, cuius diademata frontem
non luxu sed lege tegunt, mentisque laborum

[5] post palmam palmata venit; decora omnia regni
accumulant fasces et princeps consule crescit,
personat ergo tuum caelo, rure, urbibus, undis
exsultans Europa sophos, quod rector habens,
victor qui fueras, fateor, trepidaverat orbis

[10] dum non vis vicisse tibi nimioque pudore
quod regnum mereare doles tristisque repulsa
non moderanda subis quae defendenda putasti.

Sederat exserto bellatrix pectore Roma,
cristatum turrita caput, cui pone capaci

[15] casside prolapsus perfundit terga capillus.

[p. 62] laetitiam censura manet terrorque pudore
crescit, et invita superat virtute venustas.

ostricolor pepli textus, quem fibula torto
mordax dente forat; tum quidquid mamma refundit

[20] tegminis, hoc patulo concludit gemma recessu.

hinc fulcit rutilus spatioso circite laevum
umbo latus; videas hic crasso fusa metallo

antra Rheae fetamque lupam, quam fauce resecta
blandiri quoque terror erat; quamquam illa vorare

[25] Martigenas et picta timet; pars proxima Thybrim
exprimit; hic scabri fusus sub pumice tofi
proflabat madidum per guttura glauca soporem;

pectus palla tegit, quam neverat Ilia coniunx,
liquenti quae iuncta toro vult murmura lymphis

[30] tollere et undosi somnum servare mariti.

ista micant clipeo; cuspis trabe surgit eburna,
ebria caede virum, propter Bellona tropaeum
exstruit et quercum captivo pondere curvat,
consurgit solium saxis quae caesa rubenti

[35] Aethiopum de monte cadunt, ubi sole propinquo
nativa exustas adflavit purpura rupes.

iungitur hic Synnas, Nomadum lapis additur istic,
antiquum mentitus ebur; post caute Laconum
marmoris herbosi radians interviret ordo. [p. 64]

[40] Ergo ut se mediam solio dedit, advolat omnis
terra simul, tum quaeque suos provincia fructus

exposuit: fert Indus ebur, Chaldaeus amomum,
Assyrius gemmas, Ser vellera, tura Sabaeus,
Atthis mel, Phoenix palmas, Lacedaemon olivum,
[45] Arcas equos, Epirus equas, pecuaria Gallus,
arma Chalybs, frumenta Libys, Campanus Iacchum,
aurum Lydus, Arabs guttam, Panchaia myrrham,
Pontus castorea, blattam Tyrus, aera Corinthus;
Sardinia argentum, naves Hispania defert
[50] fulminis et lapidem; scopulos iaculabile fulgur
fucat et accensam silicem fecunda maritat
ira deum; quotiens caelum se commovet illic,
plus ibi terra valet.

Subito flens Africa nigras
procubuit lacerata genas et cernua frontem
[55] iam male fecundas in vertice fregit aristas
ac sic orsa loqui: 'venio pars tertia mundi,
infelix felice uno. famula satus olim
hic praedo et dominis extinctis barbara dudum
sceptra tenet tellure mea penitusque fugata
[60] nobilitate furens quod non est non amat hospes.
o Latii sopite vigor, tua moenia ridet
insidiis cessisse suis: non concutis hastam?
non pro me vel capta doles? tua nempe putantur [p. 66]
surgere fata malis et celsior esse ruina;

[65] sed melius, quod terror abit: iam vincere restat,
si pugnas ut victa soles. Porsenna superbum
Tarquinius impingens complevit milite Tusco
Ianiculum quondam; sed dum perrumpere portas
obsidione parat totam te pertulit uno

[70] Coclitis in clipeo; presserunt milia solum
multa virum pendente via; nec ponte soluto
cum caderet cecidit, rex idem denique morte
admonitus scribae didicit sibi bella moveri
non solum cum bella forent; mox pace petita
[75] in regnum rediit, non tam feriente fugatus
quam flagrante viro. steterat nam corde gelato
Scaevola et appposito dextram damnaverat igni,
plus felix peccante manu, cum forte satelles
palleret constante reo tormentaue capti

[80] is fugeret qui tortor erat. Brennum tremuisti,
post melior: quodcumque tuum est, quodcumque vocaris,
iam solus Tarpeius erat; sed reppulit unus
tum quoque totam aciem, Senones dum garrulus anser
nuntiat et vigilat vestrum sine milite fatum,

[85] me quoque (da veniam quod bellum gessimus olim)
post Trebiam Cannasque domas, Romanaque tecta
Hannibal ante meos quam nostra Scipio vidit. [p. 68]
quid merui? fatis cogor tibi bella movere,
cum volo, cum nolo. trepidus te territat hostis,
[90] sed tutus claudente freto, velut hispidus alta
sus prope tesqua iacet claususque cacuminat albis
os nigrum telis gravidum; circumlatrat ingens
turba canum, si forte velit concurrere campo;
ille per obiectos vepres tumet atque superbit,
[95] vi tenuis fortisque loco, dum proximus 'heia!'
venator de colle sonet: vox nota magistri
lassatam reparat rabiem; tum vulnera caecus
fastidit sentire furor, quid proelia differs?
quid mare formidas, pro cuius saepe triumphis
[100] et caelum pugnare solet? quid quod tibi princeps
est nunc eximius, quem praescia saecula clamant
venturum excidio Libyae, qui tertius ex me
accipiet nomen? debent hoc fata labori,
Maoriane, tuo. quem cur conscendere classem
[105] ac portus intrare meos urbemque subire,
si iubeas, cupiam, paucis ex ordine fabor.
Fertur, Pannoniae qua Martia pollet Acincus,
Illyricum rexisse solum cum tractibus Histri
huius avus; nam Theodosius, quo tempore Sirmi
[110] Augustum sumpsit nomen, per utramque magistrum [p. 70]
militiam ad partes regni venturus Eoas
Maorianum habuit. Latiis sunt condita fastis
facta ducis quotiens Scythicis inlata colonis
classica presserunt Hypanim, Peucenque rigentem
[115] mente salutatis inrisit lixa pruinis.
hunc socerum pater huius habet, vir clarus et uno
culmine militiae semper contentus, ut unum
casibus in dubiis iunctus sequeretur amicum.
non semel oblatis temptavit fascibus illum
[120] Aetio rapere aula suo, sed perstitit ille,
maior honoratis: coepit pretiosior esse
sic pretio non capta fides, erat ille quod olim
quaestor consulibus: tractabat publica iure
aera suo: tantumque modum servabat ut illum
[125] narraret rumor iam rebus parcere nati,
Senserat hoc sed forte ducis iam livida coniunx
augeri famam pueri, suffusaque bili
coxerat internum per barbara corda venenum,

ilicet explorat caelum totamque volutis

[130] percurrit mathesim numeris, interrogat umbras,
fulmina rimatur, libras videt, undique gaudens
secretum rapuisse deo. sic torva Pelasgum
Colchis in aplustri steterat trepidante marito [p. 72]

Absyrtum Sparsura patri facturaque caesi

[135] germani plus morte nefas, dum funere pugnat
et fratrem sibi tela facit; vel cum obruit ignem
taurorum plus ipsa calens textitque trementem
frigida flamma virum, quem defendente veneno
inter flagrantis perhibent alsisse iuencos.

[140] Ergo animi dudum impatiens, postquam audiit isti
imperium et longum statui, laniata lacertos
ingreditur, qua strata viri, vocemque furentem
his rupit: 'secure iaces, oblite tuorum,
o piger: et mundo princeps (sic saecula poscunt)

[145] Maiorianus erit; clamant hoc sidera signis,
hoc homines votis, isti quid sidera quaero,
fatum aliud cui fecit amor? nil fortius illo,
et puer est cupidus numquam, sed parcus habendi;
pauper adhuc iam spargit opes, ingentia suadet

[150] consilia et sequitur, totum quod cogitat altum est,
urget quod sperat, ludum si forte retexam,
consumit quidquid iaculis fecisse putaris
istius una dies: tribus hunc tremuere sagittis
anguis, cervus, aper. non sic libravit in hostem

[155] spicula qui nato serpentis corpore cincto
plus timuit cum succurrit, dum iactibus isdem
interitum vitamque daret stabilemque teneret
corde tremente manum, totamque exiret in artem [p. 74]
spe propiore metus, dans inter membra duorum

[160] unius mortem, libeat decernere caestu:
cessit Eryx Siculus, simili nec floruit arte
Sparta, Therapnaea pugilem cum gymnade pinguem
stratus Bebryciis Amycus suspexit harenis.
qui vigor in pedibus! frustra sibi natus Ophelte

[165] Sicaniam tribuit palmam, plantasque superbas
haud ita per siccam Nemeen citus extulit Arcas,
cuius in Aetolo volitantem pulvere matrem
horruit Hippomenes, multo qui caespite circi
contemptu praemissus erat, cum carceris antro

[170] emicuit pernix populo trepidante virago,
nil toto tactura gradu, cum pallidus ille
respiceret medium post se decrescere campum

et longas ad signa vias flatuque propinquo
pressus in hostili iam curreret anxius umbra,
[175] donec ad anfractum metae iam iamque relictus
concita ter sparso fregit vestigia pomo.
qui videt hunc equitem Ledaeum spernit alumnum
ac iuvenem, Sthenoboea, tuum, cui terga vetustas
pennati largitur equi Lyciamque Chimaeram
[180] quem superasse refert, vulnus cum sustulit unum
tres animas, vitam tum si tibi fata dedissent,
Maioriane ferox, vetuisses Castora frenos,
Pollucem caestus, Alconem spicula nosse, [p. 76]
Bellerophonteis insultaturus opimis.
[185] si clipeum capiat, vincit Telamone creatum,
qui puppes inter Graias contra Hectoris ignem
ipsam etiam infidi classem defendit Vlixis.
missile si quanto iaculetur pondere quaeris,
segnius insertae trepidans pro fasce Camillae
[190] excussit telum Metabus, nec turbine tanto
stridula Pelidae per Troilon exiit ornus;
nec sic heroum tardantem busta Creontem
Atticus Aegides rupit Marathonide quercu;
nec sic intortum violatae Phoebados ultrix
[195] in Danaos fulmen iecit, cum Graecia Troiae
noctem habuit similemque facem fixusque Capherei
cautibus inter aquas flammam ructabat Oileus.
Parva loquor, quid quod, quotiens tibi bella geruntur,
discipulus, non miles adest? et fingit alumnum:
[200] aemulus econtra spectat, quod viceris odit
et quos vineis amat. totus dormitat ad istum
magnus Alexander, patris quem gloria torsit.
quid faciam infelix? nato quae regna parabo
exclusa sceptris Geticis, respublica si me
[205] praeterit et parvus super hoc Gaudentius huius
calcatur fatis? istum iam Gallia laudat
quodque per Europam est. rigidis hunc abluit undis [p. 78]
Rhenus, Arar, Rhodanus, Mosa, Matrona. Sequana Ledus,
Clitis, Elaris, Atax, Vacalis; Ligerimque bipenni
[210] excisum per frusta bibit, cum bella timentes
defendit Turonos, aberas; post tempore parvo
pugnastis pariter, Francus qua Cloio patentes
Atrebatum terras pervaserat. hic coeuntes
claudebant angusta vias arcuque subactum
[215] vicum Helenam flumenque simul sub tramite longo
artus suppositis trabibus transmiserat agger.

illic te posito pugnabat ponte sub ipso
Maiorianus eques, fors ripae colle propinquo [p. 80]
barbaricus resonabat hymen Scythicisque choreis
[220] nubebat flavo similis nova nupta marito.
hos ergo, ut perhibent, stravit; crepitabat ad ictus
cassidis et oppositis hastarum verbera thorax
arcebat squamis, donec conversa fugatus
hostis terga dedit; plaustis rutilare videres
[225] barbarici vaga festa tori coniectaque passim
fercula captivasque dapes cirroque madente
ferre coronatos redolentia sarta lebetas,
ilicet increscit Mavors thalamique refringit
plus ardens Bellona faces; rapit esseda victor
[230] nubentemque nurum, non sic Pholoetica monstra
atque Pelethronios Lapithas Semeleius Euan
miscuit, Haemonias dum flairimant orgia matres
et Venerem Martemque cunctas ac prima cruentos
consumunt ad bella cibos Bacchoque rotato
[235] pocula tela putant, cum crudescente tumultu
polluit Emathium sanguis Centauricus Othryn.
nec plus nubigenum celebrentur iurgia fratrum:
hic quoque monstra domat, rutili quibus arce cerebri
ad frontem coma tracta iacet nudata que cervix
[240] saetarum per damna nitet, tum lumine glauco
albet aquosa acies ac vultibus undique rasis
pro barba tenues perarantur pectine cristae. [p. 82]
strictius assutae vestes procera coherent
membra virum, patet his altato tegmine poples,
[245] latus et angustam suspendit balteus alvum.
excussisse citas vastum per inane bipennes
et plagae praescisse locum clipeosque rotare
ludus et intortas praecedere saltibus hastas
inque hostem venisse prius; puerilibus annis
[250] est belli maturus amor. si forte premantur
seu numero seu sorte loci, mors obruit illos,
non timor; invicti perstant animoque supersunt
iam prope post animam, tales te teste fugavit
et laudante viros, quisnam ferat? omnia tecum,
[255] te sine multa facit, pugnant pro principe cuncti:
quam timeo, ne iam iste sibi! si regna tenebit,
huic vineis, quodcumque domas. nil fata relinquunt
hic medium: percussor enim si respiciat esse,
servus eris. certe recto si tramite servat
[260] sidera Chaldaeus, novit si gramina Colchus,

fulgura si Tuscus, si Thessalus elicit umbras,
si Lyciae sortes sapiunt, si nostra volatu
fata locuntur aves, doctis balatibus Hammon
si sanctum sub Syrte gemit, si denique verum,
[265] Phoebe, Themis, Dodona, canis, post tempora nostra
Iulius hic Augustus erit. coniunctus amore
praeterea est iuveni, grandis quem spiritus armat
regis avi. quo te vertas? ad culmina mundi [p. 84]
hic fatum fert, ambo animum, consurge simulque
[270] aggredere ignaros, neutrum mactare valebis,
si iubeas utrumque mori; sed necte dolosas
blanditias uni, ferro tamen iste petatur.
quid loquor incassum? nihil est quod tanta cavemus:
ut regnet victurus erit!

Commotus in iras

[275] Aetius sic pauca refert: 4 compesce furentis
impia vota animi, mortem mandare valebo
insontis, taceam nostri? quisquamne precatur
ut sine criminibus crimen fiat bene nasci?
ad poenam quis fata vocet? tua viscera ferro,
[280] Maiorane, petam, Phoebus si nocte refulget,
Luna die, duplex ponto si plaustra novatur
Parrhasis, Atlantem Tanais, si Bagra cernit
Caucason, Hercynii nemoris si stipite lintris
texta Nabataeum pro Rheno sulcat Hydaspem,
[285] si bibit Hispanus Gangem tepidisque ab Erythris
ad Tartesiacum venit Indus aquator Hiberum,
si se Pollucis perfundit sanguine Castor,
Thesea Pirithoi, Pyladen si stravit Orestae
vel furibunda manus, raperet cum Taurica sacra
[290] matricida pius. sed ne sprevisse dolorem
forte tuum videar, vivat careatque parumper
militia, heu! potuit nobis, nisi triste putasses,
fortunam debere suam.
Sic fatur et illum [p. 86]
rure iubet patrio suetos mutare labores,
[295] fatorum currente rota, quo disceret, agri
quid possessorem maneat, quos denique mores
ius civile paret, ne solam militis artem
ferret ad imperium, suspenderat ilicet arma
emeritus iuvenis, sterilis ieiunia terrae
[300] vomere fecundans. sic quondam consule curvo
vertebas campos, paulum si pace sequestra

classica laxasses, fortis cui laeva regebat
stivam post aquilas, humili dum iuncta camino
victoris fumum biberet palmata bubulci.

[305] Principis interea gladio lacrimabile fatum
clauserat Aetius; cuius quo tutius ille
magna Palatinis coniungeret agmina turmis,
evocat hunc precibus, sed non se poena moratur
sanguinis effusi (numerus collegerat ergo, [p. 88]

[310] non animum populi): ferri mala crimina ferro
solvit et in vestram plus concidit ille ruinam,
iam tunc imperium praesentis principis aurea
volvebant bona fata colu; sed publica damna
invidiam fugere viri. quicumque fuerunt

[315] nomen in Augustum lecti, tenuere relictum
Caesaribus solium: postquam tu capta laboras,
hic quod habet fecit. Traianum Nerva vocavit,
cum pignus iam victor erat: Germanicus esset
ut titulis, meritis fuerat, res ordine currit;

[320] hanc ambit famam quisquis sic incipit. olim
post Capreas Tiberi, post turpia numina Gai,
censuram Claudii, citharam thalamosque Neronis,
post speculi immanis pompam, quo se ille videbat
hinc turpis, quod pulcher, Otho, post quina Vitelli

[325] milia famosi ventris damnata barathro,
his titulis princeps lectus similique labore
Vespasianus erat.

Sed ne fortasse latronis

me clausam virtute putes, consumpsit in illo
vim gentis vitae vitium; Scythicam feritatem

[330] non vires, sed vota tenent, spoliisque potitus
immensis robur luxu iam perdidit omne
quo valuit dum pauper erat. mea viscera pro se
in me nunc armat; laceror tot capta per annos [p. 90]
ure suo, virtute mea, fecundaque poenis

[335] quos patiar pario, propriis nil conficit armis:
Gaetulis, Nomadis, Garamantibus Autololisque,
Arzuge, Marmarida, Psyllo, Nasamone timetur
segnis, et ingenti ferrum iam nescit ab auro.

ipsi autem color exsanguis, quem crapula vexat

[340] et pallens pinguedo tenet, ganeaque perenni
pressus acescentem stomachus non explicat auram,
par est vita suis; non sic Barcaeus opimam
Hannibal ad Capuam periit, cum fortia bello
inter delicias mollirent corpora Baiae

[345] et, se Lucrinas qua vergit Gaurus in undas,
bracchia Massylus iactaret nigra natator.
atque ideo hunc dominum saltem post saecula tanta
ultorem mihi redde, precor, ne dimicet ultra
Carthago Italiam contra.

Sic fata dolore

[350] ingemuit lacrimisque preces adiuvit obortis.
his haec Roma refert: 'longas succinge querellas,
o devota mihi: vindex tibi nomine divum
Maorianus erit. sed paucis pauca retexam.
ex quo Theodosius communia iura fugato
[355] reddidit auctoris fratri, cui guttura fregit
[p. 92] post in se vertenda manus, mea Gallia rerum
ignoratur adhuc dominis ignaraque servit.

ex illo multum periit, quia principe clauso,
quisquis erat, miseri diversis partibus orbis
[360] vastari sollemne fuit. quae vita placeret,
cum rector moderandus erat? contempta tot annos
nobilitas iacuit: pretium respublica forti
rettulit invidiam, princeps haec omnia noster
corrigit atque tuum vires ex gentibus addens
[365] ad bellum per bella venit; nam maximus isse est,
non pugnasse labor, terimus cur tempora verbis?
pervenit et vincit.' tali sermone peractum
concilium, verbisque deae famulante metallo
aurea concordēs traxerunt fila sorores.

[370] Hos me quos cecini Romae Libyaeque labores
vota hominum docuere loqui; iam tempus ad illa
ferre pedem quae fanda mihi vel Apolline muto:
pro Musis Mars vester erit. conscenderat Alpes
Raetorumque iugo per longa silentia ductus

[375] Romano exierat populato trux Alamannus
[p. 94] perque Cani quondam dictos de nomine campos
in praedam centum noviens dimiserat hostes,
iamque magister eras: Burconem dirigis illo
exigua comitante manu, sed sufficit istud

[380] cum pugnare iubes; certa est victoria nostris
te mandasse acies; peragit fortuna triumphum
non populo, sed amore tuo; nolo agmina campo
quo mittis paucos, felix te respicit iste
eventus belli; certatum est iure magistrī,

[385] Augusti fato. nuper ferus hostis aperto
errabat lentus pelago, postquam ordine vobis

ordo omnis regnum dederat, plebs, curia, miles,
et collega simul. Campanam flantibus Austris
ingrediens terram securum milite Mauro
[390] agricolam aggreditur; pinguis per transtra sedebat
Vandalus opperiens praedam, quam iusserat illuc
captive capiente trahi, sed vestra repente
inter utrumque hostem dederant sese agmina planis
quae pelagus collemque secant portumque reducto
[395] efficiunt flexu fluvii, perterrita primum
[p. 96] montes turba petit, trabibus quae clausa relictis
praedae praeda fuit; tum concitus agmine toto
in pugnam pirata coit: pars lintre cavata
iam dociles exponit equos, pars ferrea texta
[400] concolor induitur, teretes pars explicat arcus
spiculaque infusum ferro latura venenum,
quae feriant bis missa semel, iam textilis anguis
discurrit per utramque aciem, cui guttur adactis
turgescit zephyris; patulo mentitur hiatu
[405] iratam pictura famem, pannoque furorem
aura facit quotiens crassatur vertile tergum
flatibus et nimium iam non capit alvus inane.
at tuba terrisono strepuit grave rauca fragore,
responsat clamor lituis, virtusque repente
[410] ignavis vel parva furit, cadit undique ferrum,
hinc tamen in iugulos: hunc torta falarica iactu
proterit, ad mortem vix cessatura secundam;
hunc conti rotat ictus; equo ruit aclyde fossus
ille veruque alius; iacet hic simul alite telo,
[415] absentem passus dextram; pars poplite secto
mortis ad invidiam vivit, partemque cerebri
hic galeae cum parte rapit, fortique lacerto [p. 98]
disicit ancipiti miserabile sinciput ense.
ut primum versis dat tergum Vandalus armis,
[420] succedit caedes pugnae: discrimine nullo
sternuntur passim campis, et fortia quaeque
fecit iners, trepidante fuga mare pallidus intrat
et naves pertransit eques, turpique natatu
de pelago ad cymbam rediit, sic tertia Pyrrhi
[425] quondam pugna fuit: caesis cum milibus illum
Dentatus premeret, lacerae vix fragmina classis
traxit in Epirum qui Chaonas atque Molossos,
qui Thracum Macetumque manus per litora vestra
sparserat et cuius vires Oenotria pallens
[430] ipsaque, quae petiit, trepidaverat uncta Tarentus.

hostibus expulsis campum, qui maximus exstat,
 iam lustrare vacat; videas hic strage sub illa
 utrorumque animos: nullus non pectore caesus,
 quisquis vester erat; nullus non terga foratus,
 [435] illorum quisquis, clamant hoc vulnere primi
 praedonum tum forte ducis, cui regis avari
 narratur nupsisse soror, qui pulvere caeco
 clausus et elisus pilis vestigia turpis
 gestat adhuc probrosa fugae, sic agmina vestra
 [440] cum spoliis campum retinent et Marte fruuntur.
 Interea duplici texit dum litore classem
 inferno superoque mari, cadit omnis in aequor
 silva tibi nimiumque diu per utrumque recisus,
 Appennine, latus, navali qui arbore dives
 [445] non minus in pelagus nemorum quam mittis aquarum. [p. 100]
 Gallia continuis quamquam sit lassa tributis,
 hoc censu placuisse cupit nec pondera sentit
 quae prodesse probat, non tantis maior Atrides
 Carpathium texit ratibus cum Doricus hostis
 [450] Sigeas rapturus opes Rhoeteia clausit
 Pergama; nec tantae Seston iuncturus Abydo
 Xerxes classis erat tumidas cum sterneret undas
 et pontum sub ponte daret, cum stagna superbo
 irrupit temerata gradu turmaeque frequentes
 [455] Hellespontiaco persultavere profundo;
 nec sic Leucadio classis Mareotica portu
 Actiacas abscondit aquas, in bella mariti
 dum venit a Phario dotalis turba Canopo,
 cum patrio Cleopatra ferox circumdata sistro
 [460] milite vel piceo fulvas onerata carinas
 Dorida diffusam premeret Ptolomaide gaza.
 hoc tu non cultu pugnas, sed more priorum
 dite magis ferro, merito cui subiacet aurum
 divitis ignavi, tales ne sperne rebelles:
 [465] etsi non acies, decorant tamen ista triumphos.
 nec me Lageam stirpem memorasse pigebit
 hostis ad exemplum vestri; namque auguror hisdem
 regnis fortunam similem, cum luxus in illa
 parte sit aequalis nec peior Caesar in ista.
 [470] Illicet aggredieris quod nullus tempore nostro
 [p. 102] Augustus potuit: rigidum septemplex Histri
 agmen in arma rapis. nam quidquid languidus axis
 cardine Sithonio sub Parrhase parturit Vrsa,
 hoc totum tua signa pavet; Bastarna, Suebus,

[475] Pannonius, Neurus, Chunus, Geta, Dacus, Halanus,
Bellonotus, Rugus, Burgundio, Vesus, Alites,
Bisalta, Ostrogothus, Procrustes, Sarmata, Moschus
post aquilas venere tuas; tibi militat omnis
Caucasus et Scythicae potor Tanaiticus undae,
[480] quid faciat fortuna viri? quascumque minatur,
has tremuit iam Roma manus; modo principe sub te
ne metuat prope parva putat, nisi serviat illi
quod timuit regnante alio. Iam castra movebas
et te diversis stipabant milia signis;

[485] obsequium gens una negat, quae nuper ab Histro
rettulit indomitum solito truculentior agmen
quod dominis per bella caret, populoque superbo
Tuldila plectendas in proelia suggerit iras.
hic tu vix armis positis iterum arma retractas:

[490] Bistonides veluti Ciconum cum forte pruinas
Ogygiis complent thiasis, seu Strymonos arvis
seu se per Rhodopen seu qua nimbosus in aequor
volvitur Hyperboreis in cautibus Hismarus Hebrum
dat somno vaga turba, simul lassata quiescunt [p. 104]

[495] orgia et ad bifoem reboat nec tibia flatum;
vix requies, iam † ponte ligant † rotat enthea thyrsus
Bassaris et maculis Erythraeae nebridos horrens
excitat Odrysios ad marcida tympana mystas.
tu tamen hanc differs poenam, sed sanguinis auctor

[500] maioris, dum parcis, eras. non pertulit ultra
hoc pro te plus cauta manus vestrumque pudorem
sprevit pro vobis; primi cadit hostia belli
quisque rebellis erat. praedam quoque dividis illis,
mens devota quibus fuerat: quae territa servit

[505] exemplo, gaudet pretio. Pharsalica Caesar
arva petens subitas ferro compescuit iras;
sed sua membra secans, ut causae mole coactus,
flevit quos perimit; vestris haec proficit armis
seditio: quodcumque iubes, nisi barbarus audit,

[510] hic cadit, ut miles timeat.

Iam tempore brumae Alpes marmoreas atque occurrentia iuncto
saxa polo rupesque vitri siccamque minantes
per scopulos pluviam primus pede carpis et idem
lubrica praemisso firmas vestigia conto.

[515] coeperat ad rupis medium quae maxima turba est
interno squalere gelu, quod colle supino
artatis conclusa viis reptare rigenti
non poterat revoluta solo: fors unus ab illo [p. 106]

agmine, canentem cuius rota triverat Histrum,
[520] exclamat: 'gladios malo et sollemne quieta
quod frigus de morte venit; mea torpor inerti
membra rigore ligat, quodam mihi corpus adustum
frigoris igne perit, sequimur sine fine labori
instantem iuvenem; quisquis fortissimus ille est
[525] aut rex aut populus, castris modo clausus aprica
vel sub pelle iacet; nos anni vertimus usum.
quod iubet hic lex rebus erit; non flectitur umquam
a coeptis damnumque putat si temporis iras
vel per damna timet, qua dicam gente creatum
[530] quem Scythia non patior? cuius lac tigridis infans
Hyrcana sub rupe bibit? quae sustulit istum
axe meo gravior tellus? en vertice summo
algentes cogit turmas ac frigora ridet,
dum solus plus mente calet, cum classica regis
[535] Arctoi sequerer, Romani principis arma
Caesareumque larem luxu torpere perenni
audieram: dominos nil prodest isse priores
si rex hic quoque fortis erat.' maiora parantem
dicere de scopulo verbis accendis amaris:
[540] 'quisquis es, oppositi metuis qui lubrica clivi,
frange cutem pendentis aquae scalptoque fluento
sit tibi lympha gradus, turpes depone querelas;
otia frigus habent, numquid mihi membra biformis
Hylaei natura dedit? num Pegasus alis [p. 108]
[545] adiuvit, quidquid gradior, pennasque volanti
dat? Calais Zetusque mihi, quem ninguida cernis
calcantem iam dorsa iugi? vos frigora frangunt,
vos Alpes? iam iam studeam pensare pruinas;
aestatem sub Syrte dabo.' sic agmina voce
[550] erigis exemploque levas primusque labores
aggrederis, quoscumque iubes; tum cetera paret
turba libens, servit propriis cum legibus auctor.
Qui tibi praeterea comites quantusque magister
militiae, vestrum post vos qui compulit agmen,
[555] sed non invitum! dignus cui cederet uni
Sulla acie, genio Fabius, pietate Metellus,
Appius eloquio, vi Fulvius, arte Camillus,
si praefecturae quantus moderetur honorem
vir quaeras, tendit patulos qua Gallia fines,
[560] vix habuit mores similes cui teste senatu
in se etiam tractum commiserat Vlpus ensem,
qui dictat modo iura Getis, sub iudice vestro [p. 110]

pellitus ravum praeconem suspicit hostis.
quid loquar hic illum qui scrinia sacra gubernat,
[565] qui, cum civilis dispenset partis habenas,
sustinet armati curas, interprete sub quo
flectitur ad vestras gens effera condiciones?
quid laudare Petrum parvis, temeraria Clio,
viribus aggredieris? cuius dignatur ab ore
[570] Caesar in orbe loqui, licet et quaestore deserto
polleat; attamen hic nuper, placidissime princeps,
obside percepto nostrae de moenibus urbis
visceribus miseris insertum depulit ensem.
et quia lassatis nimium spes unica rebus
[575] venisti, nostris, petimus, succurre ruinis
Lugdunumque tuam, dum praeteris, aspice victor:
otia post nimios poscit te fracta labores.
cui pacem das, redde animum: lassata iuveni
cervix deposito melius post sulcat aratro
[580] telluris glaebam solidae, bove, fruge, colono,
civibus exhausta est. stantis fortuna latebat;
dum capitur, vae quanta fuit! post gaudia, princeps, [p. 112]
delectat meminisse mali. populatibus, igni
etsi concidimns, veniens tamen omnia tecum
[585] restituis: fuimus vestri quia causa triumphi,
ipsa ruina placet, cum victor scandere currum
incipies crinemque sacrum tibi more priorum
nectet muralis, vallaris, civica laurus
et regum aspicient Capitolia fulva catenas,
[590] cum vesties Romam spoliis, cum divite cera
pinges Cinyphii captiva mapalia Bocchi,
ipse per obstantes populos raucosque fragores
praecedam et tenui, sicut nunc, carmine dicam
te geminas Alpes, Syrtes te, te mare magnum,
[595] te freta, te Libycas pariter domuisse catervas,
ante tamen vicisse mihi. quod lumina flectis
quodque serenato miseros iam respicis ore,
exsultare libet: memini, cum parcere velles,
hic tibi vultus erat; mitis dat signa venustas,
[600] annue: sic vestris respiret Byrsa tropaeis,
sic Parthus certum fugiat Maurusque timore
albus eat; sic Susa tremant positisque pharetris
exarmata tuum circumstent Bactra tribunal.

Praefatio panegyrici dicti Avito Augusto

Pallados armisonae festum dum cantibus ortum
personat Hismario Thracia vate chelys,
et dum Mopsopium stipantur per Marathonem
qui steterant fluvii quaeque cucurrit humus,
[5] dulcisonum quatitur fidibus dum pectine murmur, C
has perhibent laudes laude probasse deam:
‘diva, Gigantei fudit quam tempore belli
armatus partus vertice dividuo,
quam neque Deliacis peperit Latona sub antris,
[10] fixura errantem Cyclada pignoribus,
nec quae Cadmeis pariens Alciden in oris
suspendit triplici nocte puerperium,
nec cuius pluvio turris madefacta metallo est,
cum matrem impleret filius aurigena:
[15] sed te, cum trepidum spectaret Phlegra Tonantem,
impulit excussam vertice ruptus apex;
cumque deos solae traherent in proelia vires
confusum valde te sine robur erat:
protulit ut mox te patrius, Sapientia, vertex,
[20] tum mage vicerunt, te cum habuere dei.
te propter cessit, manibus constructa tremendis,
iam prope per rutilum machina tensa polum. [p. 116]
Pindus, Othrys, Pholoe dextris cecidere Gigantum,
decidit et Rhoeti iam gravis Ossa manu.
[25] sternitur Aegaeon, Briareus, Ephialta Mimasque,
Arctoas sueti lambere calce rotas.
Enceladus patri iacuit fratrique Typhoeus;
Euboicam hic rupem sustinet, hic Siculam.’
Hinc sese ad totam genetricem transtulit Orpheus
[30] et docuit chordas dicere Calliopam.
assurrexerunt Musae sub laude sororis
et placuit divae carmine plus pietas.
quod si maternas laudes cantasse favori est
nec valeo priscas aequiperare fides,
[35] publicus hic pater est, vovi cui carmen, Avitus:
materia est maior si mihi Musa minor.

Panegyricus

Phoebe, peragrato tandem visurus in orbe
quem possis perferre parem, da lumina caelo:
sufficit hic terris, nec se iam signifer astris [p. 118]
iactet, Marmaricus quem vertice conterit Atlans:

[5] sidera sunt isti. quae sicut mersa nitescunt,
adversis sic Roma micat, cui fixus ab ortu
ordo fuit crevisse malis, modo principe surgit
consule; nempe, patres, collatos cernere fasces
vos iuvat et sociam sceptris mandasse curulem:
[10] credite, plus dabit: currus, iam nocte bifrontes,
anceps Iane, comas duplicique accingere lauro,
principis anterior, iam consulis iste coruscat
annus, et emerita trabeis diademata crescunt,
incassum iam, Musa, paves quod propulit Auster

[15] vela ratis nostrae; pelago quia currere famae
coepimus, en sidus, quod nos per caerula servet.
Forte pater superum prospexit ab aethere terras:
ecce viget quodcumque videt; mundum reparasse
aspexisse fuit; solus fovet omnia nutus,

[20] iamque ut convenient superi, Tegeaticus ales
nunc plantis, nunc fronte volat, vix contigit arva
et toto descendit avo: mare terra vel aer
indigenas misere deos. germane Tonantis, [p. 120]
prime venis, viridi qui Dorida findere curru

[25] suetus in attonita spargis cito terga serenum;
umentes Nymphas Phorcus comitatur ibique
glaucus, Glauce, venis, vatum et certissime Proteu,
certus eras. longo veniunt post ordine divi:
pampineus Liber, Mars trux, Tirynthius hirtus,

[30] nuda Venus, fecunda Ceres, pharetrata Diana,
Iuno gravis, prudens Pallas, turrita Cybebe,
Saturnus profugus, vaga Cynthia, Phoebus ephebus,
Pan pavidus, Fauni rigidi, Satyri petulantes.
convenere etiam caelum virtute tenentes,

[35] Castor equo, Pollux caestu, Perseius harpe,
fulmine Vulcanus, Tiphys rate, gente Quirinus.
quis canat hic aulam caeli, rutilantia cuius
ipsa pavementum sunt sidera? Iam pater aureo
tranquillus sese solio locat, inde priores

[40] consedere dei (fluviis quoque contigit illo,
sed senibus, residere loco, tibi, maxime fluctu

Eridane et flavis in pocula fracte Sygambri,
Rhene tumens, Scythiaeque vagis equitate catervis H
ister et ignotum plus notus, Nile, per ortum):

[45] cum procul erecta caeli de parte trahebat
[p. 122] pigros Roma gradus, curvato cernua collo
ora ferens; pendent crines de vertice, tecti
pulvere, non galea, clipeusque impingitur aegris
gressibus, et pondus, non terror, fertur in hasta,

[50] utque pii genibus primum est adfusa Tonantis,
'testor, sancte parens,' inquit, 'te numen et illud,
quidquid Roma fui: summo satis obruta fato
invideo abiectis; pondus non sustinet ampli
culminis arta domus nec fulmen vallibus instat,

[55] quid, rogo, bis seno mihi vulture Tuscus haruspex
portendit? iaciens primae cur moenia genti
ominibus iam celsa fui, dum collis Etrusci
fundamenta iugis aperis mihi, Romule pauper?
plus gladio secura fui cum turbine iuncto

[60] me Rutulus, Veiens pariterque Auruncus et Aequus,
Hernicus et Volscus premerent, sat magna videbar
et tibi dum rumpit vitiatum femina ferro
corpus et ad castum remeas, pudor erute, vulnus.
iam cum vallatam socio me clausit Etrusco

[65] Tarquinius: pro Muci ignes! pro Coclitis undae!
pro dolor! hic quonam est qui sub mea iura redegit
Samnitern, Gurgem, Volsci qui terga cecidit,
Marcius, et Senones fundens dictator et exul?
Fabricii vitam vellem, mortes Deciorum,

[70] vel sic vincentem vel sic victos: mea redde
[p. 124] principia, heu! quo nunc pompae ditiesque triumphi
et pauper consul? Libycum mea terruit axem
cuspis et infido posui iuga tertia Poeno.

Indorum Ganges, Colchorum Phasis, Araxes

[75] Armeniae, Ger Aethiopum Tanaisque Getarum
Thybrinum tremuere meum. me Teutone iuncto
quondam fracte subis Cimber, gladiisque gravatas
ante manus solas iussi portare catenas,
vae mihi! qualis eram, cum per mea iussa iuberent

[80] Sulla, Asiatogenes, Curius, Paulus, Pompeius
Tigrani, Antiocho, Pyrrho, Persae, Mithridati pacem
ac regna, fugam, vectigal, vincla, venenum.
Sauromatem taceo ac Moschum solitosque cruentum
lac potare Getas ac pocula tingere venis

[85] vel, cum diffigiunt, fugiendos tum mage Persas.

nec terras dixisse sat est: fulgentibus armis
 tot maria intravi duce te longeque remotas
 sole sub occiduo gentes. victricia Caesar
 signa Caledonios transvexit ad usque Britannos;
 [90] fuderit et quamquam Scotum et cum Saxone Pictum,
 hostes quaesivit, quem iam natura vetabat
 quaerere plus homines, vidit te frangere Leucas,
 trux Auguste, Pharon, dum classicus Actia miles
 stagna quatit profugisque bibax Antonius armis
 [95] incestam vacuat patrio Ptolomaida regno.
 [p. 126] cumque prius stricto quereretur de cardine mundi,
 nec limes nunc ipsa mihi. plus, summe deorum,
 sum iusto tibi visa potens quod Parthicus ultro
 restituit mea signa Sapor positoque tiara
 [100] funera Crassorum flevit dum purgat, et hinc iam
 (pro dolor!) excusso populi iure atque senatus
 quod timui incurri; sum tota in principe, tota
 principis, et fio lacerum de Caesare regnum,
 quae quondam regina fui; Capreasque Tiberi
 [105] et caligas Gaii Claudii censura secuta est
 et vir morte Nero; tristi Pisone verendum
 Galbam sternis, Otho, speculo qui pulcher haberi
 dum captas, ego turpis eram; mihi foeda Vitelli
 intulit ingluvies ventrem, qui tempore parvo
 [110] regnans sero perit; lassam post inclitus armis
 Vespasianus habet, Titus hinc, post hunc quoque frater;
 post quem tranquillus vix me mihi reddere Nerva
 coepit, adoptivo factus de Caesare maior;
 Vlpianus inde venit, quo formidata Sygambri
 [115] Agrippina fuit, fortis, pius, integer, acer.
 talem capta precor. Traianum nescio si quis
 aequiperet, ni fors iterum tu, Gallia, mittas [p. 128]
 qui vincat.' lacrimae vocem clausere precantis,
 et quidquid superest luctus rogat, undique caeli
 [120] assurgunt procures, Mars, Cypris, Romulus et qui
 auctores tibi, Roma, dei; iam mitior ipsa
 flectitur atque iras veteres Saturnia donat.
 Iuppiter ista refert: 'Fatum, quo cuncta reguntur
 quoque ego, non licuit frangi, sat celsa laborant
 [125] semper, et elatas nostro de munere vires
 invidit Fortuna sibi; sed concipe magnos,
 quamquam fracta, animos, si te Porsenna soluto
 plus timuit de ponte fremens, si moenia capta
 mox Brenni videre fugam, si denique dirum H

[130] annibalem iuncto terrae caelique tumultu
reppulimus (cum castra tuis iam proxima muris
starent, Collina fulmen pro turre cucurrit,
atque illic iterum timuit natura paventem
post Phlegram pugnare Iovem): torpentia tolle
[135] lumina, deter sam mentem caligo relinquat.
te mirum est vinci; incipies cum vincere, mirum
non erit. utque tibi pateat quo surgere tandem
fessa modo possis, paucis, cognosce, docebo.
Est mihi, quae Latio se sanguine tollit alumnam,
[140] tellus clara viris, cui non dedit optima quondam
rerum opifex natura parem; fecundus ab urbe [p. 130]
pollet ager, primo qui vix proscissus aratro
semina tarda sitit vel luxuriante iuvenco
arcana exponit piceam pinguedine glaebam,
[145] assurrexit huic, coxit quod torridus Auster,
Niliacum Libycumque solum, collataque semper
arida Mygdoniae damnarunt Gargara falces;
Apulus et Calaber cessit, spes unica rerum,
hanc, Arverne, colens nulli pede cedis in armis,
[150] quosvis vineis equo. testis mihi Caesaris esto
hic nimium Fortuna pavens, cum colle repulsus
Gergoviae castris miles vix restitit ipsis,
hos ego tam fortes volui, sed cedere Avitum
dum tibi, Roma, paro, rutilat cui maxima dudum
[155] stemmata complexum germen, palmata cucurrit
per proavos, gentisque suae te teste, Philagri,
patricius resplendet apex. sed portio quanta est
haec laudum, laudare patres, quos quippe curules
et praefecturas constat debere nepoti?
[160] sint alii per quos se postuma iactet origo,
et priscum titulis numeret genus alter: Avite, [p. 132]
nobilitas tu solus avos. libet edere tanti
gesta viri et primam paucis percurrere vitam.
Solverat in partum generosa puerpera casti
[165] ventris onus; manifesta dedi mox signa futuri
principis ac totam fausto trepidi patris aulam
implevi augurio, licet idem grandia nati
culparet fata et pueri iam regna videret,
sed sibi commissum tanto sub pignore cernens
[170] mundi depositum, ne quid tibi, Roma, periret,
iuvit fortunam studio. Iactantia primum
membra dedit nivibus, glaciemque inrumpere plantis
iussit et attritas parvum ridere pruinas,

surgentes animi Musis formantur et illo
[175] quo Cicerone tonas; didicit quoque facta tuorum
ante ducum; didicit pugnas libroque relegit
quae gereret campo, primus vix coeperat esse
ex infante puer, rabidam cum forte cruentis
rictibus atque escas ieiuna fauce parantem
[180] plus catulis stravit (fuerant nam fragmina propter)
arrepta de caute lupam, fractusque molari
dissiluit vertex et saxum vulnere sedit,
sic meus Alcides, Nemeae dum saltibus errat,
occurrit monstro vacuus, non robora portans,
[185] non pharetras; stetit ira fremens atque hoste propinquo
consuluit solos virtus decepta lacertos.
Parva quidem, dicenda tamen: quis promptior isto [p. 134]
tensa catenati summittere colla Molossi
et lustris recubare feras interprete nare
[190] discere non visas et in aere quaerere plantas?
iam si forte suem latratibus improbus Vmber
terrui, albentes nigro sub gutture lunas
frangere ludus erat colluctantique lacerto
vasta per adversas venabula cogere praedas,
[195] quam pulchrum, cum forte domum post lustra revertens
horrore splenderet apri virtusque repugnans
proderet invitum per fortia facta pudorem!
sic Pandionis castae Tritonidos arvis
Hippolytus roseo sudum radiabat ab ore,
[200] sed simul a gemino flagrans cum Cressa furore
transiit adfectu matres et fraude novercas.
Quid volucrum studium, dat quas natura rapaces
in vulgus prope cognatum? quis doctior isto
instituit varias per nubila iungere lites?
[205] alite vincit aves, celerique per aethera plausu
hoc nulli melius pugnator militat unguis.
Nec minus haec inter civilia iura secutus
eligitur primus, iuvenis, solus, mala fractae
alliget ut patriae poscatque informe reddi
[210] vectigal, procerum tum forte potentior illic,
post etiam princeps, Constantius omnia praestat, [p. 136]
indole defixus tanta et miratus in annis
parvis grande bonum vel in ore precantis ephebi
verba senis.
Ducis hinc pugnas et foedera regum
[215] pandere, Roma, libet, variis incussa procellis
bellorum regi Getico tua Gallia pacis

pignora iussa dare est, inter quae nobilis obses
tu, Theodore, venis; quem pro pietate propinqui
expetis in media pelliti principis aula
[220] tutus, Avite, fide. probat hoc iam Theudoris altum
exemplum officii, res mira et digna relatu,
quod fueris blandus regi placuisse feroci,
hinc te paulatim praelibat sensibus imis
atque nimis vult esse suum; sed spernis amicum
[225] plus quam Romanum gerere, stupet ille repulsam
et plus inde places, rigidum sic, Pyrrhe, videbas
Fabricium, ingestas animo cum divite fugit
pauper opes, regem temnens, dum supplice censu
pignus amicitiae vili mendicat ab auro. [p. 138]
[230] Aetium interea, Scythico quia saepe duello est
edoctus, sequeris; qui, quamquam celsus in armis,
nil sine te gessit, cum plurima tute sine illo.
nam post Iuthungos et Norica bella subacto
victor Vindelico Belgam, Burgundio quem trux
[235] presserat, absolvit iunctus tibi. vincitur illic
cursu Herulus, Chunus iaculis Francusque natatu,
Sauromata clipeo, Salius pede, falce Gelonus,
vulnere vel si quis plangit cui Messe feriri est
ac ferro perarasse genas vultuque minaci
[240] rubra cicatricum vestigia defodisse.
Inlustri iam tum donatur celsus honore,
squameus et rutilus etiamnunc livida cristis [p. 140]
ora gerens vix arma domum sordentia castris
rettulerat: nova bella iterum pugnamque sub ipsis
[245] iam patriae muris periurus commovet hostis.
Litorius Scythicos equites tum forte subacto
celsus Aremorico Geticum rapiebat in agmen
per terras, Arverne, tuas; qui proxima quaeque
discursu, flammis, ferro, feritate, rapinis
[250] debebant, pacis fallentes nomen inane.
huius tum famulum quidam truculentior horum,
mox feriente, feris; ruit ille et tristia fata
commendat domino absenti partemque futuram
vindictae moriens Stygium spe portat ad amnem.
[255] et iam fama viro turres portasque tuenti
intuitu pavidae plebis perfert scelus actum.
excutitur, restat, pallet, rubet, alget et ardet,
ac sibimet multas vultum variata per unum
ira facit facies, vel, qui mos saepe dolenti,
[260] plus amat extinctum; tandem prorumpit et arma,

arma fremit, pinguisque etiamnum sanguine fertur
lorica, obtusus per barbara vulnera contus
atque sub assiduīs dentatus caedibus ensis.

includit suras ocreis capitique micantem

[265] imponit galeam, fulvus cui crescit in altum
conus et iratam iaculatur vertice lucem.

et iam scandit equum vulsisque a cardine portis
emicat; adsistunt socio Virtusque Dolorque
et Pudor: armatas pilo petit impiger alas [p. 142]

[270] pugnando pugnam quaerens, pavidumque per agmen
multorum interitu compensat quod latet unus.

sic Phrygium Emathia victorem cuspidē poscens

Aeacides caeso luctum frenavit amico,

per mortes tot, Troia, tuas (nam vilia per se

[275] agmina) contentus ruere strictumque per amplos
exserere gladium populos; natat obruta tellus

sanguine, dumque hebetat turba grave caedua telum

absens in cuncto sibi vulnere iam cadit Hector.

proditus ut tandem tanti qui causa tumultus,

[280] inquit Avitus: 'Age, Scythica nutrite sub Arcto,

qui furis et caeso tantum qui fidis inermi,

congregere armato, multum tibi praestitit ira

iam mea: concessi pugnam iubeoque resistas;

certainem mactasse iuvat.' sic fatur et aequor

[285] prosilit in medium, nec non ferus advenit hostis.

ut primum pectus vel comminus ora tulere,

hic ira tremit, ille metu. iam cetera turba

diversis trepidat votis variosque per ictus

pendet ab eventu, sed postquam prima, secunda

[290] tertiaque acta rota est, venit ecce et celsa cruentum

perforat hasta virum, post et confinia dorsi

cedit transfosso ruptus bis pectore thorax,

et dum per duplicem sanguis singultat hiatum

dividua ancipitem carpserunt vulnera vitam. [p. 144]

[295] Haec post gesta viri (temet, Styx livida, testor)

intemerata mihi praefectus iura regebat;

et caput hoc sibimet solitis defessa ruinis

Gallia suscipiens Getica pallescebat ab ira.,

nil prece, nil pretio, nil milite fractus agebat

[300] Aetius; capto terrarum damna patebant

Litorio; in Rhodanum proprios producere fines

Theodoridae fixum, nec erat pugnare necesse,

sed migrare Getis, rabidam trux asperat iram

victor; quod sensit Scythicum pro moenibus hostem,

[305] imputat; et nil est gravius, si forsitan umquam vincere contingat, trepido, postquam undique nullum praesidium ducibusque tuis nil, Roma, relictum est, foedus, Avite, novas; saevum tua pagina regem lecta domat; iussisse sat est te, quod rogat orbis.

[310] credent hoc umquam gentes populique futuri? littera Romani cassat quod, barbarez, vineis. iura igitur rexit; namque hoc quoque par fuit, ut tum assertor fieret legum qui nunc erit auctor, ne dandus populis princeps, caput, induperator,

[315] Caesar et Augustus solum fera proelia nosset. Iam praefecturae perfunctus culmine tandem se dederat ruri (numquam tamen otia, numquam desidia imbellis, studiumque et cura quieto armorum semper): subito cum rupta tumultu [p. 146]

[320] barbaries totas in te transfuderat Arctos, Gallia, pugnacem Rugum comitante Gelono Gepida trux sequitur; Scirum Burgundio cogit; Chunus, Bellonotus, Neurus, Bastarna, Toringus, Bructerus, ulvosa vel quem Nicer alluit unda

[325] prorumpit Francus; cecidit cito secta bipenni Hercynia in lintres et Rhenum texuit alno; et iam terrificis diffuderat Attila turmis in campos se, Belga, tuos. vix liquerat Alpes Aetius, tenue et rarum sine milite ducens

[330] robur in auxiliis, Geticum male credulus agmen incassum propriis praesumens adfore castris. nuntius at postquam ductorem perculit, Hunos iam prope contemptum propriis in sedibus hostem exspectare Getas, versat vagus omnia secum

[335] consilia et mentem curarum fluctibus urget. tandem nutanti sedit sententia celsum exorare virum, collectisque omnibus una principibus coram supplex sic talibus inquit:

‘orbis, Avite, salus, cui non nova gloria nunc est

[340] quod rogat Aetius, voluisti, et non nocet hostis; vis: prodest, inclusa tenes tot milia nutu, et populis Geticis sola est tua gratia limes; infensi semper nobis pacem tibi praestant. victrices, i, prome aquilas; fac, optime, Chunos, [p. 148]

[345] quorum forte prior fuga nos concusserat olim, bis victos prodesse mihi.’ sic fatur, et ille pollicitus votum fecit spem. protinus inde avolat et famulas in proelia concitat iras.

ibant pellitae post classica Romula turmae,
[350] ad nomen currente Geta; timet aere vocari
dirutus, opprobrium, non damnum barbarus horrens.
hos ad bella trahit iam tum spes orbis Avitus,
vel iam privatus vel adhuc, sic cinnama busto
collis Erythraei portans Phoebeius ales
[355] concitat omne avium vulgus; famulantia currunt
agmina, et angustus pennas non explicat aer.
Iam prope fata tui bis senas vulturis alas
complebant (scis namque tuos, scis, Roma, labores):
Aetium Placidus mactavit semivir amens;
[360] vixque tuo impositum capiti diadema, Petroni:
ilico barbaries, nec non sibi capta videri
Roma Getis tellusque suo cessura furori;
raptores ceu forte lupi, quis nare sagaci
monstrat odor pinguem clausis ab ovilibus auram,
[365] irritant acuuntque famem portantque rapinae
[p. 150] in vultu speciem, patulo ieiunia rictu
fallentes; iam iamque tener spe frangitur agnus
atque absens avido crepitat iam praeda palato,
quin et Aremoricus piratam Saxona tractus
[370] sperabat, cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum
ludus et assuto glaucum mare findere lembo.
Francus Germanum primum Belgamque secundum
sternebat, Rhenumque, ferox Alamanne, bibebas
Romani ripis et utroque superbus in agro
[375] vel civis vel victor eras. sed perdita cernens
terrarum spatia princeps iam Maximus, unum
quod fuit in rebus, peditumque equitumque magistrum
te sibi, Avite, legit, collati rumor honoris
invenit agricolam, flexi dum forte ligonis
[380] exercet dentes vel pando pronus aratro
vertit inextinctam per pingua iugera glaebam,
sic quondam ad patriae res fractas pauper arator,
Cincinnate, venis veterem cum te induit uxor
ante boves trabeam dictatoremque salignae
[385] excepere fores atque ad sua tecta ferentem
quod non persevit, turpique e fasce gravata
vile triumphalis portavit purpura semen.
Ut primum ingesti pondus suscepit honoris,
legas qui veniam poscant, Alamanne, furori,
[390] Saxonis incursus cessat, Chattumque palustri
alligat Albis aqua; vixque hoc ter menstrua totum [p. 152]
luna videt, iamque ad populos ac rura feroci

tenta Getae pertendit iter, qua pulsus ab aestu
Oceanus refluum spargit per culta Garunnam;
[395] in flumen currente mari transcendit amarus
blanda fluenta latex, fluviique impacta per alveum
salsa peregrinum sibi navigat unda profundum.
hic iam disposito laxantes frena duello
Vesorum proceres raptim suspendit ab ira
[400] rumor, succinctum referens diplomate Avitum
iam Geticas intrare domos positaque parumper
mole magisterii legati iura subisse.
Obstupere duces pariter Scythicusque senatus
et timuere, suam pacem ne forte negaret,
[405] sic rutilus Phaetonta levem cum carperet axis
iam pallente die flagrantique excita mundo
pax elementorum fureret vel sicca propinquus
saeviret per stagna vapor limusque sitiret
pulvereo ponti fundo, tunc unica Phoebi
[410] insuetum clemens exstinxit flamma calorem.
Hic aliquis tum forte Getes, dum falce recocta
ictibus informat saxoque cacuminat ensem,
iam promptus caluisse tubis, iam iamque frequenti
caede sepulturus terram non hoste sepulto,
[415] claruit ut primum nomen venientis Aviti,
exclamat: ‘periit bellum, date rursus aratra. [p. 154]
otia si replico priscae bene nota quietis,
non semel iste mihi ferrum tulit, o pudor! o di!
tantum posse fidem! quid foedera lenta minaris,
[420] in damnum mihi fide meum? compendia pacis
et praestare iubes nos et debere, quis umquam
crederet? en Getici reges, parere volentes,
inferius regnasse putant! nec dicere saltim
desidiaie obtentu possum te proelia nolle:
[425] pacem fortis amas. iam partes sternit Avitus;
insuper et Geticas praemissus continet iras
Messianus; adhuc mandasti, et ponimus arma.
quid restat quod posse velis? quod non sumus hostes
parva reor; prisco tu si mihi notus in actu es,
[430] auxiliaris ero: vel sic pugnare licebit.’
Haec secum rigido Vesus dum corde volutat,
ventum in conspectum fuerat, rex atque magister
propter constiterant; hic vultu erectus, at ille
laetitia erubuit veniamque rubore poposcit,
[435] post hinc germano regis, hinc rege retento
Palladium implicitis manibus subiere Tolosam.

haud secus insertis ad pulvinaria palmis
Romulus et Tatius foedus iecere, parentum
cum ferro et rabidis cognato in Marte maritis
[440] Hersilia inseruit Pallantis colle Sabinas.
[p. 156] Interea incautam furtivis Vandalus armis
te capit, infidoque tibi Burgundio ductu
extorquet trepidas mactandi principis iras.
heu facinus! in bella iterum quartosque labores
[445] perfida Elissee crudescunt classica Byrsae.’
nutristis quod, fata, malum? conscenderat arces
Euandri Massyla phalanx montesque Quirini
Marmarici pressere pedes rursusque revexit
quae captiva dedit quondam stipendia Barce.
[450] exsilium patrum, plebis mala, principe caeso
captivum imperium ad Geticas rumor tulit aures,
luce nova veterum coetus de more Getarum
contrahitur; stat prisca annis viridisque senectus
consulis; squalent vestes ac sordida macro
[455] lintea pinguescunt tergo, nec tangere possunt
altatae suram pelles, ac poplite nudo
peronem pauper nodus suspendit equinum.
Postquam in consilium seniorum venit honora
pauperies pacisque simul rex verba poposcit,
[460] dux ait: ‘optassem patriis securus in arvis
emeritam, fateor, semper fovisse quietem,
ex quo militiae post munia trina superbum [p. 158]
praefecturae apicem quarto iam culmine rexi.
sed dum me nostri princeps modo Maximus orbis
[465] ignarum, absentem procerum per mille repulsas
ad lituos post iura vocat voluitque sonoris
praeconem mutare tubis, promptissimus istud
arripui officium, vos quo legatus adirem.
foedera prisca precor, quae nunc meus ille teneret,
[470] iussissem si forte, senex cui semper Avitum
sectari crevisse fuit. tractare solebam
res Geticas olim; scis te nescisse frequenter
quae suasi nisi facta, tamen fortuna priorem
abripuit genium; periit quodcumque merebar
[475] cum genitore tuo. Narbonem tabe solutum
ambierat (tu parvus eras); trepidantia cingens
milia in infames iam iamque coegerat escas;
iam tristis propriae credebat defore praedae,
si clausus fortasse perit, cum nostra probavit
[480] consilia et refugo laxavit moenia bello.

teque ipsum (sunt ecce senes) hoc pectore fultum
hae flentem tenuere manus, si forsitan altrix
te mihi, cum nolles, lactandum tolleret, ecce
advenio et prisci repeto modo pignus amoris.

[485] si tibi nulla fides, nulla est reverentia patris,
i durus pacemque nega.'

Prorumpit ab omni [p. 160]

murmur concilio fremitusque, et proelia damnans
seditiosa ciet concordem turba tumultum.

tum rex effatur: 'dudum, dux inclite, culpo

[490] poscere te pacem nostram, cum cogere possis
servitium, trahere ac populos in bella sequaces.

ne, quaeso, invidiam patrio mihi nomine inuras:

quid mereor, si nulla iubes? suadere sub illo

quod poteras, modo velle sat est, solumque moratur,

[495] quod cupias, nescisse Getas. mihi Romula dudum

per te iura placent, parvumque ediscere iussit

ad tua verba pater docili quo prisca Maronis

carmine molliret Scythicos mihi pagina mores;

iam pacem tum velle doces, sed percipe quae sit

[500] condicio obsequii: forsán rata pacta probabis.

testor, Roma, tuum nobis venerabile nomen

et socium de Marte genus (vel quidquid ab aevo,

nil te mundus habet melius, nil ipsa senatu),

me pacem servare tibi vel velle abolere

[505] quae noster peccavit avus, quem fuscet id unum,

quod te, Roma, capit; sed di si vota secundant,

excidii veteris crimen purgare valebit

ultio praesentis, si tu, dux inclite, solum [p. 162]

Augusti subeas nomen, quid lumina flectis?

[510] invitum plus esse decet, non cogimus istud,

sed contestamur: Romae sum te duce amicus,

principe te miles, regnum non praeripis ulli,

nec quisquam Latias Augustus possidet arces;

qua vacat, aula tua est. testor, non sufficit istud,

[515] ne noceam; atque tuo hoc utinam diademate fiat,

ut prosim! suadere meum est; nam Gallia si te

compulerit, quae iure potest, tibi pareat orbis,

ne pereat.' dixit pariterque in verba petita

dat sanctam cum fratre fidem, discedis, Avite,

[520] maestus, qui Gallos scires non posse latere

quod possint servire Getae te principe, namque

civibus ut patuit trepidis te foedera ferre,

occurrunt alacres ignaroque ante tribunal

sternunt; utque satis sibimet numerosa coisse
[525] nobilitas visa est, quam saxa nivalia Cotti
despectant, variis nec non quam partibus ambit
Tyrrheni Rhenique liquor, vel longa Pyrenei
quam iuga ab Hispano seclusam iure coercent,
aggreditur nimio curarum pondere tristem
[530] gaudens turba virum. procerum tum maximus unus,
dignus qui patriae personam sumeret, inquit:
‘quam nos per varios dudum fortuna labores [p. 164]
principe sub puero Iacens terat aspera rebus,
fors longum, dux magne, queri, cum quippe dolentum
[535] maxima pars fueris, patriae dum vulnera lugens
sollicitudinibus vehementibus exagitaris.
has nobis inter clades ac funera mundi
mors vixisse fuit. sed dum per verba parentum
ignavas colimus leges sanctumque putamus
[540] rem veterem per damna sequi, portavimus umbram
imperii, generis contenti ferre vetusti
et vitia ac solitam vestiri murice gentem
more magis quam iure pati. promptissima nuper
fulsit condicio proprias qua Gallia vires
[545] exsereret, trepidam dum Maximus occupat urbem;
orbem sat potuit, si te sibi tota magistro
regna reformasset. quis nostrum Belgica rura,
litus Aremorici, Geticas quis moverit iras,
non latet: his tantis tibi cessimus, inclite, bellis,
[550] nunc iam summa vocant; dubio sub tempore regnum
non regit ignavus, postponitur ambitus omnis
ultima cum claros quaerunt: post damna Ticini
ac Trebiae trepidans raptim respublica venit
ad Fabium; Cannas celebres Varrone fugato
[555] Scipiadamque etiam turgentem funere Poenum
Livius electus fregit, captivus, ut aiunt,
orbis in urbe iacet; princeps perit, hic caput omne
nunc habet imperium, petimus, conscende tribunal, [p. 166]
erige collapsos; non hoc modo tempora poscunt,
[560] ut Romam plus alter amet. nec forte reare
te regno non esse parem: cum Brennica signa
Tarpeium premerent, scis, tum respublica nostra
tota Camillus erat, patriae qui debitus ultor
textit fumantes hostili strage favillas.
[565] non tibi centurias aurum populare paravit,
nec modo venales numerosoque asse redemptae
concurrunt ad puncta tribus; suffragia mundi

nullus emit. pauper legeris; quod sufficit unum,
es meritis dives, patriae cur vota moraris,
[570] quae iubet ut iubeas? haec est sententia cunctis:
si dominus iis, liber ero.'

Fragor atria complet

Vierni, quo forte loco pia turba senatus
detulerat vim, vota, preces, locus, hora diesque
dicitur imperio felix, ac protinus illic

[575] nobilium excubias gaudens sollertia mandat.

Tertia lux refugis Hyperiona fuderat astris:

concurrunt proceres ac milite circumfuso
aggere composito statuunt ac torque coronant
castrensi maestum donantque insignia regni;

[580] nam prius induerat solas de principe curas.

haud alio quondam vultu Tiryntius heros [p. 168]

pondera suscepit caeli simul atque novercae
cum Libya se rupe Gigas subduceret et cum
tutior Herculeo sedisset machina dorso.

[585] Hunc tibi, Roma, dedi, patulis dum Gallia campis

intonat Augustum plausu faustumque fragorem

portat in exsanguem Boreas iam fortior Austrum.

hic tibi restituet Libyen per vincula quarta,

et cuius solum amissas post saecula multa

[590] Pannonias revocavit iter, iam credere promptum est

quid faciat bellis, o quas tibi saepe iugabit

inflictis gentes aquilis, qui maxima regni

omina privatus fugit, cum forte vianti

excuteret praepes plebeium motus amictum!

[595] laetior at tanto modo principe, prisca deorum

Roma parens, attolle genas ac turpe veternum

depone: en princeps faciet iuvenescere maior,

quam pueri fecere senem.

' Finem pater ore

vix dederat: plausere dei fremitusque cucurrit [p. 170]

[600] concilio, felix tempus nevere sorores

imperiiis, Auguste, tuis et consulis anno

fulva volubilibus duxerunt saecula pensis.

Ad Priscum Valerianum virum praefectorium

Prisce, decus semper nostrum, cui principe Avito
cognatum sociat purpura celsa genus,
ad tua cum nostrae currant examina nugae,
dico: 'state, vagae; quo prope ratis? amat.

[5] dstrictus semper censor, qui diligit, exstat;
dura fronte legit mollis amicitia,
nil totum prodest adiectum laudibus illud
Vlpia quod rutilat porticus aere meo
vel quod adhuc populo simul et plaudente senatu
[10] ad nostrum reboat concava Roma sophos.'
respondent illae: 'properabimus, ibimus, et nos
non retines: tanto iudice culpa placet,
cognitor hoc nullus melior; bene carmina pensat
contemptu tardo, iudicio celeri.'

[15] et quia non potui temeraria sistere verba,
hoc rogo, ne dubites lecta dicare rogo.

Ad Felicem

Largam Sollius hanc Apollinaris
felici domino pioque fratri
dicit Sldonius suus salutem.

Dic, dic quod peto, Magne, dic, amabo,

[5] Felix nomine, mente, honore, forma,
natis, coniuge, fratribus, parente,
germanis genitoris atque matris
et summo patrui Camillo:

quid nugas temerarias amici,

[10] sparsit quas tenerae iocus iuventae,
in formam redigi iubes libelli,
ingentem simul et repente fascem
conflari invidiae et perire chartam?

mandatis famulor, sed ante testor,

[15] lector quas patieris hic salebras.

Non nos currimus aggerem vetustum
nec quicquam invenies ubi priorum
antiquas terat orbitas Thalia,

non hic antipodas salumque rubrum,

[20] non hic Memnonios canemus Indos

Aurorae face civica perustos;

non Artaxata, Susa, Bactra, Carrhas,

non coctam Babylona personabo, [p. 174]

quae largum fluvio patens alumno

[25] inclusum bibit hinc et inde Tigrim.

non hic Assyrii Ninum priorem,

non Medis caput Arbacen profabor,

nec quam divite, cum refugit hostem,

arsit Sardanapallus in favilla.

[30] non Cyrum Astyagis loquar nepotem,

nutritum ubere quem ferunt canino,

cuius non valuit rapacitatem

vel Lydi satiare gaza Croesi;

cuius nec feritas subacta tunc est,

[35] caesis milibus ante cum ducentis

in vallis Scythicae coactus artum

orbatae ad Tomyris veniret utrem.

Non hic Cecropios leges triumphos,

vel si quo Marathon rubet duello,

[40] aut, cum milia mille concitaret,

inflatum numerositate Xerxen,

atque hunc numinibus satis profundis
confestim ebibitis adhuc sitisse;
nec non Thermopylas et Helles undas
[45] spretis obicibus soli salique
insanis equitasse cum catervis
admissoque in Athon tumente ponto
iuxta frondiferae cacumen Alpīs
scalptas classibus isse per cavernas.

[50] Non prolem Garamantici Tonantis,
regnis principibusque principantem,
porrectas Asiae loquar paterno
actum fulmine pervolasse terras [p. 176]
et primum Darii tumultuantes

[55] praefectos satrapasque perculisse,
mox ipsum solio patrum superbum
cognatosque sibi deos crepantem
captis coniuge, liberis, parente
in casus hominis redire iussum;

[60] qui cum maxima bella concitasset
tota et Persidis undique gregatae
uno constituisset arma campo,
hoc solum perhibetur assecutus,
dormire ut melius liberet hosti.

[65] Non vectos Minyas loquente silva
dicam Phasiaco stetisse portu,
forma percita cum ducis Pelasgi
molliret rabidos virago tauros,
nec tum territa, cum suis colonus

[70] post anguis domiti satos molares
armatas tremebundus inter herbas
florere in segetem stuperet hostem
et pugnantibus hinc et hinc aristis
supra belliferas madere glaebas

[75] culmosos viridi cruore fratres.
Non hic terrigenam loquar cohortem
admixto mage vividam veneno,
cui praeter speciem modo carentem
angues corporibus voluminosis

[80] alte squamea crura porrigentes
in vestigia fauce desinebant. [p. 178]
sic formae triplicis procax iuventus
tellurem pede proterens voraci
currebat capitum stupenda gressu
[85] et cum classica numinum sonabant

mox contra tonitrus resibilante
audebat superos ciere planta.
nec Phlegrae legis ampliata rura,
missi dum volitant per astra montes
[90] Pindus, Pelion, Ossa, Olympus, Othrys
cum silvis, gregibus, feris, pruinis,
saxis, fontibus, oppidis levati
vibrantum spatiosiore dextra.
Non hic Herculis excolam labores,
[95] cui sus, cerva, leo, Gigas, Amazon,
hospes, taurus, Eryx, aves, Lycus, fur,
Nessus, Libs, iuga, poma, virgo, serpens,
Oete, Thraces equi, boves Hiberæ,
luctator fluvius, canis triformis
[100] portatusque polus polum dederunt.
Non hic Elida nobilem quadrigis
nec notam nimis amnis ex amore
versu prosequar, ut per ima ponti
Alpheus fluat atque transmarina
[105] in fluctus cadat unda coniugales.
Non hic Tantaleam domum retexam,
qua mixtum Pelopea per parentem est
prolis facta soror novoque monstro
infamem genuit pater nepotem;
[110] nil maestum hic canitur; nec esculentam
[p. 180] fletus pingimus ad dapem Thyestæ,
fratris crimine qui miser voratis
vivum pignoribus fuit sepulcrum,
cum post has epulas repente flexis
[115] Titan curribus occidens ad ortum
convivam fugeret, diem fugaret.
Nec Phryx pastor erit tibi legendus,
decrescens cui Dindymon reciso
fertur vertice texuisse classem,
[120] cum iussu Veneris patrocinantis
terras Oebalias et hospitales
raptor depopulatus est Amyclas,
praedam trans pelagus petens sequacem.
sed nec Pergama nec decenne bellum
[125] nec saevas Agamemnonis phalangas
nec periuria persequar Sinonis,
arx quo Palladio dicata signo
pellaci reserata proditore
portantem pedites equum recepit.

[130] Non hic Maeoniae stilo Camenae
 civis Dulichiique Thessalique
 virtutem sapientiamque narro,
 quorum hic Peliaco putatur antro
 venatu, fidibus, palaestra et herbis
 [135] sub Saturnigena sene institutus,
 dum nunc lustra terens puer ferarum
 passim per Pholoen iacet nivosam,
 nunc praesepibus accubans amatis
 dormit mollius in iuba magistri;
 [140] inde Scyriadum datus parenti
 falsae nomina pertulisse Pyrrhae [p. 182]
 atque inter tetricae choros Minervae
 occultos Veneri rotasse thyrsos;
 postremo ad Phrygiae sonum rapinae
 [145] tractus laudibus Hectoris trahendi.
 ast illum, cui contigit paternam
 quartum post Ithacam redire lustrum,
 nec Zmyrnae satis explicat volumen,
 nam quis continuare possit illos
 [150] quos terra et pelago tulit labores:
 raptum Palladium, repertum Achillem,
 captum praepetibus Dolona plantis
 et Rhesi niveas prius quadrigas
 Xanthi quam biberent fluenta tractas,
 [155] ereptam quoque quam deus patronus,
 Philocteta, tibi dedit pharetram,
 Aiacem Telamonium furem
 quod sese ante rates agente causam
 pugnacis tulit eloquens coronam,
 [160] vitatum hinc Polyphemon atque Circen
 et Laestrygonii famem tyranni,
 tum pomaria divitis, Calypso et
 Sirenas pereuntibus placentes,
 vitatas tenebras facemque Naupli
 [165] et Scyllae rabidum voracis inguen,
 vel Tauromenitana quos Charybdis
 ructato scopulos cavat profundo?
 Non divos specialibus faventes
 agris, urbibus insulisque canto,
 [170] Saturnum Latio Iovemque Cretae
 Iunonemque Samo Rhodoque Solem,
 Hennae Persephonen, Minervam Hymetto,
 Vulcanum Liparae, Papho Dionen, [p. 184]

Argis Persea, Lampsaco Priapum,
[175] Thebis Euhion Ilioque Vestam,
Thymbrae Delion, Arcadem Lycaeo,
Martem Thracibus ac Scythis Dianam,
quos fecere deos dicata templa,
tus, sal, far, mola vel superfluarum
[180] consecratio caerimoniarum.
Non cum Triptolemo verendam Eleusin,
qui primas populis dedere aristas
pastis Chaonium per ilicetum,
non Apin Mareoticum sonabo
[185] ad Memphitica sistra concitari.
non dicam Lacedaemonos iuventam
unctas Tyndaridis dicasse luctas,
doctos quos patriis palen Therapnis
gymnas Bebrycii tremit theatri;
[190] non sortes Lyciasque Caeritumque,
responsa aut Themidis priora Delphis,
nec quae fulmine Tuscus expiato
saepum numina quaerit ad bidental;
nec quos Euganeum bibens Timavum
[195] colle Antenoreo videbat augur
divos Thessalicam movere pugnam;
nec quos Amphiaraus et Melampus * * *
ex ipsis rapuit deos favillis
per templum male fluctuante flamma
[200] gaudens lumine perduto Metellus.
[p. 186] non hic Cinyphius canetur Hammon
mitratum caput elevans harenis,
vix se post hecatombion litatum
suetus promere Syrtium barathro.
[205] non hic Dindyma nec crepante buxo
Curetas Berecynthiam sonantes,
non Bacchum trieterica exserentem
describam et tremulas furore festo
ire in Bassaridas vel infulatos
[210] aram ad turicremam rotare mystas.
Non hic Hesiodaea pinguis Ascræ
spectes carmina Pindarique chordas;
non hic socciferi iocos Menandri,
non laesi Archilochi feros iambos,
[215] vel plus Stesichori graves Camenas,
aut quod composuit puella Lesbis;
quod Mantua contumax Homero

adecit Latiaribus loquelis,
aequari sibimet subinde livens
[220] busto Parthenopam Maroniano;
non quod post saturas epistularum
sermonumque sales novumque epodon,
libros carminis ac poeticam artem [p. 188]
Phoebi laudibus et vagae Dianae
[225] conscriptis voluit sonare Flaccus;
non quod Papinius tuus meusque
inter Labdacios sonat furores
aut cum forte pedum minore rhythmio
pingit gemmea prata silvularum.
[230] Non quod Corduba praepotens alumnis
facundum ciet, hic putes legendum,
quorum unus colit hispidum Platona
incassumque suum monet Neronem,
orchestram quatit alter Euripidis,
[235] pictum faecibus Aeschylon secutus
aut plaustis solitum sonare Thespin,
qui post pulpita trita sub cothurno
ducebant olidae marem capellae;
pugnam tertius ille Gallicam
[240] dixit Caesaris, ut gener socerque
cognata impulerint in arma Romam,
tantum dans lacrimas suis Philippis,
ut credat Cremerae levem ruinam,
infra et censeat Alliam dolendam
[245] ac Brenni in trutina Iovem redemptum,
postponat Trebiam gravesque Cannas,
stragem nec Trasimenicam loquatur,
fratres Scipiadas putet silendos,
quos Tartesiacus retentat orbis, [p. 190]
[250] Euphraten taceat male appetitum,
Crassorum et madidas cruore Carrhas
vel quos, Spartace, consulum solebas
victrici gladios fugare sica,
ipsum nec fleat ille plus duellum,
[255] quod post Cimbrica turbidus tropaea
et vinctum Nasamonium Iugurtham,
dum quaerit Mithridaticum triumphum,
Arpinas voluit movere Sullae.
Non Gaetulicus hic tibi legetur,
[260] non Marsus, Pedo, Silius, Tibullus,
non quod Sulpiciae iocus Thaliae

scripsit blandiloquum suo Caleno,
non Persi rigor aut lepos Properti,
sed nec centimeter Terentianus.

[265] non Lucilius hic Lucretiusque est,
non Turnus, Memor, Ennius, Catullus,
Stella et Septimius Petroniusque
aut mordax sine fine Martialis,
non qui tempore Caesaris secundi

[270] aeterno incoluit Tomos reatu,
[p. 192] nec qui consimili deinde casu
ad vulgi tenuem strepentis auram
irati fuit histrionis exsul,
non Pelusiaco satus Canopo,

[275] qui ferruginei toros mariti
et Musa canit inferos superna,
nec qui iam patribus fuere nostris
primo tempore maximi sodales,
quorum unus Bonifatium secutus

[280] nec non praecipitem Sebastianum
natales puer horruit Cadurcos
plus Pandionias amans Athenas;
cuius si varium legas poema,
tunc Phoebum vel Hyantias puellas

[285] potato madidas ab Hippocrene,
tunc Amphiona filiumque Maiae,
tunc vatem Rhodopeium sonare
conlato modulamine arbitreris.

Non tu hic nunc legeris tuumque fulmen,

[290] o dignissime Quintianus alter,
spernens qui Ligurum solum et penates
mutato lare Gallias amasti,
inter classica, signa, pila, turmas
laudans Aetium vacansque libro,

[295] in castris hederate laureatis.

sed nec tertius ille nunc legetur,
Baetin qui patrium semel relinquens [p. 194]
undosae petiit sitim Ravennae,
plosores cui fulgidam Quirites

[300] et carus popularitate princeps
Traiano statuam foro locarunt.

Sed ne tu mihi comparare temptes,
quos multo minor ipse plus adoro,
Paulinum Ampeliumque Symmachumque,

[305] Messalam ingenii satis profundi

et nulli modo Martium secundum,
dicendi arte nova parem vetustis
Petrum et cum loquitur nimis stupendum,
vel quem municipalibus poetis

[310] praeponit bene vilicum senatus,
nostrum aut quos retinet solum disertos,
dulcem Anthedion et mihi magistri
Musas sat venerabiles Hoeni,
acrem Lampridium, catum Leonem
[315] praestantemque tuba Severianum
[p. 196] et sic scribere non minus valentem,
Marcus Quintilianus ut solebat.

Nos valde sterilis modos Camenae
rarae credimus hos brevis chartae,
[320] quae scombros merito piperque portet.
nam quisnam deus hoc dabit reiectae,
ut vel suscipiens bonos odores,
nardum ac pingua Nicerotianis
quae fragrant alabastra tincta sucis,
[325] Indo cinnamon ex rogo petitum,
quo Phoenix iuvenescit occidendo, .
costum, malobathrum, rosas, amomum,
myrrham, tus opobalsamumque servet?
quapropter facinus meum tuere

[330] et condiscipuli tibi obsequentis
incautum, precor, asseras pudorem,
germanum tamen ante sed memento,
doctrinae columen, Probum advocare,
isti qui valet exarationi

[335] destrictum bonus applicare theta.
novi sed bene, non refello culpam,
nec doctis placet impudens poeta;
sed nec turgida contumeliosi
lectoris nimium verebor ora,

[340] si tamquam gravior severiorque
nostrae Terpsichores iocum refutans
rugato Cato tertius labello
narem rhinocerotica minetur.
non te terreat hic nimis peritus;

[345] verum si cupias probare, tanta
nullus scit, mihi crede, quanta nescit.

Praefatio epithalamii dicti Ruricio et Hiberiae

Flucticolae cum festa nurus Pagasaea per antra
rupe sub Emathia Pelion explicuit,
angustabat humum superum satis ampla supellex;
certabant gazis hinc polus hinc pelagus;
[5] ducebatque choros viridi prope tectus amictu
caeruleae pallae concolor ipse socer;
nympha quoque in thalamos veniens de gurgite nuda
vestiti coepit membra timere viri.
tum divum quicumque aderat terrore remoto
[10] quo quis pollebat lusit in officio.
Iuppiter emisit tepidum sine pondere fulmen
et dixit: ‘ melius nunc Cytherea calet.’
Pollux tum caestu laudatus, Castor habenis,
Pallas tum cristis, Delia tum pharetris;
[15] Alcides clava, Mavors tum lusit in hasta,
Arcas tum virga, nebride tum Bromius.
hic et Pipliadas induxerat optimus Orpheus
chordis, voce, manu, carminibus, calamis,
ambitiosus Hymen totas ibi contulit artes;
[20] qui non ingenio, fors placuit genio.
Fescennina tamen non sunt admissa priusquam
intonuit solita noster Apollo lyra.

Epithalamium

[Inter Cyaneas, Ephyraea cacumina, cautes
qua super Idalium levat Orithyion in aethram
exesi sale montis apex, ubi forte vagantem
dum fugit et fixit trepidus Symplegada Tiphys,
[5] atque recurrentem ructatum ad rauca Maleam,]
exit in Isthmiacum pelagus claudentibus alis
saxorum de rupe sinus, quo saepe recessu
sic tamquam toto coeat de lumine caeli,
artatur collecta dies tremulasque per undas
[10] insequitur secreta vadi, transmittitur alto
perfusus splendore latex, mirumque relatu,
lympa bibit solem tenuique inserta fluento
perforat arenti radio lux sicca liquorem.
Profecit studio spatium; nam Lemnius illic
[15] ceu templum lusit Veneri fulmenque relinquens
hic ferrugineus fumavit saepe Pyragmon.
hic lapis est de quinque locis dans quinque colores
Aethiops, Phrygius, Parius, Poenus, Lacedaemon, [p. 202]
purpureus, viridis, maculosus, eburnus et albus.
[20] postes chrysolithi fulvus diffulgurat ardor;
myrrhina, sardonyches, amethystus Hiberus, iaspis
Indus, Chalcidicus, Scythicus, beryllus, achates
attollunt duplices argenti cardine valvas,
per quas inclusi lucem vomit umbra smaragdi;
[25] limina crassus onyx crustat propterque hyacinthi
caerula concordem iaciunt in stagna colorem.
exterior non compta silex, sed prominet alte
asper ab adsiduo lympharum verbere pumex.
interiore loco simulavit Mulciber auro
[30] exstantes late scopulos atque arte magistra
ingenti cultu naturae inculta fefellit,
huic operi insistens, quod necdum noverat illa
quae post Lemniacis damnavit furta catenis.
squameus huc Triton duplicis confinia dorsi,
[35] qua coeunt supra sinuamina tortilis alvi,
inter aquas calido portavit corde Dionen.
sed premit adiecto radiantis pondere conchae
semiferi Galatea latus, quod pollice fixo
vellit, et occulto spondet conubia tactu;
[40] tum gaudens torquente ioco subridet amator
vulnere iamque suam parcenti pistre flagellat.

pone subit turmis flagrantibus agmen Amorum;
hic cohibet delphina rosis, viridique iuvenco
hic vectus spretis pendet per cornua frenis; [p. 204]

[45] hi stantes motu titubant plantaque madenti
labuntur firmantque pedum vestigia pennis.

Illa recurvato demiserat ora lacerto
mollia; marcebant violae graviorque sopore
coeperat attritu florum descendere cervix,

[50] solus de numero fratrum qui pulchrior ille est
deerat Amor, dum festa parat celeberrima Gallis,
quae socer Ommatius, magnorum maior avorum
patriciaeque nepos gentis, natae generoque
excolit auspiciis faustis. sed fulsit ut ille

[55] forte dies, matrem celeri petit ipse volatu,
cui fax, arcus, gorytus pendebat, at ille
cernuus et laevae pendens in margine palmae
libratos per inane pedes adverberat alis,
oscula sic matris carpens somnoque refusae

[60] semisopora levi scalpebat lumina penna.
tum prior his alacer coepit: ‘ nova gaudia porto
felicis praedae, genetrix, calet ille superbus
Ruricius nostris facibus dulcique veneno
tactus votivum suspirat corde dolorem.

[65] esset si praesens aetas, impenderet illi
Lemnius imperium, Cressa stamen labyrinthi,
Alceste vitam, Circe herbas, poma Calypso,
Scylla comas, Atalanta pedes, Medea furores, [p. 206]
Hippodame ceras, cygno Iove nata coronam;

[70] huic Dido in ferrum, simul in suspendia Phyllis,
Euadne in flammis et Sestias isset in undas.’

His haec illa refert: ‘ Gaudemus, nate, rebellem
quod vineis laudasque virum; sed forma puellae est
quam si spectasset quondam Stheneboei heros,

[75] non pro contemptu domuisset monstra Chimaerae;
Thermodontiacae vel qui genetrice superbus
sprevit Gnosiaca temeraria vota novercae,
hac visa occiderat, fateor, sed crimine vero;
et si iudicio forsani mihi quarta fuisset,

[80] me quoque Rhoetea damnasset pastor in Ida;
‘vincere vel, si optas, istam da, malo, puellam’
dixerat: hanc dederam formam pro munere formae.

tantus honor geniusque genis; collata rubori
pallida blatta latet depressaque lumine vultus

[85] nigrescunt vincto bacarum fulgura collo.

te quoque multimodis ambisset, Hiberia, ludis
 axe Pelops, cursu Hippomenes luctaque Achelous,
 Aeneas bellis spectatus, Gorgone Perseus;
 nec minus haec species totiens cui Iuppiter esset [p. 208]
 [90] Delia, taurus, olor, Satyrus, draco, fulmen et aurum.
 quare age, iungantur; nam census, forma genusque
 conveniunt: nil hic dispar tua fixit harundo,
 sed quid vota moror? ‘dixit currumque poposcit,
 cui dederant crystallae iugum, quae frigore primo,
 [95] orbis adhuc teneri glacies ubi Caucason auget,
 strinxit Hyperboreis Tanaitica crusta pruinis
 naturam sumens gemmae quia perdidit undae,
 perforat hunc fulvo formatus temo metallo;
 miserat hoc fluvius cuius sub gurgite Nymphae
 [100] Mygdonium fovere Midam, qui pauper in auro
 ditavit versis Pactoli flumina votis.
 splendet perspicuo radios rota margine cingens
 Marmaricae de fauce ferae, dum belua curvis
 dentibus excussis gemit exarmarier ora;
 [105] misit et hoc munus tepidas qui nudus Erythras,
 concolor Aethiopi vel crinem pinguis amomo,
 fluxus odoratis vexat venatibus Indus,
 illa tamen pasci suetos per Cypron olores
 vittata stringit myrto, quis cetera tensis
 [110] lactea puniceo sinuantur colla corallo. [p. 210]
 Ergo iter aggressi: pendens rota sulcat inanem
 aera et in liquido non solvitur orbita tractu,
 hic triplex uno comitatur Gratia nexu,
 hic redolet patulo Fortunae Copia cornu,
 [115] hic spargit calathis, sed flores Flora perennes,
 hic Cererem Siculam Pharius comitatur Osiris,
 hic gravidos Pomona sinus pro tempore portat,
 hic Pallas madidis venit inter prela trapetis,
 hic distincta latus maculosa nebride Thyias
 [120] Indica Echionio Bromii rotat orgia thyrsu,
 hic et Sigeis specubus qui Dindyma ludit
 iam sectus recalet Corybas; cui gutture ravo
 ignem per bifores regemunt cava buxa cavernas.
 Sic ventum ad thalamos: tus, nardum, balsama, myrrhae
 [125] hic sunt, hic Phoenix busti dat cinnama vivi.
 proxima quin etiam festorum adflata calore
 iam minus alget hiemps, speciemque tenentia vernam
 hoc dant vota loco quod non dant tempora mundo,
 tum Paphie dextram iuvenis dextramque puellae

[130] complectens paucis cecinit sollemnia dictis,
ne facerent vel verba moram: ‘ feliciter aevum
ducite concordēs; sint nati sintque nepotes;
cernat et in proavo sibimet quod pronepos optet.’ [p. 212]

Ad V. C. Catullinum

Quid me, etsi valeam, parare carmen
Fescenninicolae iubes Diones
inter crinigeras situm catervas
et Germanica verba sustinentem,
[5] laudantem tetrico subinde vultu
quod Burgundio cantat esculentus,
infundens acido comam butyro?
vis dicam tibi, quid poema frangat?
ex hoc barbaricis abacta plectris
[10] spernit senipedem stilum Thalia,
ex quo septipedes videt patronos,
felices oculos tuos et aures
felicemque libet vocare nasum,
cui non allia sordidumque cepe
[15] ructant mane novo decem apparatus,
quem non ut vetulum patris parentem
nutricisque virum die nec orto
tot tantique petunt simul Gigantes,
quot vix Alcinoi culina ferret.
[20] Sed iam Musa tacet tenetque habenas
paucis hendecasyllabis iocata,
ne quisquam satiram vel hos vocaret.

Ad Imperatorem Maorianum

Amphitryoniaden perhibet veneranda vetustas,
dum relevat terras, promeruisse polos.
sed licet in nuda torvus confregerit ulna
ille Cleonaeae guttura rava ferae,
[5] et quamquam ardenti gladio vix straverit hydram,
cum duplices pareret vulnere mors animas,
captivumque ferens silva ex Erymanthide monstrum
exarmata feri riserit ora suis,
coli aque flammigenae dirumpens fumida furis
[10] tandem directas iusserit ire boves,
taurus, cerva, Gigas, hospes, luctator, Amazon,
Cres, canis, Hesperides sint monimenta viri,
nulla tamen fuso prior est Geryone pugna,
uni tergeminum cui tulit ille caput.
[15] haec quondam Alcides; at tu Tirynthius alter,
sed princeps, magni maxima cura dei,
quem draco, cervus, aper paribus sensere sagittis,
cum dens, cum virus, cum fuga nil valuit,
Eurysthea nos esse puta monstrumque tributum;
[20] hinc capita, ut vivam, tu mihi tolle tria.
[p. 216] Has supplex famulus preces dicavit
responsum opperiens pium ac salubre,
ut reddas patriam simulque vitam
Lugdunum exonerans suis ruinis,
[25] hoc te Sidonius tuus precatur:
sic te Sidonio recocta fuco
multos purpura vestiat per annos;
sic lustrum imperii perennis acto
quinquennalia fascibus dicentur;
[30] sic ripae duplicis tumore fracto
detonsus Vachalim bibat Sygamber.
quod si contuleris tuo poetae,
mandem perpetuis legenda fastis
quaecumque egregiis geris triumphis,
[35] nam nunc Musa loquax tacet tributo,
quae pro Vergilio Terentioque
sextantes legit unciasque fisci,
Marsyaeque timet manum ac rudentem,
qui Phoebi ex odio vetustiore
[40] nunc suspendia vatibus minatur.

Sidonius Polemio suo salutem

[1] . Dum post profectionem tuam, mi Polemi, frater amantissime, mecum granditer reputo quatenus in votis tuis philosophi Fescennina cantarem, obrepsit [p. 218] materia, qua decursa facile dinosci valet magis me doctrinae quam causae tuae habuisse rationem, ommissa itaque epithalamii teneritudine per asper-rimas philosophiae et salebrosissimas regulas 1 stilum traxi; quarum talis ordo est ut sine plurimis novis verbis, quae praefata pace reliquorum eloquentum specialiter tibi et Complatoniceis tuis nota sunt, nugae ipsae non valuerint expediri. 2. videris, utrum aures quorundam per imperitiam temere mentionem centri, proportionis, diastematum, climatum vel myrarum epithalamio conducibilem non putent, illud certe consulari viro vere Magno, quaestorio viro Domnulo, spectabili viro Leone ducibus audacter adfirmo, musicam et astrologiam, quae sunt infra arithmeticam consequentia membra philosophiae, nullatenus posse sine hisce nominibus indicari; quae si quispiam ut Graeca, sicut sunt, et peregrina verba contempserit, noverit sibi aut semper 2 huiusmodi artis mentione supersedendum aut nihil omnino se aut certe non ad assem Latiari lingua hinc posse disserere. 3. quod si aliqui 3 secus atque assero rem se habere censuerint, do quidem absens obtrectatoribus manus; sed noverint sententiam meam discrepantia sentientes sine Marco [p. 220] Varrone, sine Sereno, non Septimio, sed Sammonico, sine Censorino, qui de die natali volumen illustre confecit, non posse damnari. 4. lecturus es hic etiam novum verbum, id est essentiam; sed scias hoc ipsum dixisse Ciceronem; nam essentiam nec non et indoloriam nominavit, addens: ‘ licet enim novis rebus nova nomina imponere ‘; et recte dixit. nam sicut ab eo quod est verbi gratia sapere et intellegere sapientiam et intellegentiam nominamus, regulariter et ab eo quod est esse essentiam non tacemus. igitur, quoniam tui amoris studio inductus homo Gallus scholae sophisticae intromisi materiam, vel te potissimum facti mei deprecatorem requiro. illi Venus vel Amorum commenticia pigmenta tribuantur cui defuerit sic posse laudari, vale.

Praefatio epithalamii dicti Polemio et Araneolae

Prosper conubio dies coruscat,
quem Clotho niveis benigna pensis, [p. 222]
albus quem picei lapillus Indi,
quem pacis simul arbor et iuventae
[5] aeternumque virens oliva signet.
eia, Calliope, nitente palma
da sacri laticis loquacitatem,
quem fodit pede Pegasus volanti
cognato madidus iubam veneno.
[10] non hic impietas, nec hanc puellam
donat mortibus ambitus procorum;
hic Oenomai cruenta circo
audit pacta Pelops nec insequentem
pallens Hippomenes ad ima metae
[15] tardat Schoenida ter cadente pomo;
non hic Herculeas videt palaestras
Aetola Calydon stupens ab arce,
cum cornu fluvii superbientis
Alcides premeret, subinde fessum
[20] undoso refovens ab hoste pectus;
sed doctus iuvenis decensque virgo,
ortu culmina Galliae tenentes,
iunguntur: cito, diva, necte chordas
nec, quod detonuit Camena maior,
[25] nostram pauperiem silere cogas.
ad taedas Thetidis probante Phoebo
et Chiron cecinit minore plectro,
nec risit pia turba rusticantem,
quamvis saepe senex biformis illic
[30] carmen rumperet hinniente cantu. [p. 224]

Epithalamium

Forte procellosi remeans ex arce Capherei,
Phoebados Iliacae raptum satis ulta pudorem,
Pallas Erechtheo Xanthum mutabat Hymetto.
aurato micat aere caput, maiusque serenum
[5] de terrore capit; posito nam fulmine necdum
Cinyphio Tritone truces hilaraverat artus.
Gorgo tenet pectus medium, factura videnti
et truncata moras; nitet insidiosa superbum
effigies vivitque anima pereunte venustas;
[10] alta cerastarum spiris caput asperat atrum
congeries, torquet maculosa volumina mordax
crinis, et irati dant sibila taetra capilli,
squameus ad mediam thorax non pervenit alvum
post chalybem pendente peplo; tegit extima limbi
[15] circite palla pedes, qui cum sub veste moventur,
crispato rigidae crepitant in syrmate rugae,
laevam parma tegit Phlegraei plena tumultus:
hic rotat excussum vibrans in sidera Pindum
Enceladus, rabido fit missilis Ossa Typhoeo;
[20] Porphyryon Pangaea rapit, Rhodopenque Damastor
Strymonio cum fonte levat, veniensque superne
intorto calidum restinguit flumine fulmen;
hic Pallas Pallanta petit, cui Gorgone visa [p. 226]
invenit solidum iam lancea tarda cadaver;
[25] hic Lemnon pro fratre Mimas contra aegida torquet,
impulsumque quatit iaculabilis insula caelum;
plurimus hic Briareus populoso corpore pugnat,
cognatam portans aciem, cui vertice ab uno
cernas ramosis palmas fruticare lacertis.
[30] nec species solas monstris, dedit arte furorem
Mulciber atque ipsas timuit quas finxerat iras.
hastam dextra tenet, nuper quam valle Aracynthi
ipsa sibi posita Pallas protraxit oliva,
hoc steterat genio, super ut vestigia divae
[35] labentes teneat Marathonia baca trapetas.
Hic duo templa micant; quorum supereminet unus
ut meritis sic sede locus, qui continet alta
scrutantes ratione viros quid machina caeli,
quid tellus, quid fossa maris, quid turbidus aer,
[40] quid noctis lucisque vices, quid menstrua lunae
incrementa parent, totidem cur damna sequantur. [p. 228]

ilicet hic summi resident septem sapientes,
innumerabilium primordia philosophorum:
Thales Mileto genitus vadimonia damnat;
[45] Lindie tu Cleobule iubes modus optimus ut sit;
tu meditans totum decoras, Periandre, Corinthon;
Atticus inde Solon ‘ ne quid nimis ‘ approbat unum;
Prianaee Bia, plures ais esse malignos;
tu Mytilene satus cognoscere, Pittace, tempus,
[50] noscere sese ipsum, Chilon Spartane, docebas;
asserit hic Samius post docta silentia lustris
Pythagoras solidum princeps quod musica mundum
temperet et certis concentum reddat ab astris,
signaque zodiacus quae circulus axe supremo
[55] terna quater retinet proprio non currere motu,
aequis inter se spatiis tamen esse locata
fixaque signifero pariter quoque cernua ferri,
praecipuumque etiam septem vaga sidera cantum
hinc dare, perfectus numerus quod uterque habeatur,
[60] hoc numero adfirmans, hoc ordine cuncta rotari:
falciferi zonam ire senis per summa polorum,
Martis contiguum medio Iove pergere sidus,
post hos iam quarto se flectere tramite Solem,
sic placidam Paphien servare diastema quintum,
[65] Arcadium sextum, Lunam sic orbe supremo
[p. 230] ter denas tropico prope currere climate myras.
si quos ergo chelys, si quos lyra, tibia si quos
ediderint cum voce modos, exemplar ad istud
ponderibus positis, quantum proportio suadet,
[70] intervalla sequi septem sideris edit;
harmoniam dicens etiam quod quattuor istis
sic sedeant elementa modis ut pondere magnis
sit locus inferior media tellure (quod autem
perfecte medium est, inum patet esse rotundi);
[75] hinc fieri ut terram levior superemictet unda,
altior his quoque sit qui purior eminet aer,
omnia concludat caelum levitate suprema,
pendeat et totum simul hoc ab origine centri.
Thales hic etiam numeris perquirat et astris
[80] defectum ut Phoebi nec non Lunaeque laborem
nuntiet antea; sed rebus inutile ponit
principium, dum credit aquis subsistere mundum,
huius discipuli versa est sententia dicens
principiis propriis semper res quasque creari,
[85] singula qui quosdam fontes decernit habere

aeternum irriguos ac rerum semine plenos. [p. 232]
hunc etiam sequitur qui gignere cuncta putabat
hunc aerem pariterque deos sic autumat ortos.
quartus Anaxagoras Thaletica dogmata servat,
[90] sed divinum animum sentit, qui fecerit orbem.
iunior huic iunctus residet collega, sed idem
materiam cunctis creaturis aera credens
iudicat inde deum, faceret quo cuncta, tulisse,
post hos Arcesilas divina mente paratam
[95] conicit hanc molem, confectam partibus illis
quas atomos vocat ipse leves. Socratica post hunc
secta micat, quae de naturae pondere migrans
ad mores hominum limandos transtulit usum.
hanc sectam perhibent summum excoluisse Platona,
[100] sed triplici formasse modo, dum primus et unus
physica vel logico, logicum vel iungit ad ethos,
invenit hic princeps quid prima essentia distet
a summo sextoque bono: cum denique saxa
sint tantum penitusque nihil nisi esse probentur;
[105] proxima succedant, quibus esse et vivere promptum est,
addere quis possis nil amplius, arbor et herba;
tertia sit pecorum, quorum esse et vivere motu
non caret et sensu; mortales quarta deinde
respiciat factura suos, quibus esse, moveri,
[110] vivere cum sensu datur, et supereminet illud,
[p. 234] quod sapiunt veroque valent discernere falsum;
quinta creaturas superas substantia prodat,
quas quidam dixere deos, quia corpora sumant
contemplanda homini, paulo post ipsa relinquant
[115] inque suam redeant, si qua est tenuissima, formam —
sic fieri ut pateat substantia summa creator,
sexta tamen supraque nihil, sed cuncta sub ipso.
hoc in gymnasio Polemi sapientia vitam
excolit adiunctumque suo fovet ipsa Platoni;
[120] obviet et quamquam totis Academia sectis
atque neget verum, veris hunc laudibus ornat.
Stoica post istos, sed concordantibus ipsis,
Chrysippus Zenonque docent praecepta tenere,
exclusi prope iam Cynici, sed limine restant;
[125] ast. Epicureos eliminat undique Virtus.
At parte ex alia textrino prima Minervae
palla Iovis rutilat, cuius bis coetus aeno
serica Sidonius fucabat stamina murex.
ebria nec solum spirat conchylia sandix;

[130] inscrtum nam fulgur habet, filoque rigenti
ardebat gravidum de fragmine fulminis ostrum,
hic viridis patulo Glaucus pendebat amictu;
undabant hic arte sinus, fictoque tumore
mersabat pandas tempestas texta carinas.
[135] Amphitryoniadi surgebat tertia vestis:
parvulus hic gemino cinctus serpente novercae [p. 236]
inscius arridet monstris ludumque putando
insidias, dum nescit, amat vultuque dolentis
exstingui deflet quos ipse interficit angues,
[140] praeterea sparsis sunt haec subiecta figuris:
sus, leo, cerva, Gigans, taurus, iuga, Cerberus, hydra,
hospes, Nessus, Eryx, volucres, Thrax, Cacus, Amazon,
Cres, fluvijs, Libs, poma, Lycus, virgo, polus, Oete.
hoc opus, et si quid superest quod numina vestit,
[145] virgineae posuere manus, sed in agmine toto
inter Cecropias Ephyreidasque puellas
Araneola micat; proprias conferre laborat
ipsa Minerva manus, calathisque evicta recedens
cum tenet haec telas vult haec plus tela tenere,
[150] hic igitur proavi trabeas imitata rigentes
palmatam parat ipsa patri, qua consul et idem
Agricolam contingat avum doceatque nepotes
non abavi solum sed avi quoque iungere fascēs.
texuerat tamen et chlamydes, quibus ille magister
[155] per Tartesiacas conspectus splenduit urbes
et quibus ingestae sub tempore
praefecturae conspicuus sanctas reddit se praesule leges,
attamen in trabea segmento luserat alto [p. 238]
quod priscis inlustre toris. Ithacesia primum
[160] fabula Dulichiique lares formantur et ipsam
Penelopam tardas textit distexere telas.
Taenaron hic frustra bis rapta coniuge pulsat
Thrax fidibus, legem postquam temeravit A verni,
et prodesse putans iterum non respicit umbram,
[165] hic vovet Alceste praelato coniuge vitam
rumpere, quam cernas Parcarum vellere in ipso
nondum pernetam fato restante salute,
hic nox natarum Danai lucebat in auro,
quingenta enses genitor quibus impius aptat
[170] et dat concordem discordia iussa furorem;
solus Hypermestrae servatus munere Lynceus
effugit; aspicias illam sibi parva paventem
et pro dimisso tantum pallere marito,

iamque Iovem in formas mutat quibus ille tenere
[175] Mnemosynam, Europam, Semelen, Ledam, Cynosuram
serpens, bos, fulmen, cygnus, Dictynna solebat,
iamque opus in turrem Danaae pluviamque metalli
ibat et hic alio stillabat Iuppiter auro,
cum virgo aspiciens vidit Tritonida verso
[180] lumine doctisonas spectare libentius artes;
commutat commota manus ac pollice docto
pingere philosophi victricem Laida coepit,
quae Cynici per menta feri rugosaeque colla [p. 240]
rupit odoratam redolenti forcipe barbam,
[185] subrisit Pallas castoque haec addidit ore:
' non nostra ulterius ridebis dogmata, virgo
philosopho nuptura meo; mage flammea sumens
hoc mater sine texat opus. consurge, sophorum
egregium Polemi decus, ac nunc Stoica tandem
[190] pone supercilia et Cynicos imitatus amantes
incipies iterum parvum mihi ferre Platona.'
haerentem tali compellat voce magister:'
perge libens, neu tu damnes fortasse iugari,
quod noster iubet ille senex qui non piger hausit
[195] numina contemplans Anyto pallente venenum.'
Dixerat; ille simul surgit vultuque modesto
tetrica nodosae commendat pallia clavae.
amborum tum diva comas viridantis olivae
pace ligat, nectit dextras ac foedera mandat,
[200] Nymphidius quae cernat avus. probat Atropos omen
fulvaeque concordēs iunxerunt fila sorores. 201

Euchariston ad Faustum Episcopum

Phoebum et ter ternas decima cum Pallade Mus as
Orpheaque et laticem simulatum fontis equini [p. 242]

Ogygiamque chelyn, quae saxa sequacia flecteris
cantibus auritos erexit carmine muros,

[5] sperne, fidis; magis ille veni nunc spiritus, oro,
pontificem dicture tuum, qui pectora priscae
intrasti Mariae, rapiens cum tympana siccus
Israel appensi per concava gurgitis iret
aggeribus vallatus aquae mediasque per undas

[10] pulverulenta tuum clamaret turba triumphum;
quique manum Iudith ferientem colla Olophernis
iuvisti, exciso iacuit cum gutture truncus
et fragilis valido latuit bene sexus in ictu;
expresso vel qui complens de vellere pelvem

[15] inficiensque dehinc non tacto vellere terram
firmasti Gedeona, tubis inserte canoris
spiritus, et solo venit victoria cantu;
quique etiam adsumptum pecorosi de grege Iesse
adflasti regem, plaustro cum foederis arcam

[20] imponens hostis nullo moderante bubulco
proderet obscaenum turgenti podice morbum;
quique trium quondam puerorum in fauce sonasti,
quos in Chaldaei positos fornace tyranni [p. 244]
roscida combusto madefecit flamma camino;

[25] quique volubilibus spatiantem tractibus alvi
complesti Ionam, resonant dum viscera monstri
introrsum psallente cibo vel pondera ventris
ieiuni plenique tamen vate intemerato
ructat cruda fames, quem singulantibus extis

[30] esuriens vomuit suspenso belua morsu;
quique duplex quondam venisti in pectus Helisei,
Thesbiten cum forte senem iam flammeus axis
tolleret et scissam linquens pro munere pellem
hispidus ardentis auriga intraret habenas; i

[35] quique etiam Heliam terris missure secundum
Zachariae iusti linguam placate ligasti,
dum faceret serum rugosa puerpera patrem,
edita significans iusso reticere propheta,
gratia cum fulsit, nosset se ut lex taciturnam;

[40] quique etiam nascens ex virgine semine nullo,
ante ullum tempus deus atque in tempore Christus,

ad corpus quantum spectat, tu te ipse creasti;
qui visum caecis, gressum quoque reddere claudis,
auditum surdis, mutis laxare loquelam [p. 246]

[45] suetus ad hoc etiam venisti, ut mortua membra
lecto, sandapila, tumulto consurgere possint;
quique etiam poenas suscepta in carne tulisti,
sustentans alapas, ludibria, verbera, vepres,
sortem, vincla, crucem, clavos, fel, missile, acetum,

[50] postremo mortem, sed surrecturus, adisti,
eripiens quidquid veteris migraverat hostis
in ius per nostrum facinus, cum femina prima
praeceptum solvens culpa nos perpete vinxit; (
qui cum te interitu petiit nec repperit in te

[55] quod posset proprium convincere, perdidit omne
quod lapsu dedit Eva suo; chirographon illum,
quo pervasus homo est, haec compensatio rupit,
expers peccati pro peccatoribus amplum
fis pretium veteremque novus vice faenoris Adam,

[60] dum moreris, de morte rapis. sic mortua mors est,
sic sese insidiis quas fecerat ipsa fefellit;
nam dum indiscrete petit insontemque reosque,
egit ut absolvi possent et crimine nexi); [p. 248]
quique etiam iustos ad tempus surgere tecum

[65] iussisti cineres, cum tectis tempore longo
inrupit festina salus infusaque raptim
excussit tumulis solidatas vita favillas:

da Faustum laudare tuum, da solvere grates,
quas et post debere iuvat, te, magne sacerdos,

[70] barbitus hic noster plectro licet impare cantat.

Haec igitur prima est vel causa vel actio laudum,
quod mihi germani, dum lubrica volvitur aetas,
servatus tecum domini per dona probatur
nec fama titubante pudor; te respicit istud

[75] quantumcumque bonum; merces debetur illi,
ille tibi. sit laus, si labi noluit, eius;
nam quod nec potuit, totum ad te iure redundat.

praeterea quod me pridem Reios veniente,
cum Procyon fureret, cum solis torridus ignis

[80] flexilibus rimis sitientes scriberet agros,
hospite te nostros excepit protinus aestus
pax, domus, umbra, latex, benedictio, mensa, cubile.
omnibus attamen his sat praestat quod voluisti
ut sanctae matris sanctum quoque limen adirem.

[85] derigui, fateor, mihi conscius atque repente

tinxit adorantem pavidō reverentia vultum;
nec secus intremui quam si me forte Rebecca
Israel aut Samuel crinitus duceret Annae. [p. 250]
quapropter te vel votis sine fine colentes
[90] adfectum magnum per carmina parva fatemur.
Seu te flammatae Syrtes et inhospita tesqua
seu caeno viridante palus seu nigra recessu
incultum mage saxa tenent, ubi sole remoto
concava longaevas adservant antra tenebras;
[95] seu te praeruptis porrecta in rupibus Alpīs
succinctos gelido libantem caespite somnos,
anachoreta, tremit (quae quamquam frigora portet,
conceptum Christi numquam domat illa calorem),
qua nunc Helias, nunc te iubet ire Iohannes,
[100] nunc duo Macarii, nunc et Paphnutius heros,
nunc Or, nunc Ammon, nunc Sarmata, nunc Hilarion,
nunc vocat in tunica nudus te Antonius illa
quam fecit palmae foliis manus alma magistri;
seu te Lirinus priscum complexa parentem est,
[105] qua tu iam fractus pro magna saepe quiete
discipulis servire venis vixque otia somni,
vix coctos capture cibos abstemius aevum
ducis et insertis pinguis ieiunia psalmis,
fratribus insinuans quantos illa insula plana [p. 252]
[110] miserit in caelum montes, quae sancta Caprasi
vita senis iuvenisque Lupi, quae gratia patrem
mansit Honoratum, fuerit quis Maximus ille,
urbem tu cuius monachosque antistes et abbas
bis successor agis, celebrans quoque laudibus illis
[115] Eucherii venientis iter, redeuntis Hilari;
seu te commissus populus tenet et minor audet
te medio tumidos maiorum temnere mores;
seu tu sollicitus curas qua languidus esca
quaave peregrinus vivat, quid pascat et illum,
[120] lubrica crura cui tenuat sub compede carcer;
seu mage funeribus mentem distractus humandis,
livida defuncti si pauperis ossa virescant,
infastiditum fers ipse ad busta cadaver;
seu te conspicuis gradibus venerabilis arae
[125] contionaturum plebs sedula circumssistit,
expositae legis bibat auribus ut medicinam:
quidquid agis, quocumque loci es, semper mihi Faustus,
semper Honoratus, semper quoque Maximus esto.

AD V. C. Ommatium

Quattuor ante dies quam lux Sextilis adusti
prima spiciferum proferat orbe caput [p. 254]
natalis nostris decimus sextusque coletur,
adventu felix qui petit esse tuo.

[5] non tibi geminatis ponentur prandia mensis,
Assyrius murex nec tibi sigma dabit;
nec per multiplices abaco splendente cavernas
argenti nigri pondera defodiam;
nec scyphus hic dabitur rutilo cui forte metallo

[10] crustatum stringat tortilis ansa latus.
fercula sunt nobis mediocria, non ita facta
mensurae ut grandis suppleat ars pretium,
non panes Libyca solitos flavescere Syrte
accipiet Galli rustica mensa tui.

[15] vina mihi non sunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna
quaeque Sarepteno palmitis missa bibas,
pocula non hic sunt inlustrata nomine pagi
quem posuit nostris ipse triumvir agris,
tu tamen ut venias petimus; dabit omnia Christus,
[20] hic mihi qui patriam fecit amore tuo. [p. 256]

De Balneis Villae suae

Si quis Avitacum dignaris visere nostram,
non tibi displiceat: sic quod habes placeat.
aemula Baiano tolluntur culmina cono
parque cothurnato vertice fulget apex.

[5] garrula Gauranis plus murmurat unda fluentis
contigui collis lapsa supercilio.

Lucrinum stagnum dives Campania nollet,
aequora si nostri cerneret illa lacus,
illud puniceis ornatur litus echinis:

[10] piscibus in nostris, hospes, utrumque vides.
si libet et placido parthis gaudia corde,
quisquis ades, Baias tu facis hic animo.

De Piscina sua

Intrate algentes post balnea torrida fluctus
ut solidet calidam frigore lymphæ cutem;
et licet hoc solo mergatis membra liquore,
per stagnum nostrum lumina vestra natant. [p. 258]

Ad Ecdicium Sororium suum

Natalis noster Nonas instare Novembres
admonet: occurras non rogo, sed iubeo.
sit tecum coniunx, duo nunc properate; sed illud
post annum optamus tertius ut venias.

De piscibus nocte captis

Quattuor haec primum pisces nox insuit hamis;
inde duos tenui, tu quoque sume duos.
quos misi, sunt maiores; rectissimus ordo est;
namque animae nostrae portio maior eras.

Sidonius Pontio Leontio suo salutem

[1] Dum apud Narbonem quondam Martium dictum sed nuper factum moras necto, subiit animum quos- [p. 260] piam secundum amorem tuum hexametros concinnare [vel condere], quibus lectis oppido scires, etsi utrique nostrum disparatis aequo plusculum locis lar familiaris incolitur, non idcirco tam nobis animum dissidere quam patriam. 2. habes igitur hic Dionysum inter triumpho Indici oblectamenta marcentem; habes et Phoebum, quem tibi iure poetico inquilinum factum constat ex numine, illum scilicet Phoebum Anthedii mei perfamiliarum, cuius collegio vir praefectus non modo musicos quosque verum etiam geometras, arithmeticos et astrologos disserendi arte supervenit; siquidem nullum hoc exactius compertum habere censuerim quid sidera zodiaci obliqua, quid planetarum vaga, quid exotici sparsa praevaleant. 3. nam ita his, ut sic dixerim, membris philosophiae daret ut videatur mihi Iulium Firmicum,¹ Iulianum Vertacum, Fullonium Saturninum, in libris matheseos peritissimos conditores, absque interprete ingenio tantum suffragante didicisse, nos vestigia doctrinae ipsius adorantes coram canoro cygno ravum anserem profiteamur, quid te amplius moror? Burgum tuam, quo iure amicum decuit, meam feci, probe sciens vel materiam tibi esse placituram, etiamsi ex solido poema displiceat. [p. 262] BVRGVVS PONTII LEONTII Bistonii stabulum regis, Busiridis aras,

Antiphatae mensas et Taurica regna Thoantis
atque Ithaci ingenio fraudatum luce Cyclopa
portantem frontis campo per concava montis

[5] par prope transfossi tenebrosum luminis antrum,
hospes, adi, si quis Burgum taciturus adisti.

et licet in carmen non passim laxet habenas
Phoebus et hic totis non pandat carbasa fandi,
quisque tamen tantos non laudans ore penates

[10] inspicis, inspiceris: resonat sine voce voluntas;
nam tua te tacitum vivere silentia clamant.

Ergo age, Pierias, Erato, mihi percutere chordas;
responset Satyri, digitumque pedemque moventes
ludant, et tremulo non rumpant cantica saltu,

[15] quidquid forte Dryas vel quidquid Hamadryas umquam
conexis sibimet festum plausere Napaeis,
dependant modo, Burge, tibi, vel Naidas istic,
Nereidum chorus alme, doce, cum forte Garunna
huc redeunte venis pontumque in flumine sulcas.

[20] pande igitur causas, Erato, laribusque sit ede
quis genius; tantum non est sine praesule culmen. [p. 264]

Forte sagittiferas Euan populatus Erythras
vite capistratas cogeabat ad esseda tigres,

intrabat duplicem qua temo racemifer arcum,
[25] marcidus ipse sedet curru; madet ardua cervix
sudati de rore meri, caput aurea rumpunt
cornua et indigenam iaculantur fulminis ignem (
sumpserat hoc nascens primum, cum transiit olim
in patrium de matre femur); fert tempus utrumque
[30] veris opes rutilosque ligat vindemia flores;
cantharus et thyrsus dextra laevaue feruntur,
nec tegit exertos, sed tangit palla lacertos;
dulce natant oculi, quos si fors vertat in hostem,
attonitos solun dum cernit, inebriat Indos,
[35] tum salebris saliens quotiens se concutit axis,
passim deciduo perfunditur orbita musto.
Bassaridas, Satyros, Panas Faunosque docebat
ludere Silenus iam numine plenus alumno,
sed comptus tamen ille caput; nam vertice nudo
[40] amissos sertis studet excusare capillos.
Corniger inde novi fit Ganges pompa triumphi;
cernuus inpexam faciem stetit ore madenti et
arentes vitreis adiuvit fletibus undas;
coniectas in vincla manus post terga revinxit
[45] pampinus; hic sensim captivo umore refusus
sponte refrondescit per brachia roscida palmes. [p. 266]
Nec non et rapti coniunx ibi vincta mariti
it croceas demissa genas vetitaque recondi
lampade cum Solis radiis Aurora rubebat.
[50] Adfuit hic etiam post perdita cinnama Phoenix,
formidans mortem sibi non superesse secundam,
succedit captiva cohors, quae fercula gazis
fert onerata suis; ebur hic hebenusque vel aurum
et niveae piceo raptae de pectore bacae
[55] gestantur; quicumque nihil sustentat, odoros
mittitur in nexus; videas hic ipsa placere
supplicia et virides violis halare catenas.
Ultima nigrantes incedunt praeda elephantii;
informis cui forma gregi: riget hispida dorso
[60] vix ferrum passum cutis; quippe improba cratem
nativam nec tela forant, contracta vicissim
tensaue terga feris crepitant usuque cavendi
pellunt excussis impactum missile rugis.
Iamque iter ad Thebas per magnum victor agebat
[65] aera et ad summas erexerat orgia nubes,
cum videt Aonia venientem Delion arce.
grypas et ipse tenet: vultus his laurea curvos

fronde lupata ligant; hederis quoque circumplexis
pendula lora virent; sensim fera subvolat ales
[70] aerias terraeque vias, ne forte citato
alarum strepitu lignosas frangat habenas.
aeternum nitet ipse genas; crevere corymbis [p. 268]
tempora et auratum verrit coma concolor axem;
laeva parte tenet vasta dulcedine raucam
[75] caelato Pythone lyram, pars dextra sagittas
continet atque alio resonantes murmure nervos.
ibant Pipliades pariter mediumque noveno
circumsistentes umbrabant syrmate currum,
pendet per teretes tripodas Epidaurius anguis
[80] diffusus sanctum per colla salubria virus.
hic et crinisatas iungebat Pegasus alas,
portans doctiloquo facundum crure Crotonem.
Vt sese iunxere chori, consurgit uterque
fratris in amplexus, sed paulo segnior Euan,
[85] dum pudet instabiles, si surgat, prodere plantas.
tum Phoebus ‘quo pergis?’ ait, ‘num forte nocentes,
Bacche, petis Thebas? te cretus Echione nempe
abnegat esse deum. linque his, rogo, moenia, linque,
et mecum mage flecte rotas, despexit Agaue
[90] te colere et nosmet Niobe; riget inde superba,
vulnera tot patiens quot spectat vulnera ventris,
optantemque mori gravius clementia fixit;
parcere saepe malum est sensumque inferre dolori,
ipsa autem nato occiso Pentheia mater
[95] amplius ut furiat numquid non sana futura est?
ergone Aonios colles habitare valemus, [p. 270]
cum patris extincti thalamis potietur adulter,
frater natorum, coniunx geneticis habendus,
vitricus ipse suus? cordi est si iungere gressum,
[100] dicam qua pariter sedem tellure locemus.
Est locus, irrigua qua rupe, Garunna, rotate,
et tu qui simili festinus in aequora lapsu
exis curvata, Durani muscose, saburra,
iam pigrescentes sensim confunditis amnes.
[105] currit in adversum hic pontus multoque recurso
flumina quas volvunt et spernit et expetit undas.
at cum summotus lunaribus incrementis
ipse Garunna suos in dorsa recolligit aestus,
praecipiti fluctu raptim redit atque videtur
[110] in fontem iam non refluus sed defluus ire.
tum recipit laticem quamvis minor ille minorem

stagnanti de fratre suum, turgescit et ipse
 Oceano propriasque facit sibi litora ripas.
 hos inter fluvios, uni mage proximus undae, est
 [115] aethera mons rumpens alta spectabilis arce,
 plus celsos habiturus eros vernamque senatum
 quem generis princeps Paulinus Pontius olim,
 cum Latius patriae dominabitur, ambiet altis
 moenibus, et celsae transmittent aera turres;
 [120] quarum culminibus sedeant commune micantes
 pompa vel auxilium; non illos machina muros,
 non aries, non alta strues vel proximus agger,
 non quae stridentes torquet catapulta molares, [p. 272]
 sed nec testudo nec vinea nec rota currens
 [125] iam positis scalis umquam quassare valebunt.
 cernere iam videor quae sint tibi, Burge, futura (
 diceris sic); namque domus de flumine surgunt
 splendentesque sedent per propugnacula thermae.
 hic cum vexatur piceis aquilonibus aestus,
 [130] scrupeus asprata latrare crepidine pumex
 incipit; at fractis saliens e cautibus altum
 excutitur torrens ipsisque aspergine tectis
 impluit ac tollit nautas et saepe iocoso
 ludit naufragio; nam tempestate peracta
 [135] destituit refluens missas in balnea classes.
 ipsa autem quantis, quibus aut sunt fulta columnis!
 cedat puniceo pretiosus livor in antro
 Synnados, et Nomadum qui portat eburnea saxa
 collis et herbosis quae vernant marmora venis;
 [140] candentem iam nolo Paron, iam nolo Caryston;
 vilior est rubro quae pendet purpura saxo.
 Et ne posteritas dubitet quis conditor extet,
 fixus in introitu lapis est; hic nomina signat
 auctorum; sed propter aqua, et vestigia pressa
 [145] quae rapit et fuso detergit gurgite caenum.
 [p. 274] sectilibus paries tabulis crustatus ad aurea
 tecta venit, fulvo nimis abscondenda metallo;
 nam locuples fortuna domus non passa latere
 divitias prodit, cum sic sua culmina celat.
 [150] haec post assurgit duplicemque supervenit aream
 porticus ipsa duplex, duplici non cognita plastro;
 quam rursum molli subductam vertice curvae
 obversis paulum respectant cornibus alae.
 ipsa diem natum cernit sinuamine dextro,
 [155] fronte videns medium, laevo visura cadentem.

non perdit quicquam trino de cardine caeli
et totum solem lunata per atria servat.
sacra tridentiferi Iovis hic armenta profundo
Pharnacis immergit genitor; percussa securi
[160] corpora cornipedum certasque rubescere plagas
sanguineo de rore putes; stat vulneris horror
verus, et occisis vivit pictura quadrigis.

Ponticus hinc rector numerosis Cyzicon armis
claudit; at hinc sociis consul Lucullus opem fert,
[165] compulsusque famis discrimina summa subire
invidet obsesso miles Mithridaticus hosti.
enatat hic pelagus Romani militis ardor
et chartam madido transportat corpore siccam.

[p. 276]

Desuper in longum porrectis horrea tectis
[170] crescunt atque amplis angustant fructibus aedes.
huc veniet calidis quantum metit Africa terris,
quantum vel Calaber, quantum colit Apulus acer,
quanta Leontino turgescit messis acervo
quantum Mygdonio committunt Gargara sulco,
[175] quantum, quae tacitis Cererem venerata choreis,
Attica Triptolemo civi condebat Eleusin,
cum populis hominum glandem liquentibus olim
fulva fruge data iam saecula fulva perirent,
porticus ad gelidos patet hinc aestiva triones;
[180] hinc calor innocuus thermis hiemalibus exit
atque locum in tempus mollit; quippe illa rigori
pars est apta magis; nam quod fugit ora Leonis,
inde Lycaoniae rabiem male sustinet Vrsae.
arcis at in thermas longe venit altior amnis
[185] et cadit in montem patulisque canalibus actus
circumfert clausum cava per divortia flumen,
occiduum ad solem post horrea surgit opaca
quae dominis hiberna domus: strepit hic bona flamma
appositas depasta trabes; sinuata camino
[190] ardentis perit unda globi fractoque flagello
spargit lentatum per culmina tota vaporem,
continuata dehinc videas quae conditor ausus
aemula Palladiis textrina educere templis,
hac celsi quondam coniunx reverenda Leonti, [p. 278]
[195] qua non ulla magis nurus umquam Pontia gaudet
inlustris pro sorte viri, celebrabitur aede
vel Syrias vacuasse colus vel serica fila
per cannas torsisse leves vel stamine fulvo

praegnantis fusi mollitum nesse metallum

[200] parietibus posthinc rutilat quae machina iunctis
fert recutitorum primordia Iudaeorum.

perpetuum pictura micat; nec tempore longo
depretiata suas turpant pigmenta figuras.

Flecteris ad laevam: te porticus accipit ampla

[205] directis curvata viis, ubi margine summo
pendet et artatis stat saxea silva columnis,
alta volubilibus patet hic cenatio valvis;

fusilis euripus propter; cadit unda superne
ante fores pendente lacu, venamque secuti

[210] undosa inveniunt nantes cenacula pisces.
comminus erigitur vel prima vel extima turris;

mos erit hic dominis hibernum sigma locare,
huius conspicuo residens in culmine saepe

dilectum nostris Musis simul atque capellis

[215] aspiciam montem; lauri spatior in istis
frondibus, hic trepidam credam mihi credere Daphnen.

iam si forte gradus geminam convertis ad Arcton

ut venias in templa dei qui maximus ille est, [p. 280]

deliciis redolent iunctis apotheca penusque;

[220] hic multus tu, frater, eris.

Iam divide sedem, cessurus mihi fonte meo, quem monte fluentem
umbrat multicavus spatioso circite fornix,

non eget hic cultu, dedit huic natura decorem,

nil fictum placuisse placet, non pompa per artem

[225] ulla, resultanti non comet malleus ictu
saxa, nec exesum supplebunt marmora tofum.

hic fons Castaliae nobis vice sufficit undae,

cetera dives habe; colles tua iura tremiscant;

captivos hic solve tuos, et per iuga Burgi

[230] laeta relaxatae fiant vineta catenae.

‘

Confirmat vocem iamiam prope sobrius istam

Silenus, pariterque chori cecinere faventes:’

Nysa, vale Bromio, Phoebo, Parnase bivertex.

non istum Naxus, non istum Cirrha requirat,

[235] sed mage perpetuo Burgus placitura petatur.’

[5] . Ecce, quotiens tibi libuerit pateris capacioribus hilarare convivium, misi
quod inter scyphos et amystidas tuas legas, subveneris verecundiae meae, si in
sobrias aures ista non venerint; nec iniuria hoc ac secus atque aequum est
flagito, quandoquidem Baccho meo iudicium decemvirale passuro
tempestivius quam convenit tribunal erigitur. 6. si [p. 282] quis autem carmen
prolixius eatenus duxerit esse culpandum, quod epigrammatis excesserit

paucitatem, istum liquido patet neque balneas Etrusci neque Herculem Surrentinum neque comas Flavii Earini neque Tibur Vopisci neque omnino quicquam de Papinii nostri silvulis lectitasse; quas omnes descriptiones vir ille praeiudicatissimus non distichorum aut tetrastichorum stringit angustiis, sed potius, ut lyricus Flaccus in artis poeticae volumine praecipit, multis isdemque purpureis locorum communium pannis semel inchoatas materias decenter extendit, haec me ad defensionis exemplum posuisse sufficiat, ne haec ipsa longitudinis deprecatio longa videatur, vale.

Ad Consentium

Cum iam pro meritis tuis pararem,
Consenti, columen decusque morum,
vestrae laudibus hospitalitatis
cantum impendere pauperis cicutae,
[5] ultro in carmina tu tubam recludens
converso ordine versibus citasti
suetum ludere sic magis sodalem.
paret Musa tibi, sed impudentem [p. 284]
multo cautius hinc stilum movebit;
[10] nam cum carmina postules diserte,
suades scribere, sed facis tacere.
nuper quadrupedante cum citato
ires Phocida Sestiasque Baias,
inlustres titulisque proeliisque
[15] urbes per duo consulum tropaea,
(nam Martem tulit ista Iulianum
et Bruto duce nauticum furorem,
ast haec Teutonicas cruenta pugnas,
erectum et Marium cadente Cimbros),
[20] misisti mihi multiplex poema,
doctum, nobile, forte, delicatum.
ibant hexametri superbientes
et vestigia iuncta, sed minora,
per quinos elegi pedes ferebant;
[25] misisti et, triplicis metrum trochaei
spondeo comitante dactyloque,
dulces hendecasyllabos, tuumque
blando faenore Sollium ligasti.
usuram petimurque reddimusque;
[30] nam quod carmine pro tuo rependo,
hoc centesima laudium tuarum est.
Quid primum venerer colamque pro te?
ni fallor, patriam patremque iuxta;
qui quamquam sibi vindicare summum
[35] possit iure locum, tamen necesse est
illam vincere quae parit parentes,
salve, Narbo potens salubritate,
urbe et rure simul bonus videri, [p. 286]
muris, civibus, ambitu, tabernis,
[40] portis, porticibus, foro, theatro,
delubris, capitoliis, monetis,

thermis, arcubus, horreis, macellis,
pratis, fontibus, insulis, salinis,
stagnis, numine, merce, ponte, ponto;
[45] unus qui venerere iure divos
Lenaenum, Cererem, Palem, Minervam
spicis, palmite, pascuis, trapetis.
solis fise viris nec expetito
naturae auxilio procul relictis
[50] promens montibus altius cacumen,
non te fossa patens nec hispidarum
objectu sudium coronat agger;
non tu marmora bratteam vitrumque,
non testudinis Indicae nitorem,
[55] non si quas eboris trabes refractis
rostris Marmarici dedere barri
figis moenibus aureasque portas
exornas asaroticis lapillis;
sed per semirutas superbus arces,
[60] ostendens veteris decus duelli,
quassatos geris ictibus molares,
laudandis pretiosior ruinis,
sint urbes aliae situ minaces,
quas vires humiles per alta condunt,
[65] et per praecipites locata cristas
numquam moenia caesa gloriantur:
tu pulsate places fidemque fortem
oppugnatio passa publicavit.
Hinc te Martius ille rector atque
[70] magno patre prior, decus Getarum,
Romanae columen salusque gentis,
Theudoricus amat sibique fidum [p. 288]
adversos probat ante per tumultus.
sed non hinc videre forte turpis,
[75] quod te machina crebra perforavit;
namque in corpore fortium virorum
laus est amplior amplior cicatrix.
in castris Marathoniis merentem
vulnus non habuisse grande probrum est;
[80] inter Publicolas manu feroces
trunco Mucius eminet lacerto;
vallum Caesaris opprimente Magno 1
inter tot facies ab hoste tutas
luscus Scaeva fuit magis decorus.
[85] laus est ardua dura sustinere;

ignavis, timidis et improbatis
multum fingitur otiosa virtus.
Quid quod Caesaribus ferax creandis,
felix prole virum, simul dedisti
[90] natos cum genitore principantes?
nam quis Persidis expeditionem
aut victricia castra praeteribit
Cari principis et perambulatum
Romanis legionibus Niphaten,
[95] tum cum fulmine captus imperator
vitam fulminibus parem peregit?
His tu civibus, urbe, rure pollens
Consenti mihi gignis alme patrem, [p. 290]
illum cui nitidi sales rigorque
[100] Romanus fuit Attico in lepore.
hunc Miletius et Thales stupere
auditum potuit simulque Lindi est
notus qui Cleobulus inter arces,
tu qui, Periandre, de Corintho es,
[105] et tu quem dederat, Bias, Priene,
et tu, Pittace, Lesbius sophistes,
et tu qui tetricis potens Athenis
vineis Socraticas, Solon, palaestras,
et tu, Tyndareis satus Therapnis, 1
[110] Chilon, legifero prior Lycurgo.
non hic, si voluit vacante cura
quis sit sideribus notare cursus,
diversas Arato vias cucurrit;
non hunc, cum geometricas ad artes
[115] mentem composuit, sequi valebat
Euclides spatium sciens Olympi;
non hunc, si voluit rotare rhythmos,
quicquam proposito virum morari
Chrysippus potuisset ex acervo.
[120] hic cum Amphioniae studebat arti
plectro, pollice, voce tibiaque,
Thrax vates, deus Arcas atque Phoebus
omni carmine post erant et ipsas
Musas non ita musicas putares.
[125] hic si syrmate cultus et cothurno
intrasset semel Atticum theatrum,
cessissent Sophocles et Euripides; [p. 292]
aut si pulpita personare socco
comoedus voluisset, huic levato

[130] palmam tu digito dares, Menander.
hic cum senipedem stilum polibat
Zmyrnaeae vice doctus officinae
aut cum se historiae dabat severae,
[135] torrens Herodotus, tonans Homerus.
non isto potior fuisset, olim
qui Pandioniam movebat arte
orator caveam tumultuosus,
seu luscum raperetur in Philippum,
[140] causam seu Ctesiphontis actitaret,
vir semper popularitate crescens
et iuste residens in arce fandi,
qui fabro genitore procreatus
oris maluit expolire limam.
[145] quid vos eloquii canam Latini,
Arpinas, Patavine, Mantuane,
et te, comica qui doces, Terenti,
et te, tempore qui satus severo
Graios, Plaute, sales lepore transis,
[150] et te multimoda satis verendum
scriptorum numerositate, Varro,
et te, qui brevitate, Crispe, polles,
et qui pro ingenio fluente nulli,
Corneli Tacite, es tacendus ori,
[155] et te Massiliensium per hortos
sacri stipitis, Arbiter, colonum [p. 294]
Hellespontiaco parem Priapi,
et te carmina per libidiosa
notum, Naso tener, Tomosque missum,
[160] quondam Caesareae nimis puellae
ficto nomine subditum Corinnae?
quid celsos Senecas loquar vel illum
quem dat Bilbilis alta Martialem,
terrarum indigenas Hibericarum?
[165] quid quos duplicibus iugata taedis
Argentaria Polla dat poetas?
quid multos varii stili retexam?
arguti, teneri, graves, dicaces,
si Consentius adfuit, latebant.
[170] Huic summi ingenii viro simulque
summae nobilitatis atque formae
iuncta est femina quae domum ad mariti
prisci insignia transferens Iovini

implevit trabeis larem sophistae,
[175] sic intra proprios tibi penates,
Consenti, patriae decus superbum,
fastis vivit avus paterque libris.
Haec per stemmata te satis potentem,
morum culmine sed potentiorum,
[180] non possim merita sonare laude,
nec si me Odrysio canens in antro,
qua late trepidantibus fluentis
cautes per Ciconum resultat Hebrus,
princeps instituisset ille vatum,
[185] cum dulces animata saxa chordae
[p. 296] ferrent per Rhodopen trahente cantu
et versa vice fontibus ligatis
terras currere cogerent anhelas,
nec non Hismara solibus paterent
[190] aurita chelyn expetente silva
et nulli resolubiles calori
curvata ruerent nives ab Ossa,
stantem aut Strymona Bistones viderent,
cum carmen rapidus latex sitiret;
[195] nec si Peliaco datus bimembri
ad Centaurica plectra constitissem,
hinnitum duplicis timens magistri;
nec si me docuisset ille fari,
iussus pascere qui gregem est clientis
[200] Amphrysi ad fluvium deus bubulcus,
quod ferrugineos Cyclopes arcu
stravit sub Liparensibus caminis
vibrans plus grave fulmen in sagitta.
Iam primo tenero calentem ab ortu
[205] excepere sinu novem sorores,
et te de genetrice vagientem
tinxerunt vitrei vado Hippocrenes:
tunc, hac mersus aqua, loquacis undae
pro fluctu mage litteras bibisti.
[210] hinc tu iam puer aptior magistro
quidquid rhetoricae institutionis,
quidquid grammaticalis aut palaestrae est,
sicut iam tener hauseras, vorasti.
et Iam te aula tulit piusque princeps
[215] inter conspicuos statim locavit,
consistoria quos habent, tribunos; [p. 298]
iamque et purpureus in arce regni

praeesse officiis tuis solebat,
mores nobilitate quod merebant:
[220] tantum culminis et decus stupendum
scripti annalibus indicant honores.
hinc tu militiam secutus amplam,
castrensem licet ampliare cenum
per suffragia iusta debuisses,
[225] sollemnis tamen abstinens lucelli
fama plus locuples domum redisti
solum quod dederas tuum putando.
tum si forte fuit quod imperator
Eoas soceri venire in aures
[230] fido interprete vellet et perito,
te commercia duplicis loquela
doctum solvere protinus legebat.
o, sodes, quotiens tibi loquenti
Byzantina sophos dedere regna,
[235] et te seu Latialiter sonantem
tamquam Romulea solum Subura,
seu linguae Argolicae rotunditate
undantem Marathone ceu creatum
plaudentes stupere Bosphorani,
[240] mirati minus Atticos alumnos!
hinc si foedera solverentur orbis,
pacem te medio darent feroces
Chunus, Sauromates, Getes, Gelonus;
tu Tuncrum et Vachalim, Visurgin, Albin,
[245] Francorum et penitissimas paludes
intrares venerantibus Sygambri
solis moribus inter arma tutus, [p. 300]
tu Maeotida Caspiaeque portas,
tu fluxis equitata Bactra Parthis
[250] constans intrepidusque sic adires
ut fastu posito tumentis aulae
qui supra satrapas sedet tyrannus
ructans semideum propinquitates
lunatam tibi flecteret tiaram.
[255] tu si publica fata non vetarent ut
Byrsam peteres vel Africanæ
telluris Tanaiticum rebellem,
confestim posito furore Martis
post piratica damna destinaret
[260] plenas mercibus institor carinas,
et per te bene pace restituta

non ultra mihi bella navigarent.
Iam si seria forte terminantem
te spectacula ceperant theatri,
[265] pallescebat chorus omnis histrionum
tamquam si Arcitenens novemque Musae
propter pulpita iudices sederent.
coram te Caramallus aut Phabaton
clausis faucibus et loquente gestu
[270] nutu, crure, genu, manu, rotatu
toto in schemate vel semel latebit,
sive Aetias et suus Iason
inducuntur ibi ferusque Phasis,
qui iactos super arva Colcha dentes
[275] expavit, fruticante cum duello
spicis spicula mixta fluctuant;
sive prandia quis refert Thyestae
seu vestros, Philomela torva, planctus,
discerptum aut puerum cibumque factum
[280] iamiam coniugis innocentioris;
[p. 302] seu raptus Tyrios Iovemque taurum
spreto fulmine fronte plus timendum;
seu turris Danaae refertur illic,
cum multum pluvio rigata censu est,
[285] dans plus aurea furta quam metalla;
seu Ledam quis agit Phrygemque ephebum
aptans ad cyathos facit Tonanti
suco nectaris esse dulci orem;
seu Martem simulat modo in catenas
[290] missum Lemniacas, modo aut repulso
formam imponit apri caputque saetis
et tergum asperat hispidisque malis
leve incurvat ebur, vel ille fingit
hirtam dorsa feram repanda tela
[295] attritu adsiduo cacuminantem;
seu Perseia virgo vindicata
illic luditur harpe coniugali,
seu quod carminis atque fabularum
clausa ad Pergama dat bilustre bellum.
[300] quid dicam citharistrias, choraulas,
mimos, schoenobatas, gelasianos
cannas, plectra, iocos, palen, rudentem
coram te trepidanter explicare?
nam circensibus ipse quanta ludis
[305] victor gesseris intonante Roma

laetam par fuit exarare Musam.
Ianus forte suas bifrons Kalendas
anni tempora circinante Phoebos
sumendas referebat ad curules,
[310] mos est Caesaris hic, die bis uno
(privatos vocitant) parare ludos. [p. 304]
tunc coetus iuvenum, sed aulicorum,
Elei simulacra torva campi
exercet spatiantibus quadrigis.
[315] et iam te urna petit cietque raucae
acclamatio sibilans coronae;
tum qua est ianua consulumque sedes,
ambit quam paries utrimque senis
cryptis carceribusque fornicatus,
[320] uno e quattuor axe sorte lecto
curvas ingrederis premens habenas.
id collega tuus simulque vobis
pars adversa facit; micant colores,
albus vel venetus, virens rubensque,
[325] vestra insignia, continent ministri
ora et lora manus iubasque tortas
cogunt flexilibus latere nodis
hortanturque obiter iuvantque blandis
ultra plausibus et voluptuosum
[330] dictant quadrupedantibus furorem.
illi ad claustra fremunt repagulisque
incumbunt simul ac per obseratas
transfumant tabulas et ante cursum
campus flatibus occupatur absens.
[335] impellunt, trepidant, trahunt, repugnant,
ardescunt, saliunt, timent, timentur,
nec gressum cohibent, sed inquieto
duratum pede stipitem flagellant.
tandem murmure bucinae strepentis [p. 306]
[340] insensas tubicen vocans quadrigas
effundit celeres in arva currus.
non sic fulminis impetus trisulci,
non pulsa Scythico sagitta nervo,
non sulcus rapide cadentis astri,
[345] non fundis Balearibus rotata
umquam sic liquidos poli meatus
rupit plumbea glandium procella.
cedit terra rotis et orbitarum
moto pulvere sordidatur aer;

[350] instant verberibus simul regentes,
iamque et pectora prona de covinno
extensi rapiuntur et iugales
trans armos feriunt vacante tergo,
nec cernas cito, cernuos magistros
[355] temones mage sufferant an axes.
iam vos ex oculis velut volantes
consumpto spatio patientiore
campus clauserat artus arte factus,
per quem longam, humilem duplamque muro
[360] euripus sibi machinam tetendit.
ut meta ulterior remisit omnes,
fit collega tuus prior duobus,
qui te transierant; ita ipse quartus
gyri condicione tum fuisti.
[365] curae est id mediis, ut ille primus,
[p. 308] pressus dexteriore concitatu
partem si patefecerit sinistram
totas ad podium ferens habenas,
curru praetereatur intus acto.
[370] tu conamine duplicatus ipso
stringis quadriugos et arte summa
in gyrum bene septimum reservas;
instabant alii manu atque voce,
passim et deciduis in arva guttis
[375] rectorum alipedumque sudor ibat.
raucus corda ferit fragor faventum
atque ipsis pariter viris equisque
fit cursu calor et timore frigus.
itur sic semel, itur et secundo,
[380] est sic tertius atque quartus orbis;
quinto circite non valens sequentum
pondus ferre prior retorquet axem,
quod velocibus imperans quadrigis
exhaustos sibi senserat iugales;
[385] iam sexto reditu perexplicato
iamque et praemia flagitante vulgo
pars contraria nil timens tuam vim
securas prior orbitas terebat,
tensis cum subito simul lupatis,
[390] tensis pectoribus, pede ante fixo,
quantum auriga suos solebat ille
raptans Oenomaum tremante Pisa,
tantum tu rapidos teris iugales,

hic compendia flexuosa metae [p. 310]

[395] unus dum premit, incitatus a te
elatas semel impetu quadrigas
iuncto non valuit plicare gyro;
quem tu, quod sine lege praeteriret,
transisti remanens, ab arte restans.

[400] alter dum popularitate gaudet,
dexter sub cuneis nimis cucurrit.
hunc, dum obliquat iter diuque lentus
sero cornipedes citat flagello,
tortum tramite transis ipse recto.

[405] hic te incautius assecutus hostis
sperans anticipasse iam priorem
transversum venit impudens in axem;
incurventur equi, proterva crurum
intrat turba rotas quaterque terni

[410] artantur radii, repleta donec
intervalla crepent volubilisque
frangat margo pedes; ibi ipse quintus
curru praecipitatus obruente
montem multiplici facit ruina,

[415] turpans prociduum cruore frontem.
miscet cuncta fragor resuscitatus,
quantum non cyparissifer Lycaeus,
quantum non nemorosa tollit Ossa
crebras inrequieta per procellas,

[420] quantum nec reboant volutae ab Austro
Doris Trinacris aut voraginoso [p. 312]

quae vallat sale Bosphorum Propontis.
hic mox praecipit aequus imperator
palmis serica, torquibus coronas

[425] coniungi et meritum remunerari,
victis ire iubens satis pudendis
villis versicoloribus tapetas.

Iam vero iuvenalibus peractis
quem te praebueris sequente in aevo,

[430] intra aulam soceri mei expetitus
curam cum moderatus es Palati,
chartis posterioribus loquemur,
si plus temporibus vacat futuris;
nunc quam diximus hospitalitatem

[435] paucis personet obsequens Thalia.
O dulcis domus, o pii penates,
quos (res difficilis sibiue discors)

libertas simul excolit pudorque!
o convivia, fabulae, libelli,
[440] risus, serietas, dicacitates,
occursus, comitatus unus idem,
seu delubra dei colenda nobis
[445] tecta inlustria seu videnda Livi,
sive ad pontificem gradus ferendi,
sive ad culmina Martii Myronis,
sive ad doctiloqui Leonis aedes
(quo bis sex tabulas docente iuris
ultro Claudius Appius lateret
claro obscurior in decemviratu;
[450] at si dicat epos metrumque rhythmis
[p. 314] flectat commaticis tonante plectro,
mordacem faciat silere Flaccum,
quamvis post satiras lyramque tendat
ille ad Pindaricum volare cygnum);
[455] seu nos, Magne, tuus favor tenebat,
multis praedite dotibus virorum,
forma, nobilitate, mente, censu (
cuius si varios eam per actus,
centum et ferrea lasset ora laude,
[460] constans, ingeniosus efficaxque,
prudens arbiter, optimus propinquus,
nil fraudans genii sibi vel ulli
personas, loca, tempus intuendo);
seu nos atria vestra continebant,
[465] Marcelline meus, perite legum
(qui, verax nimis et nimis severus,
asper credens esse nescienti;
at si te bene quispiam probavit,
noscit quod velit ipse iudicare;
[470] nam numquam metuis loqui quod aequum est,
si te Sulla premat ferusque Carbo,
si tristes Marti trucesque Cinnae,
et si forte tuum caput latusque
circumstent gladii triumvirales);
[475] seu nos Lirnpidii lares habebant,
civis magnifici virique summi,
fraternam bene regulam sequentis;
seu nos eximii simul tenebat
nectens officiositas Marini, [p. 316]
[480] cuius sedulitas sodalitasque
aeterna mihi laude sunt colendae;

seu quoscumque alios videre fratres
cordi utrique fuit, quibus vacasse
laudandam reor occupationem;

[485] horum nomina cum referre versu
adfectus cupiat, metrum recusat.

Hinc nos ad propriam domum vocabas,
cum mane exierat novum et calescens
horam sol dabat alteram secundam.

[490] hic promens teretes pilas trochosque,
hic talos crepitantibus fritillis
nos ad verbera iactuum struentes,
tamquam Naupliades, repertor artis,
gaudebas hilarem ciere rixam.

[495] hinc ad balnea, non Neroniana
nec quae Agrippa dedit vel ille cuius
bustum Dalmaticae vident Saloniae,
ad thermas tamen ire sed libebat
privato bene praebitas pudori.

[500] post quas nos tua pocula et tuarum
Musarum medius torus tenebat,
quales nec statuas imaginesque
aere aut marmoribus coloribusque
Mentor, Praxiteles, Scopas dederunt,

[505] quantas nec Polycletus ipse finxit
nec fit Phidiaco figura caelo.

Sed iam te veniam loquacitati
quingenti hendecasyllabi precantur.
tantum, etsi placeat, poema longum est.

[510] iamiam sufficit, ipse et impeditis [p. 318]
multum in carmine perlegens amicum,
dominantibus otiosiore.

Propempticon ad libellum

Egressus foribus meis, libelle,
hanc servare viam, precor, memento,
quae nostros bene ducit ad sodales,
quorum nomina sedulus notavi;
[5] antiquus tibi nec teratur agger,
cuius per spatium satis vetustis
nomen Caesareum viret columnis;
sed sensim gradere: et moras habendo
adfectum celerem moves amicis.

[10] Ac primum Domiti larem severi
intrabis trepidantibus Camenis:
tam censorius haud fuit vel ille
quem risisse semel ferunt in aevo;
sed gaudere potes rigore docto:
[15] hic si te probat, omnibus placebis.
hinc te suscipiet benigna Brivas,
sancti quae fovet ossa Iuliani,
quae dum mortua mortuis putantur,
vivens e tumulo micat potestas.

[20] hinc iam dexteriores carpis arva
emensusque iugum die sub uno [p. 320]
flavum crastinus aspicias Triobrem;
tum terram Gabalum satis nivisam
et, quantum indigenae volunt putari,

[25] sublimem in puteo videbis urbem.
hinc te temporis ad mei Laconas
Iustinum rapies suumque fratrem,
quorum notus amor per orbis ora
calcat Pirithoumque Theseumque
[30] et fidum rabidi sodalem Orestae.
horum cum fueris sinu receptus,
ibis Trevidon et calumniosis
vicinum nimis, heu, iugum Rutenis.

hic docti invenies patrem Tonanti,
[35] rectorem columnenque Galliarum,
prisci Ferreolum parem Syagri,
coniunx Papianilla quem pudico
curas participans iuvat labore,
qualis nec Tanaquil fuit nec illa

[40] quam tu, Tricipitine, procreasti,
[p. 322] qualis nec Phrygiae dicata Vestae

quae contra satis Albulam tumentem
duxit virgineo ratem capillo.
hinc te Laesora, Caucason Scytharum
[45] vincens, aspiciet citusque Tarnis,
limosum et solido sapore pressum
piscem perspicua gerens in unda.
hic Zeti et Calais tibi adde pennas
nimbosumque iugum fugax caveto;
[50] namque est assiduae ferax procellae;
sed quamvis rapido ferare cursu,
lassum te Vorocingus obtinebit.
nostrum hic invenies Apollinarem,
seu contra rabidi Leonis aestus
[55] vestit frigore marmorum penates,
sive hortis spatiat in repostis,
quales mellifera virent in Hybla,
quales Corycium senem beantes
fuscabat picei latex Galaesi;
[60] sive inter violas, thymum, ligustrum,
serpyllum, casiam, crocum atque caltam,
narcissos hyacinthinosque flores
spernit quam pretii petitor ampli
glaebam turifer advehit Sabaeus;
[65] seu ficto potius specu quiescit
collis margine, qua nemus reflexum
nativam dare porticum laborans
non lucum arboribus facit, sed antrum. [p. 324]
quis pomaria prisca regis Indi
[70] hic nunc comparet aureasque vites
electro viridante pampinatas,
cum Porus posuit crepante gaza
fulvo ex palmite vineam metalli
gemmarum fluitantibus racemis?
[75] Hinc tu Cottion ibis atque Avito
nostro dicis ‘ave,’ dehinc ‘valeto.’
debes obsequium viro perenne;
nam, dent hinc veniam mei propinqui,
non nobis prior est parens amico,
[80] hinc te iam Fidulus, decus bonorum
et nec Tetradio latens secundus
morum dotibus aut tenore recti,
sancta suscipit hospitalitate.
exin tende gradum Tribusque Villis
[85] Thaumastum expete, quemlibet duorum:

quorum iunior est mihi sodalis
et collega simul graduque frater;
quod si fors senior tibi invenitur,
hunc pronus prope patrum saluta,
[90] hinc ad consulis ampla tecta Magni
[p. 326] Felicemque tuum veni, libelle;
et te bybliothea qua paterna est,
qualis nec tetrici fuit Philagri,
admitti faciet Probus probatum;
[95] hic saepe Eulaliae meae legeris,
cuius Cecropiae pares Minervae
mores et rigidi senes et ipse
quondam purpureus socer timebant.
Sed iam sufficit: ecce linque portum;
[100] ne te pondere plus premam saburrae,
his in versibus ancoram levato.

Letters

BOOK I.

Sidonius Constantio suo salutem

Diu praecipis, domine maior, summa suadendi auctoritate, sicuti es in his quae deliberabuntur consiliosissimus, ut, si quae mihi litterae paulo politiores varia occasione fluxerint, prout eas causa persona tempus elicit, omnes retractatis exemplaribus enucleatisque uno volumine includam, Quinti Symmachi rotunditatem, Gaii Plinii disciplinam maturitatemque vestigiis praesumptuosius insecu- [p. 332] turns. [2] nam de Marco Tullio silere melius puto, quem in stilo epistulari nec Iulius Titianus sub nominibus inlustrium feminarum digna similitudine expressit; propter quod illum ceteri quique Frontonianorum utpote consecraneum aemulati, cur veternosum dicendi genus imitaretur, oratorum simiam nuncupaverunt. quibus omnibus ego immane dictum est quantum semper iudicio meo cesserim quantumque servandam singulis pronuntiaverim temporum suorum meritorumque praerogativam. [3] sed scilicet tibi parvi tuaeque examinationi has non recensendas (hoc enim parum est) sed defaecandas, ut aiunt, limandasque commisi, sciens te inmodicum esse fautorem non studiorum modo verum etiam studiosorum. quam ob rem nos nunc perquam haesitabundos in hoc deinceps famae pelagus impellis. [4] porro autem super huiusmodi opusculo tutius conticueramus, contenti versuum felicius quam peritius editorum opinione, de qua mihi iam pridem in portu iudicii publici post lividorum latratuum Scyllas enavigatas sufficientis gloriae ancora sedet, sed si et hisce deliramentis [p. 334] genuinum molarem invidia non fixerit, actutum tibi a nobis volumina numerosiora percopiosis scaturientia sermocinationibus multiplicabuntur, vale.

Sidonius Agricolae suo salutem

Saepenumero postulavisti ut, quia Theudorici regis Gothorum commendat populis fama civilitatem, litteris tibi formae suae quantitas, vitae qualitas significaretur. pareo libens, in quantum epistularis pagina sinit, laudans in te tam delicatae sollicitudinis ingenuitatem. igitur vir est et illis dignus agnoscere qui eum minus familiariter intuentur: ita personam suam deus arbiter et ratio naturae consummatae felicitatis dote sociata cumulaverunt; mores autem huiusmodi, ut laudibus eorum nihil ne regni quidem defrudet invidia. [2] si forma quaeratur: corpore exacto, longissimis brevior, procerior eminentiorque mediocribus, capitis apex rotundus, in quo paululum a planitie frontis in verticem caesaries refuga crispatur. cervix non sedet enervis sed stat nervis. I geminos orbes hispidus superciliorum [p. 336] coronat arcus; si vero cilia Sectantur, ad malas medias palpebrarum margo prope pervenit, aurium legulae, sicut mos gentis est, crinium superiacentium flagellis operiuntur. nasus venustissime incurvus. labra subtilia nec dilatatis oris angulis ampliata. pilis infra narium antra fruticantibus cotidiana succisio. barba concavis hirta temporibus, quam in subdita vultus parte surgentem stirpitus tonsor assiduus genis ut adhuc vesticipibus evellit. [3] menti, gutturis, colli, non obesi sed suculenti, lactea cutis, quae propius inspecta iuvenali rubore suffunditur; namque hunc illi crebro colorem non ira sed verecundia facit. teretes umeri, validi lacerti, dura brachia, patulae manus, recedente alvo pectus excedens. I aream dorsi humilior inter excrementa costarum spina discriminat. tuberosum est utrumque musculis prominentibus latus, in succinctis regnat vigor ilibus. corneum femur, internodia poplitum bene mascula, maximus in minime rugosis genibus honor; crura suris fulta turgentibus et, qui magna sustentat membra, pes modicus. [4] si actionem diurnam, quae est forinsecus exposita, perquiras: antelucanos sacerdotum suorum coetus minimo comitatu expetit, grandi sedulitate veneratur; quamquam, si sermo [p. 338] secretus, possis animo advertere quod servet istam pro consuetudine potius quam pro ratione reverentiam, reliquum mane regni administrandi cura sibi deputat. circumssistit sellam comes armiger; pellitorum turba satellitum ne absit, admittitur, ne obstrepat, eliminatur, sicque pro foribus immurmurat exclusa velis, inclusa cancellis. inter haec intro-missis gentium legationibus audit plurima, pauca respondet; si quid tractabitur, differt; si quid expeditur, accelerat. hora est secunda: surgit e solio aut thesauris inspiciendis vacaturus aut stabulis. [5] si venatione nuntiata procedit, arcum lateri innectere citra gravitatem regiam iudicat; quem tamen, si comminus avem feramque aut venanti aut vianti fors obtulerit, manui post tergum reflexae puer inserit nervo lorove fluitantibus; quem sicut puerile computat gestare thecatum, ita muliebre accipere iam tensus. igitur acceptum modo sinuatis I e regione capitibus intendit, modo ad talum pendulum nodi parte conversa languentem chordae laqueum vagantis digito superlabente prosequitur; et mox spicula capit implet expellit; quidve

cupias percuti prior admonet ut eligas 2; eligis quid feriat: [p. 340] quod elegeris ferit; et, si ab alterutro errandum est, rarius fallitur Agentis ictus quam destinantis obtutus. [6] si in convivium venit, quod quidem diebus profestis simile privato est, non ibi impolitam congeriem liventis argenti mensis cedentibus suspiriosus minister imponit; maximum tunc pondus in verbis est, quippe cum illic aut nulla narrentur aut seria, toreumatum peripetasmatumque modo conchyliata profertur supellex, modo byssina, cibi arte, non pretio placent, fercula ni tore, non pondere, scyphorum paterarumque raras oblationes facilius est ut accuset sitis quam recuset ebrietas. quid multis? videas ibi elegantiam Graecam abundantiam Galli-canam celeritatem Italiam, publicam pompam privatam diligentiam regiam disciplinam, de luxu autem illo sabbatario narrationi meae supersedendum est, qui nec latentes potest latere personas. [7] ad coepta redeatur. dapibus expleto somnus meridianus saepe nullus, semper exiguus, quibus horis viro [p. 342] tabula cordi, tesseras colligit rapide, inspicit sollicite, volvit argute, mittit instanter, ioculanter compellat, patienter exspectat, in bonis iactibus tacet, in malis ridet, in neutris irascitur, in utrisque philosophatur. secundas fastidit vel timere vel facere, quarum opportunitates spernit oblatas, transit oppositas, sine motu evaditur, sine colludio evadit, putes illum et in calculis arma tractare: sola est illi cura vincendi. [8] cum ludendum est, regiam sequestrat tantisper severitatem, hortatur ad ludum libertatem communionemque. dicam quod sentio: timet timeri, denique oblectatur commotione superati et tum demum credit sibi non cessisse collegam, cum fidem fecerit victoriae suae bilis athena. quodque mirare, saepe illa laetitia minimis occasionibus veniens ingentium negotiorum merita fortunat. tunc petitionibus diu ante per patrociniarum naufragia iactatis absolutionis subitae portus aperitur; tunc etiam ego aliquid obsecraturus feliciter vincor, quando mihi ad hoc tabula perit, ut causa salvetur. [9] circa nonam recrudescit mohs illa regnandi, redeunt pulsantes, redeunt [p. 344] summoventes; ubique litigiosus fremitus ambitus, qui tractus in vesperam cena regia interpellante rarefcit et per aulicos deinceps pro patronorum varietate dispergitur, usque ad tempus concubiae noctis excubaturus. sane intromittuntur, quamquam raro, inter cenandum mimici sales, ita ut nullus conviva mordacis linguae felle feriat; sic tamen quod illic nec organa hydraulica sonant nec sub phonasco vocalium concentus meditatam acroama simul intonat; nullus ibi lyristes choraules meso-chorus tympanistria psalteria canit, rege solum illis fidibus delenito, quibus non minus mulcet virtus animum quam cantus auditum. [10] cum surrexerit, inchoat nocturnas aulica gaza custodias; armati regiae domus aditibus assistunt, quibus horae primi soporis vigilabuntur. sed iam quid meas istud ad partes, qui tibi indicanda non multa de regno sed pauca de rege promisi? simul et stilo finem fieri decet, quia et tu cognoscere viri non amplius quam studia personamque voluisti et ego non historiam sed epistulam efficere curavi. vale. [p. 346]

Sidonius Philomathio suo salutem

I nunc et legibus me ambitus interrogatum senatu move, cur adipiscendae dignitati hereditariae curis pervigilibus incumbam; cui pater socer avus proavus praefecturis urbanis praetorianisque, magisteriis Palatinis militaribusque micuerunt. [2] et ecce Gaudentius meus, hactenus tantum tribunicius, oscitantem nostrorum civium desidiam vicariano apice transcendit. mussitat quidem iuvenum nostrorum calcata generositas, sed qui transiit derogantes in hoc solum movetur, ut gaudeat, igitur venerantur hucusque contemptum ac subitae stupentes dona [p. 348] fortunae quem consessu despiciebant, sede suspiciunt. ille obiter stertentum oblatratorum aures rauci voce praeconis everberat, qui in eum licet stimulis inimicalibus excitentur, scamnis tamen amicalibus deputabuntur. [3] unde te etiam par fuerit privilegio consiliorum praefecturae, in quae participanda deposceris, antiquati honoris perniciter sarcire dispendium, ne, si extra praerogativam consiliarii in concilium veneris, solas vicariorum vices egisse videare, vale.

Sidonius Gaudentio suo salutem

Macte esto, vir amplissime, fascibus partis dote meritorum; quorum ut titulis apicibusque potiare non maternos redditus, non avitas largitiones, non uxorias gemmas, non paternas pecunias numeravisti, quia tibi e contrario apud principis domum inspecta sinceritas, spectata sedulitas, admissa sodalitas laudi fuere, o terque quaterque beatum te, de cuius [p. 350] culmine datur amicis laetitia, lividis poena, posteris gloria, tum praeterea vegetis et alacribus exemplum, desidibus et pigris incitamentum; et tamen, si qui sunt qui te, quocumque animo deinceps aemulabuntur, sibi forsitan, si te consequantur, debeant, tibi debebunt procul dubio quod sequuntur. [2] spectare mihi videor bonorum pace praefata illam in invidis ignaviam superbientem et illud militandi inertibus familiare fastidium, cum a desperatione crescendi inter bibendum philosophantes ferias inhonoratorum laudant, vitio desidia, non studio perfectionis . . . * * * [3] . . . appetitus, ne adhuc pueris usui foret, maiorum iudicio reiciebatur; sic adulescentum declamatiunculas pannis textilibus comparantes intellegebant eloquia iuvenum laboriosius breviter produci quam porrecta succidi, sed hinc quia istaec satis, quod subest, quaeso reminiscaris velle me tibi studii huiusce vicissitudinem reponderare, modo me actionibus iustis deus annuens et sospitem praestet et reducem, vale. [p. 352]

Sidonius Heronio1 suo salutem

Litteras tuas Romae positus accepi, quibus an secundum commune consilium sese peregrinationis meae coepta promoveant, sollicitus inquiris, viam etiam qualem qualiterque confecerim, quos aut fluvios viderim poetarum carminibus inlustres aut urbes moenium situ inclitas aut montes numinum opinione vulgatos aut campos proeliorum replicatione monstrabiles, quia voluptuosum censeas quae lectione compereris eorum qui inspexerint fideliore didicisse memoratu, quocirca gaudeo te quid agam cupere cognoscere; namque huiusmodi studium de adfectu interiore proficiscitur, ilicet, etsi secus quaequam, sub ope tamen dei ordiar a secundis, quibus primordiis maiores nostri etiam sinisteritatum suarum relationes evolvere auspicabantur. [2] egresso mihi Rhodanusiae nostrae moenibus publicus cursus usui fuit utpote sacris apicibus accito, et quidem per domicilia sodalium propinquorumque; ubi sane vianti moram non veredorum paucitas sed amicorum multitudo faciebat, quae mihi arto implicita complexu itum reditumque felicem certantibus votis [p. 354] conprecabatur. sic Alpium iugis appropinquatum; quarum mihi citus et facilis ascensus et inter utrimque terrentis latera praerupti cavatis in callem nivibus itinera mollita. [3] fluviorum quoque, si qui non navigabiles, vada commoda, vel certe pervii pontes, quos antiquitas a fundamentis ad usque aggerem calcabili silice crustatum crypticis arcubus fornicavit. Ticini cursoriam (sic navigio nomen) escendi, qua in Eridanum brevi delatus cantatas saepe comissaliter nobis Phaethontidas et commenticias arborei metalli lacrimas risi. [4] ulvosum Lambrum caerulum Adduam, velocem Athesim pigrum Mincium, qui Ligusticis Euganeisque montibus oriebantur, paulum per ostia adversa subvectus in suis etiam gurgitibus inspexi; quorum ripae torique passim quernis acernisque nemoribus vestiebantur. hic avium re-sonans dulce concentus, quibus nunc in concavis harundinibus, nunc quoque in iuncis pungentibus, nunc et in scirpis enodibus nidorum struis imposita nutabat; quae cuncta virgulta tumultuatim super amnicos margines soli bibuli suco fota fruticaverant. [5] atque obiter Cremonam praevectus adveni, cuius est olim Tityro Mantuano largum suspirata proximitas. Brixillum dein oppidum, dum succedenti [p. 356] Aemiliano nautae decedit Venetus remex, tantum ut exiremus intravimus, Ravennam paulo post cursu dexteriore subeuntes; quo loci veterem civitatem novumque portum media via Caesaris ambigas utrum conectat an separet. insuper oppidum duplex pars interluit Padi, [certa]1 pars alluit; qui ab alveo principali molium publicarum discerptus obiectu et per easdem derivatis tramitibus exhaustus sic dividua fluenta partitur ut praebeant moenibus circumfusa praesidium, infusa commercium. [6] hic cum peropportuna cuncta mercatui, tum praecipue quod esui competeret, deferebatur; nisi quod, cum sese hinc salsum portis pelagus impingeret, hinc cloacali pulte fossarum discursu lintrium ventilata ipse lentati languidus lapsus umoris nauticis

cuspidibus foraminato fundi glutino sordidaretur, in medio undarum sitiebamus, quia nusquam vel aquaeductum liquor integer vel cisterna defaecabilis vel fons inriguus vel puteus inlimis. [7] unde pro-gressis ad Rubiconem ventum, qui originem nomini de glarearum colore puniceo mutuabatur quique olim Gallis cisalpinis I talisque veteribus terminus erat, cum populis utrisque Hadriatici maris oppida divisui fuere, hinc Ariminum Fanumque perveni, illud [p. 358] Iuliana rebellione memorabile, hoc Hasdrubaliano funere infectum: siquidem illic Metaurus, cuius ita in longum felicitas uno die parta porrigitur, ac si etiam nunc Dalmatico salo cadavera sanguinolenta decoloratis gurgitibus inferret. [8] hinc cetera Flaminiae oppida statim ut ingrediebar egressus laevo Picentes, dextro Vmbros latere transmisi; ubi mihi seu Calaber Atabulus seu pestilens regio Tuscorum spiritu aeris venenatis flatibus inebriato et modo calores alternante, modo frigora vaporatum corpus infecit, interea febris sitisque penitissimum cordis medullarumque secretum depopulabantur; quarum aviditati non solum amoena fontium aut abstrusa puteorum, quamquam haec quoque, sed tota illa vel vicina vel obvia fluenta, id est vitrea Velim* gelida Clitumni, Anienis caerulea Naris sulpurea, pura Fabaris turbida Tiberis, metu tamen desiderium fallente, pollicebamur. [9] inter haec patuit et Roma conspectui; cuius mihi non solum formas verum etiam naumachias videbar epotaturus. ubi priusquam vel pomoeria contingerem, triumphalibus apostolorum liminibus adfusus omnem protinus [p. 360] sensi membrisi male fortibus explosum esse languorem; post quae caelestis experimenta patrocinii conducti devorsorii parte susceptus atque etiam nunc istaec inter iacendum scriptitans quieti paucillulum operam impendo. [10] neque adhuc principis aulicorumque tumultuosis foribus obversor. inter-veni etenim nuptiis patricii Ricimeris, cui filia perennis Augusti in spem publicae securitatis copulabatur. igitur nunc in ista non modo personarum sed etiam ordinum partiumque laetitia Transalpino tuo latere conducibilis visum, quippe cum hoc ipso tempore, quo haec mihi exarabantur, vix per omnia theatra macella, praetoria fora, templa gymnasia Thalassio Fescenninus explicaretur, atque etiam nunc e contrario studia sileant negotia quiescant iudicia conticescant, differantur legationes vacet ambitus et inter scurrilitates histrionicas totus actionum seriarum status peregrinetur. [11] iam quidem virgo tradita est, iam coronam sponsus, iam palmatam consularis, iam cycladem pronuba, iam togam [senator]1 honoratus, iam paenulam deponit inglorius, et nondum tamen cuncta thalamorum pompa defremuit, quia necdum ad mariti domum nova nupta migravit, qua festivitate decursa cetera tibi laborum meorum molimina reserabuntur, si [p. 362] tamen vel consummata sollemnitas aliquando terminaverit istam totius civitatis occupatissimam vacationem, vale.

Sidonius Eutropio suo salutem

Olim quidem scribere tibi concupiscebam, sed nunc vel maxime impellor, id est cum mihi ducens in urbem Christo propitiante via carpitur, scribendi causa vel sola vel maxima, quo te scilicet a profundo domesticae quietis extractum ad capessenda militiae Palatinae munia vocem. . . . [2] his additur quod munere dei tibi congruit aevi corporis animi vigor integer; dein quod equis, armis, veste sumptu famulicio instructus solum, nisi fallimur, incipere formidas et, cum sis alacer domi, in aggredienda peregrinatione trepidum te iners desperatio facit; si tamen senatorii seminis homo, qui cotidie trabeatis proavorum imaginibus ingeritur, iuste dicere potest semet peregrinatum, si semel et in iuventa viderit domicilium legum, gymnasium litterarum, curiam dignitatum, verticem mundi, patriam libertatis, in [p. 364] qua unica totius orbis civitate soli barbari et servi peregrinantur. [3] et nunc, pro pudor, si relinquere inter busequas rusticanos subulcosque ronchantes! quippe si et campum stiva tremante proscindas aut prati floreas opes panda curvus falce populeris aut vineam palmite gravem cernuus rastris fossor in-vertas, tunc tibi est summa votorum beatitudo. quin potius expergiscere et ad maiora se pingui otio marcidus et enervis animus attollat. non minus est tuorum natalium viro personam suam ex-colere quam villam. [4] ad extremum, quod tu tibi iuventutis exercitium appellas, hoc est otium veteranorum, in quorum manibus effetis enses robiginosi sero ligone mutantur, esto, multiplicatis tibi spumabunt musta vinetis, innumeros quoque cumulos frugibus rupta congestis horrea dabunt, densum pecus gravidis uberibus in mulctram per antra olida caularum pinguis tibi pastor includet: quo spectat tam faeculento patrimonium promovisse compendio et non solum inter ista sed, quod est turpius, propter ista latuisse? non nequiter te concilii tempore post sedentes censentesque iuvenes inglorium rusticum, senem stantem latitabundum pauperis honorati sententia premat, cum eos quos [p. 366] esset indignum si vestigia nostra sequerentur videris dolens antecessisse? [5] sed quid plura? si pateris hortantem, conatum tuorum socius adiutor, praevis particeps ero, sin autem inlecebrosis deliciarum cassibus involutus mavis, ut aiunt, Epicuri dogmatibus copulari, qui iactura virtutis admissa summum bonum sola corporis voluptate determinat, testor ecce maiores, testor posteros nostros huic me noxae non esse confinem. vale.

Sidonius Vincentio suo salutem

Angit me casus Arvandi nec dissimulo quin angat. namque hic quoque cumulus accedit laudibus imperatoris, quod amari palam licet et capite damnatos, amicus homini fui supra quam morum eius facilitas varietasque patiebantur, testatur hoc propter ipsum nuper mihi invidia conflata, cuius me paulo incautiores flamma detorruit. [2] sed quod in amicitia steti, mihi debui, porro autem in natura ille non habuit diligentiam perseverandi: libere queror, non insultatorie, quia fidelium consilia despiciens fortunae ludibrium per omnia fuit. [p. 368] denique non eum aliquando cecidisse sed tam diu stetisse plus miror, o quotiens saepe ipse se adversa perpersum gloriabatur, cum tamen nos ab adfectu profundiore ruituram eius quandoque temeritatem miseraremur, definientes non esse felicem qui hoc frequenter potius esse quam semper iudicaretur! [3] sed damnationis 1 suae ordinem exposcis. salva fidei reverentia, quae amico debetur etiam adflicto, rem breviter exponam, praefecturam primam gubernavit cum magna popularitate consequentemque cum maxima populatione, pariter onere depressus aeris alieni metu creditorum successuros sibi optimates aemulabatur. omnium colloquia ridere, consilia mirari, officia contemnere, pati de occurrentum raritate suspicionem, de adsiduitate fastidium, donec, odii publici mole vallatus et prius cinctus custodia quam potestate discinctus, captus destinatusque pervenit Romam, ilico tumens, quod prospero cursu procellosum Tusciae litus enavigasset, tamquam sibi bene conscio ipsa quodammodo elementa famularentur. [4] in Capitolio custodiebatur ab hospite Flavio Asello, comite sacrarum largitionum, qui adhuc in eo semifumantem praefecturae nuper extortae dignitatem venerabatur. interea legati provinciae Galliae, Tonantius Ferreolus praefectorius, Afranii Syagrii consulis e filia nepos, Thaumastus [p. 370] quoque et Petronius, maxima rerum verborumque scientia praediti et inter principalia patriae nostrae decora ponendi, praeivum Arvandum publico nomine accusaturi cum gestis decretalibus insequuntur. [5] qui inter cetera quae sibi provinciales agenda mandaverant interceptas litteras deferebant, quas Arvandi scriba correptus dominum dictasse profitebatur. haec ad regem Gothorum charta videbatur emitti, pacem cum Graeco imperatore dissuadens, Britannos supra Ligerim sitos impugnari oportere demonstrans, cum Burgundionibus iure gentium Gallias dividi debere confirmans, et in hunc ferme modum plurima insana, quae iram regi feroci, placido verecundiam inferrent. hanc epistulam laesae maiestatis crimine ardere iurisconsulti interpretabantur. [6] me et Auxanium, praestantissimum virum, tractatus iste non latuit, qui Arvandi amicitias quoquo genere incursas inter ipsius adversa vitare perfidum barbarum ignavum computabamus. de-ferimus igitur nil tale metuenti totam perneciter 1 machinam, quam summo artificio acres et flammei viri oculere in tempus iudicii meditabantur, scilicet [p. 372] ut adversarium incautum et consiliis sodalium repudiatis soli sibi temere fidentem professione

responsi praecipitis involverent. dicimus ergo quid nobis, quid amicis secretioribus tutum putaretur; suademus nil quasi leve fatendum, si quid ab inimicis etiam pro levissimo flagitaretur: ipsam illam dissimulationem tribulosissimam fore, quo facilius exitiosam suscitarent illi persuasionem securitatis. 1 [7] quibus agnitis proripit sese atque in convicia subita prorumpens: ‘ abite degeneres.’ inquit, ‘ et praefectoriis patribus indigni, cum hac superforanea trepidatione; mihi, quia nihil intellegitis, hanc negotii partem sinite curandam; satis Arvando conscientia sua sufficit; vix illud dignabor admittere, ut advocati mihi in actionibus repetundarum patrocinentur.’ discedimus tristes et non magis iniuria quam maerore confusi; quis enim medicorum iure moveatur quotiens desperatum furor arripiat? [8] inter haec reus noster aream Capitolinam percurrere albatus; modo subdolis salutationibus pasci, modo crepantes adulationum bullas ut recognoscens libenter audire, modo serica et gemmas et pretiosa quaeque trapezitarum involucra rimari et quasi mercaturus inspicere prensare, depretiari 2 devolvere, [p. 374] et inter agendum multum de legibus, de temporibus, de senatu, de principe queri, quod se non prius quam discuterent ulciscerentur. [9] pauci medii dies, et in tractatorio frequens senatus (sic post comperi; nam inter ista discesseram). procedit noster ad curiam paulo ante detonsus pumicatusque, cum accusatores semipullati atque concreti nuntios a decemviris opperirentur et ab industria squalidi praeipuissent reo debitam miserationem sub invidia sordidatorum. citati intromittuntur: partes, ut moris est, e regione consistunt, offertur praefectorum ante propositionis exordium ius sedendi: Arvandus iam tunc infelici impudentia concito gradu mediis prope iudicum sinibus ingeritur; Ferreolus circumstantibus latera collegis verecunde ac leviter in imo subselliorum capite consedit, ita ut non minus legatum se quam senatorem reminisceretur, plus ob hoc postea laudatus honoratusque. [10] dum haec, et qui procerum defuerant adfuerunt: consurgunt partes legatique proponunt. epistula post provinciale mandatum, cuius supra mentio facta, profertur; atque, cum sensim recitaretur, Arvandus necdum interrogatus se dictasse proclamat, re- [p. 376] spondere legati, quamquam valde nequiter, constaret quod ipse dictasset. at ubi se furens ille quantumque caderet ignarus bis terque repetita confessione transfodit, acclamatur ab accusatoribus, conclamatur a iudicibus reum laesae maiestatis confitentem teneri, ad hoc et milibus formularum iuris id sancientum iugulabatur. [11] tum demum laboriosus tarda paenitudine loquacitatis impalluisse perhibetur, sero cognoscens posse reum maiestatis pronuntiari etiam eum qui non adfectasset habitum purpuratorum. confestim privilegiis geminae praefecturae, quam per quinquennium repetitis fascibus rexerat, exauguratus et, plebeiae familiae non ut additus sed ut redditus, publico carceri adiudicatus est. illud sane aerumnosissimum, sicuti narrare qui viderant, quod, quia se sub atratis accusatoribus exornatum ille politumque iudicibus intulerat, paulo post, cum duceretur addictus, miser nec miserabilis erat. quis enim super statu eius nimis inflecteretur, quem videret accuratum delibutumque lautumiis aut [p. 378]

ergastulo inferri? ^[12] sed et iudicio vix per hebdomadam duplicem comperendinato capite multatus in insulam coniectus est serpentis Epidauri, ubi usque ad inimicorum dolorem devenustatus et a rebus humanis veluti vomitu fortunae nauseantis exsputus nunc ex vetere senatus consulto Tiberiano triginta dierum vitam post sententiam trahit, uncum et Gemonias et laqueum per horas turbulenti carnificis horrescens. ^[13] nos quidem, prout valemus, absentes praesentesque vota facimus, preces supplicationesque geminamus, ut suspenso ictu iam iamque mucronis exserti pietas Augusta seminecem quamquam publicatis bonis vel exsilio numeretur, illo tamen, seu exspectat extrema quaeque seu sustinet, infelicius nihil est, si post tot notas inustas contumeliasque aliquid nunc amplius quam vivere timet, vale. [p. 380]

Sidonius Candidiano suo salutem

Morari me Romae congratularis; id tamen quasi facete et fatigationum salibus admixtis: ais enim gaudere te quod aliquando necessarius tuus videam solem, quem utique perraro bibitor Araricus inspexerim. nebulas enim mihi meorum Lugdunensium exprobras et diem quereris nobis matutina caligine obstructum vix meridiano fervore reserari. [2] et tu istaec mihi Caesenatis fumi potius quam oppidi verna deblateras? de cuius natalis tibi soli vel iucunditate vel commodo quid etiam ipse sentires, dum migras iudicavisti; 1 ita tamen quod te Ravennae felicius exsulantem auribus Padano culice perfossis municipalium ranarum loquax turba circumsilit. in qua palude indesinenter rerum omnium lege perversa muri cadunt aquae stant, turres fluunt naves sedent, aegri deambulant medici iacent, algent balnea domicilia conflagrant, sitiunt vivi natant sepulti, vigilant fures dormiunt potestates, [p. 382] faenerantur clerici Syri psallunt, negotiatores militant milites 1 negotiantur, student pilae senes aleae iuvenes, armis eunuchi litteris foederati. [3] tu vide qualis sit civitas ubi tibi lar familiaris incolitur, quae facilius territorium potuit habere quam terram, quocirca memento innoxiiis Transalpinis esse parcendum, quibus caeli sui dote contentis non grandis gloria datur si deteriorum collatione clarescant. vale.

Sidonius Heronio 2 suo salutem

Post nuptias patricii Ricimeris, id est post imperii utriusque opes eventilatas, tandem reditum [p. 384] est in publicam serietatem, quae rebus actitandis ianuam campumque patefecit, interea nos Pauli praefectorii tam doctrina quam sanctitate venerandis laribus excepti comiter blandae hospitalitatis officiis excolebamur. porro non isto quisquam viro est in omni artium genere praestantior, deus bone, quae ille propositionibus aenigmata, sententiis schemata, versibus commata, digitis mechanemata facit! illud tamen in eodem studiorum omnium culmen antevenit, quod habet huic eminenti scientiae conscientiam superiorem, igitur per hunc primum, si quis quoquo modo in aulam gratiae aditus, exploro; cum hoc confero, quinam potissimum procerum spebus valeret nostris opitulari. [2] nec sane multa cunctatio, quia pauci de quorum eligendo patrocinio dubitaretur. erant quidem in senatu plerique opibus culti genere sublimes, aetate graves consilio utiles, dignitate elati dignatione communes, sed servata pace reliquorum duo fastigatissimi consulares, Gennadius Avienus et Caecina Basilius, prae ceteris conspiciebantur. hi in amplissimo ordine seposita praerogativa partis armatae facile post purpuratum principem principes erant, sed inter hos quoque [p. 386] quamquam stupendi tamen varii mores et genii potius quam ingenii similitudo. fabor namque super his aliqua succinctus. [3] Avienus ad consulatum felicitate, Basilius virtute pervenerat, itaque dignitatum in Avieno iucunda velocitas, in Basilio sera numerositas praedicabatur. utrumque quidem, si fors laribus egrediebantur, artabat clientum praeavia pedisequa circumfusa populositas; sed longe in paribus dispaes sodalium spes et spiritus erant. Avienus, si quid poterat, in filiis generis fratribus provehendis moliebatur; cumque semper domesticis candidatis distringeretur, erga expediendas forinsecus ambientum necessitates minus valenter efficax erat. [4] et in hoc Corvinorum familiae Deciana praeferebatur, quod qualia impetrabat cinctus Avienus suis, talia conferebat Basilius discinctus alienis. Avieni animus totis et cito, sed infructuosius, Basili paucis et sero, sed commodius aperiebatur. neuter aditu difficili, neuter sumptuoso; sed si utrumque coluisses, facilius ab Avieno familiaritatem, facilius a Basilio beneficium consequere. [5] quibus diu utrumque libratis id tractatus mutuus temperavit, ut reservata senioris consularis reverentia, in domum cuius nec nimis raro venti- [p. 388] tabamus, Basilianis potius frequentatoribus applicaremur. ilicet, dum per hunc amplissimum virum aliquid de legationis Arvernae petitionibus elaboramus, ecce et Kalendae Ianuariae, quae Augusti consulis mox futuri repetendum fastis nomen opperiebantur. [6] tunc patronus: ‘ heia,’ inquit, ‘ Solii meus, quamquam suscepti officii onere pressaris, exseras volo in obsequium novi consulis veterem Musam votivum quippiam vel tumultuariis fidibus carminantem. praebebo admittendo aditum recitatuoque solacium recitantique suffragium, si quid experto credis, multa tibi seria hoc ludo pro-

movebuntur.' parui ego praeceptis, favorem ille non subtrahit iniunctis et impositae devotionis adstipulator invictus egit cum consule meo, ut me praefectum faceret senatui suo. [7] sed tu, ni fallor, epistulae perosus prolixitatem voluptuosius nunc opusculi ipsius relegendis versibus inmorabere. scio, atque ob hoc carmen ipsum loquax in consequentibus charta deportat, quae pro me interim, dum venio, diebus tibi pauculis sermocinetur. cui si exanimis tui quoque puncta tribuantur, aequè gratum mihi [p. 390] ac si me in comitio vel inter rostra contionante ad sophos meum non modo lati clavi sed tribulium quoque fragor concitaretur. sane moneo praeque de-nuntio quisquillas ipsas 1 dius tuae hexametris minime exaeques. merito enim conlata vestris mea carmina non heroicorum phaleris sed epitaphistarum neniis comparabuntur. [8] attamen gaude quod hic ipse panegyricus etsi non iudicium certe eventum boni operis accepit, quapropter, si tamen tetrica sunt amoenanda iocularibus, volo paginam glorioso, id est quasi Thrasoniano fine concludere Plautini Pyrgopolinici imitator. igitur cum ad praefecturam sub ope Christi stili occasione pervenerim, iuberis scilicet 2 pro potestate cincti undique omnium laudum convasatis acclamationibus ad astra portare, si placeo, eloquentiam, si displiceo, felicitatem. videre mihi videor ut rideas, quia perspicis nostram cum milite comico ferocisse iactantiam, vale. [p. 392]

Sidonius Campaniano suo salutem

Accepi per praefectum annonae litteras tuas, quibus eum tibi sodalem veterem mihi insinuas iudici novo. gratias ago magnas illi, maximas tibi, quod statuistis de amicitia mea vel praesumere tuta vel inlaesa credere, ego vero notitiam viri familiaritatemque non solum volens sed et avidus amplector, quippe qui noverim nostram quoque gratiam hoc obsequio meo fore copulatiorem. [2] sed et tu vigilantiae suae me, id est famae meae statum causamque commenda, vereor autem ne famem populi Romani theatralis caveae fragor insonet et infortunio meo publica deputetur esuries. sane hunc ipsum e vestigio ad portum mittere paro, quia comperi naves quinque Brundisio profectas cum speciebus tritici ac mellis ostia Tiberina tetigisse; quarum onera exspectationi plebis, si quid strenue gerit, raptim faciet offerri, commendaturus se mihi, me populo, utrumque tibi. vale. [p. 394]

Sidonius Montio suo salutem

Petis tibi, vir disertissime, Sequanos tuos expetituro satiram nescio quam, si sit a nobis perscripta, transmitti. quod quidem te postulasse demiror; non enim sanctum est ut de moribus amici cito perperam sentias, huic eram themati scilicet incubaturus id iam agens otii idque habens aevi, quod iuvenem militantemque dictasse praesumptiosum fuisset, publicasse autem periculosum? cui namque grammaticum vel salutanti Calaber ille non dixit: ‘ si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, ius est iudiciumque ‘? [2] sed ne quid ultra tu de sodali simile credas, quid fuerit illud quod me sinistrae rumor ac fumus opinionis adflavit longius paulo sed ab origine exponam. [p. 396] temporibus Augusti Maioriani venit in medium charta comitatum, sed carens indice, versuum plena satiricorum mordacium, sane qui satis invectivaliter abusi nominum nuditate carpebant plurimum vitia, plus homines, inter haec fremere Arelatenses, quo loci res agebatur, et quaerere quem poetarum publici furoris merito pondus urgeret, his maxime auctoribus quos notis certis auctor incertus exacerbaverat. [3] accidit casu ut Catullinus inlustris tunc ab Arvernus illo veniret, cum semper mihi tum praecipue commilitio recenti familiaris; saepe enim cives magis amicos peregrinatio facit, igitur insidias nescienti tam Paeonius quam Bigerrus has tetenderunt, ut plurimis coram tamquam ab incauto sciscitarentur, hoc novum carmen an recognosceret. et ille: ‘ si dixeritis.’ cumque frustra diversa quasi per iocum effunderent, solvitur Catullinus in risum intempestivoque suffragio clamare coepit dignum poema quod perennandum apicibus auratis iuste tabula rostralis [p. 398] acciperet aut etiam Capitolina. [4] Paeonius exarsit, cui satiricus ille morsum dentis igniti avidius impresserat, atque ad adstantes circulatores: ‘ iniuriae communis,’ inquit, ‘ iam reum inveni, videtis ut Catullinus deperit risu: apparet ei nota memorari. nam quae causa festinam compulit praecipitare sententiam, nisi quod iam tenet totum, qui de parte sic iudicat? Atqui 1 Sidonius nunc in Arverno est; unde colligitur auctore illo, isto auditore rem textam.’ itur in furias inque convicia absentis nescientis innocentisque; conscientiae, fidei, quaestioni nil reservatur. sic levis turbae facilitatem qua voluit et traxit 2 persona popularis. [5] erat enim ipse Paeonius populi totus, qui tribuniciis flatibus crebro seditionum pelagus impelleret. ceterum si requisisses: ‘qui genus, unde domo? ‘, non eminentius quam municipaliter natus quemque inter initia cognosci claritas vitrici magis quam patris fecerit, identidem tamen per fas nefasque crescere adfectans pecuniaeque per avaritiam parens, per ambitum prodigus. namque ut familiae superiori per filiam saltim quamquam honestissimam iungeretur, contra rigorem civici moris splendidam, ut ferunt, dotem Chremes noster Pamphilo suo dixerat. [6] cumque [p. 400] de capessendo diademate coniuratio Marcelliniana coqueretur, nobilium iuventuti signiferum sese in factione praebuerat, homo adhuc novus in senectute, donec aliquando propter experimenta felicitis audaciae natalium eius

obscuritati dedit hiantis interregni rima fulgorem, nam vacante aula turbataque republica solus inventus est, qui ad Gallias administrandas fascibus prius quam codicillis ausus accingi mensibus multis tribunal inlustrum potestatum spectabilis praefectus escenderet, anno peracto militiae extremae terminum circa vix honoratus, numerariorum more seu potius advocatorum, quorum cum finiuntur actiones, tunc incipiunt dignitates. [7] igitur iste sic praefectorius, sic senator, cuius moribus quod praeconia competentia non ex asse persolvo, generi sui moribus debeo, multorum plus quam bonorum odia commovit adhuc ignoranti mihi, adhuc amico, tamquam saeculo meo canere solus versu valerem. venio Arelatem, nil adhuc (unde enim?) suspicans, quamquam putarer [p. 402] ab inimicis non adfuturus, ac principe post diem viso in forum ex more descendo, quod ubi visum est, ilico expavit, ut ait ille, nil fortiter ausa seditio, alii tamen mihi plus quam deceret ad genua provolvi; alii, ne salutarent, fugere post statuas, oculi post columnas; alii tristes vultuosique iunctis mihi lateribus incedere. [8] hic ego quid sibi haec vellet in illis superbiae nimiae, nimiae in istis humilitatis forma mirari, nec ultro tamen causas interrogare, cum subornatus unus e turba factiosorum dat sese mihi consalutandum. tum procedente sermone: ‘cernis hos?’ inquit, et ego: ‘video,’ inquam, ‘gestusque eorum miror equidem nec admiror.’ ad haec noster interpres: ‘ut satirographum te,’ inquit, ‘aut exsecrantur aut reformidant.’ ‘unde? cur? quando?’ respondi; ‘quis crimen agnovit? quis detulit? quis probavit?’ moxque subridens: ‘perge,’ inquam, ‘amice, nisi molestum est, et tumescentes nomine meo consulere dignare, utrumnam ille delator aut index, qui satiram me scripsisse confinxit, et perscripsisse confinxerit; unde forte sit tutius, si retractabunt, ut superbire desistant.’ [9] quod ubi nuntius rettulit, protinus cuncti non [p. 404] modeste neque singuli sed propere et catervatim oscula ac dexteras mihi dederunt, solus Curio meus, in transfugarum perfidiam invectus, cum advesperasceret, per cathedrarios servos vispillonibus taetiores domum raptus ac reportatus est. [10] postridie iussit Augustus ut epulo suo circensibus ludis interessemus. primus iacebat cornu sinistro consul ordinarius Severinus, vir inter ingentes principum motus atque inaequalem reipublicae statum gratiae semper aequalis; iuxta eum Magnus, olim ex praefecto, nuper ex consule, par honoribus persona geminatis, recumbente post se Camillo, filio fratris, qui duabus dignitatibus et ipse decursis pariter ornaveratur proconsulatum patris, patrum consulatum; Paeonius hinc propter atque hinc Athenius, homo litium temporumque varietatibus exercitatus, hunc sequebatur Gratianensis, omni ab infamia vir sequestrandus, qui Severinum sicut honore postibat, ita favore praecesserat, ultimus [p. 406] ego iacebam, qua purpurati latus laevum margine in dextro porrigebatur. [11] edulium multa parte finita Caesaris ad consulem sermo dirigitur, isque succinctus; inde devolvitur ad consularem; cum quo saepe repetitus, quia de litteris factus, ad virum inlustrem Camillum ex occasione transfertur, in tantum ut diceret princeps: ‘vere habes patrum, frater Camille, propter quem me familiae tuae consulatum unum gratuler contulisse.’ tunc ille, qui simile aliquid optaret,

tempore in vento: ‘ non unum,’ inquit, ‘ domine Auguste, sed primum.’ summo fragore, ut nec Augusti reverentia obsisteret, excepta sententia est. [12] inde nescio quid Athenium interrogans superiectum Paeonium compellatio Augusta praeteriit, casu an industria ignoro, quod cum turpiter Paeonius aegre tulisset, quod fuit turpius, compellato tacente respondit, subrisit Augustus, ut erat auctoritate servata, cum se communioni dedisset, ioci plenus, per quem cachinnum non minus obtigit Athenio vindictae, quam contigisset iniuriæ, colligit itaque sese trebacissimus senex et, ut semper intrinsecus aestu pudoris excoquebatur, cur sibi Paeonius anteferretur: ‘ non miror,’ inquit, ‘ Auguste, si mihi standi locum [p. 408] praeripere conetur, qui tibi invadere non erubescit loquendi.’ [13] et vir inlustris Gratianensis: ‘ multus,’ inquit, ‘ hoc iurgio satiricis campus aperitur.’ hic imperator ad me cervice conversa: ‘ audio,’ ait, ‘ comes Sidoni, quod satiram scribas.’ ‘ et ego,’ inquam, ‘ hoc audio, domine princeps.’ tunc ille, sed ridens: ‘ parce vel nobis.’ ‘ at ego,’ inquam, ‘ quod ab inlicitis tempero, mihi parco.’ post quæ ille: ‘ et quid faciemus his,’ inquit, ‘ qui te lacesunt?’ ‘ et ego: ‘ quisquis est iste, domine imperator, publice accuset: si redarguimur, debita luamus supplicia convicti; ceterum obiecta si non inprobabiliter cassaverimus, oro ut indultu clementiæ tuæ præter iuris iniuriam in accusatorem meum quæ volo scribam.’ [14] ad hæc ipse Paeonium conspicatus nutu coepit consulere nutantem, placeretne condicio, sed cum ille confusus reticuisset princepsque consuleret erubescenti, ait: ‘ annuo postulatis, si hoc ipsum e vestigio versibus petas.’ ‘ fiat,’ inquam; retrorsumque conversus, tamquam aquam manibus poscerem, tantumque remoratus, quantum stibadii circulum celerantia ministeria percurrunt, cubitum toro reddidi, et imperator: ‘ spoponderas te licentiam scribendæ satiræ versibus subitis postulaturum.’ et ego: ‘ scribere me satiram qui culpat, maxime princeps, hanc rogo decernas aut probet aut timeat.’ [p. 410] [15] secutus est fragor, nisi quod dico iactantia est, par Camillano, quem quidem non tam carminis dignitas quam temporis brevitæ meruit, et princeps: ‘ deum testor et statum publicum me de cetero numquam prohibiturum quin quæ velis scribas, quippe cum tibi crimen impactum probari nullo modo possit; simul et periniurium est sententiam purpurati tribuere privatis hoc simultatibus, ut innocens ac secure nobilitas propter odia certa crimine incerto periclitetur.’ ad hanc ipse sententiam cum verecunde capite demisso gratias agerem, contionatoris mei coeperunt ora pallere, in quæ paulo ante post iram tristitia successerat; nec satis defuit quin gelarent tamquam ad exsertum præbere cervices iussa mucronem. [16] vix post hæc alia pauca: surreximus. paululum ab aspectu imperatoris processeramus atque etiam nunc chlamydibus induebamur, cum mihi consul ad pectus, præfectorii ad manus cadere, ipse ille reus amicus crebro et abiecte miserantibus cunctis humiliari, ita ut timerem ne mihi invidiam supplicando moveret, quam criminando non concitaverat. dixi ad extremum pressus oratu procerum conglobatorum, sciret conatibus suis versu nil reponendum, derogare actibus meis in posterum tamen si pepercisset; [p. 412] etenim sufficere debere, quod satiræ obiectio

famam mihi parasset, sed sibi infamiam. [17] in summa perculi¹ quidem, domine maior, non assertorem calumniae tantum quantum murmuratorem; sed cum mihi sic satisfactum est ut pectori meo pro reatu eius tot potestatum dignitatumque culmina et iura summitterentur, fateor exordium contumeliae talis tanti fuisse, cui finis gloria fuit. vale.

BOOK II.

Sidonius Ecdicio suo salutem

Duo nunc pariter mala sustinent Arverni tui. ‘quaenam?’ inquis, praesentiam Seronati et absentiam tuam. Seronati, inquam: de cuius ut primum etiam nomine loquar, sic mihi videtur quasi praescia futurorum luisse fortuna, sicuti ex adverso maiores nostri proelia, quibus nihil est foedius, bella dixerunt; quique etiam pari contrarietate fata, quia non parcerent, Parcas vocitavere. [p. 414] rediit ipse Catilina saeculi nostri nuper Aturribus, ut sanguinem fortunasque miserorum, quas ibi ex parte propinaverat, hic ex asse misceret. [2] scitote in eo per dies spiritum diu dissimulati furoris aperiri: aperte invidet, abiecte fingit, serviliter superbit, indicit ut dominus, exigit ut tyrannus, addicit ut iudex, calumniatur ut barbarus; toto die a metu armatus, ab avaritia ieiunus, a cupiditate terribilis, a vanitate crudelis non cessat simul furta vel punire vel facere; palam et ridentibus convocatis ructat inter cives pugnans, inter barbaros litteras; epistulas, ne primis quidem apicibus sufficienter initiatus, publice a iactantia dictat, ab impudentia emendat; [3] totum quod concupiscit quasi comparat nec dat pretia contemnens nec accipit instrumenta desperans; in concilio iubet in consilio tacet, in ecclesia iocatur in convivio praedicat, in cubiculo damnat in quaestione dormitat; implet cotidie silvas fugientibus villas hospitibus,¹ altaria reis carceres clericis; [p. 416] exsultans Gothis insultansque Romanis, inludens praefectis concludensque numerariis, leges Theodosianas calcans Theudoricianasque proponens veteres culpas, nova tributa perquirat. [4] proinde moras tuas citus explica et quidquid illud est quod te retentat incide. te exspectat palpitantium civium extrema libertas, quidquid sperandum, quidquid desperandum est, fieri te medio, te praesule placet, si nullae a republica vires, nulla praesidia, si nullae, quantum rumor est, Anthemii principis opes, statuit te auctore nobilitas seu patriam dimittere seu capillos, vale.

Sidonius Domitio suo salutem

Ruri me esse causaris, cum mihi potius queri suppetat te nunc urbe retineri, iam ver decedit aestati et per lineas sol altatus extremas in axem Scythicum radio peregrinante porrigitur, hic quid de regionis nostrae climate loquar? cuius spatia [p. 418] divinum sic tetendit opificium ut magis vaporibus orbis occidui subiceremur. quid plura? mundus incanduit: glacies Alpina deletur et hiulcis arentium rimarum flexibus terra perscribitur; squallet glareas in vadis, limus in ripis, pulvis in campis; aqua ipsa quaecumque perpetuo labens tractu cunctante languescit; iam non solum calet unda sed coquitur. [2] et nunc, dum in carbaso sudat unus, alter in bombyce, tu endromidatus exterius, intrinsecus fasceatus, insuper et concava municipis Amerini sede compressus discipulis non aestu minus quam timore pallentibus exponere oscitabundus ordiris: ‘Samia mihi mater fuit.’ quin tu mage, si quid tibi salubre cordi, raptim subduceris anhelantibus angustiis civitatis et contubernio nostro avertere insertus fallis clementissimo recessu inclementiam canicularum? [3] sane si placitum, quis sit agri in quem vocans situs accipe. Avitaci sumus: nomen hoc praedio, quod, quia uxorum, patrio mihi dulcius: haec mihi cum meis praesule deo, nisi quid tu fascinum verere, concordia, mons ab occasu, quamquam terrenus, arduus tamen inferiores sibi colles tamquam gemino fomite effundit, quattuor a se circiter iugerum [p. 420] latitudine abductos. sed donec domicilio competens vestibuli campus aperitur, mediam vallem rectis tractibus prosequuntur latera clivorum usque in marginem villae, quae in Borean Austrumque conversis frontibus tenditur. [4] balineum ab Africo radicibus nemorosae rupis adhaerescit, et si caedua per iugum silva truncetur, in ora fornacis lapsu velut spontaneo deciduis struibus impingitur. hinc aquarum surgit cella coctilium, quae consequenti unguentariae spatii parilitate conquadrat excepto solii capaxis hemicyclo, ubi et vis undae ferventis per parietem foraminatum flexilis plumbi meatibus implicita singultat. intra conclave succensum solidus dies et haec abundantia lucis inclusae ut verecundos quosque compellat aliquid se plus putare quam nudos. [5] hinc frigidaria dilatatur, quae piscinas publicis operibus exstructas non impudenter aemularetur. primum tecti apice in conum cacuminato, cum ab angulis quadrifariam concurrentia dorsa cristarum tegnis interiacentibus imbricarentur (ipsa vero convenientibus mensuris exactissima spatiositate quadratur, ita ut ministeriorum sese non impediende famulatu tot possit recipere sellas quot solet sigma personas), fenestras e regione conditor binas confinio camerae pendentis admovit, ut suspicientum visui fabrefactum lacunar aperiret, interior parietum [p. 422] facies solo levigati caementi candore contenta est. [6] non hic per nudam pictorum corporum pulchritudinem turpis prostat historia, quae sicut ornat artem, sic devenustat artificem, absunt ridiculi vestitu et vultibus histriones pigmentis multi-coloribus Philistionis suppellectilem mentientes, absunt lubrici tortuosique pugilatu et nexibus

palaestritae, quorum etiam viventum luctas, si involvantur obscenius, casta confestim gymnasiarchorum virga dissolvit. [7] quid plura? nihil illis paginis impressum reperietur quod non vidisse sit sanctius, pauci tamen versiculi lectorem adventicium remorabuntur minime improbo temperamento, quia eos nec relegisse desiderio est nec perlegisse fastidio, iam si marmora inquiras, non illic quidem Paros Carystos Proconnesos, Phryges Numidae Spartiatæ rupium variatarum posuere crustas, neque per scopulos Aethiopicos et abrupta purpurea genuino fucata conchylio sparsum mihi saxa furfurem mentiuntur. sed etsi nullo peregrinarum cautium rigore ditamur, habent tamen tuguria seu mapalia mea civicum frigus, quin potius quid habeamus quam quid non habeamus ausculta. [8] huic basilicae appendix piscina forinsecus seu, si graecari mavis, baptisterium ab oriente conectitur, quod viginti circiter modiorum milia capit, huc elutis e calore venientibus triplex medii parietis aditus per arcuata intervalla [p. 424] reseratur. nec pilae sunt mediae sed columnae, quas architecti peritiores aedificiorum purpuras nuncupavere. in hanc ergo piscinam fluvium de supercilio montis elicatum canalibusque circumactis per exteriora natatoriae latera curvatum sex fistulae prominentes leonum simulatis capitibus effundunt, quae temere ingressis veras dentium crates, meros oculorum furores, certas cervicum iubas imaginabuntur. [9] hic si dominum seu domestica seu hospitalis turba circumstet, quia prae strepitu caduci fluminis mutuae vocum vices minus intelleguntur, in aurem sibi populus confabulatur; ita sonitu pressus alieno ridiculum adfectat publicus sermo secretum, hinc egressis frons triclinii matronalis offertur, cui continuatur vicinante textrino cella penaria discriminata tantum pariete castrensi. [10] ab ortu lacum porticus intuetur, magis rotundatis fulta coluriis 1 quam columnis invidiosa monobilibus. a parte vestibuli longitudo tecta intrinsecus patet mediis non interpellata parietibus, quae, quia nihil ipsa prospectat, etsi non hypodromus, saltem cryptoporticus meo mihi iure vocitabitur. haec tamen [p. 426] aliquid spatio suo in extimo deambulacri capite defrudans efficit membrum bene frigidum, ubi publico lectisternio exstructo clientularum sive nutricum loquacissimus chorus receptui canit cum ego meique dormitorium cubiculum petierimus. [11] a cryptoporticu in hiemale triclinium venit, quod arcuatili camino saepe ignis animatus pulla fuligine infecit, sed quid haec tibi, quem nunc ad focum minime invito? quin potius ad te tempusque pertinentia loquar, ex hoc triclinio fit in dietam sive cenatiunculam transitus, cui fere totus lacus quaeque tota Iacui patet, in hac stibadium et nitens abacus, in quorum aream sive suggestum a subiecta porticu sensim non 1 brevialis angustatisque gradibus ascenditur. quo loci recumbens, si quid inter edendum vacas, prospiciendi voluptatibus occuparis. [12] iam si tibi ex illo conclamatissimo fontium decocta referatur, videbis in calicibus repente perfusis nivalium maculas et frusta nebularum et illam lucem lubricam poculorum quadam quasi pinguedine subiti alboris hebetatam. tum respondentes poculis potiones, quarum rigentes cyathi siticuloso cuique, ne dicam tibi granditer abstemio, [p. 428] metuerentur. hinc iam spectabis ut

promoveat alnum piscator in pelagus, ut stataria retia suberinis corticibus extendat aut signis per certa intervalla dispositis tractus fumum librentur hamati, scilicet ut nocturnis per lacum excursibus rapacissimi salares in consanguineas agantur insidias: quid enim hinc congruentius dixerim, cum piscis pisce decipitur? ^[13] edulibus terminatis excipiet te deversorium, quia minime aestuosum, maxime aestivum; nam per hoc, quod in Aquilonem solum patescit, habet diem, non habet solem, interiecto consistorio perangusto, ubi somnulentiae cubiculariorum dormitandi potius quam dormiendi locus est. ^[14] hic iam quam volupe auribus insonare cicadas meridie concrepantes, ranas crepusculo incumbente blaterantes, cygnos atque anseres concubia nocte clangentes, intempesta gallos gallinacios concinentes, oscines corvos voce triplicata puniceam surgentis Aurorae facem consalutantes, diluculo autem Philomelam inter frutices sibilantem, Progenem inter asseres minurrientem! cui concentui licebit adiungas fistulae septiforis armentalem Camenam, quam saepe nocturnis carminum certaminibus insomnes nostrorum montium Tityri exercent, inter greges tinnibulatos per depasta buceta reboantes. quae tamen varia vocum cantuumque modulamina profundius confovendo sopori tuo lenocinabuntur. ^[15] porticibus egresso, si portum litoris petas, in area virenti [p. 430] vulgare iubar, 1 quamquam non procul nemus: ingentes tiliae duae conexis frondibus, fomitibus abiunctis unam umbram non una radice confidunt, in cuius opacitate, cum me meus Ecdicius inlustrat, pilae vacamus, sed hoc eo usque, donec arborum imago contractior intra spatium ramorum recussa cohibeatur atque illic aleatorium lassis consumpto sphaeristerio faciat. ^[16] sed quia tibi, sicut aedificium solvi, sic lacum debeo, quod restat agnosce. lacus in Eurum defluus meat, eiusque harenis fundamenta impressa domicilii ventis motantibus aestuans umectat alluvio. is quidem sane circa principia sui solo palustri voraginosus et vestigio inspectoris inadibilis: ita limi bibuli pinguedo coalescit ambientibus sese fontibus algidis, litoribus algosis. attamen pelagi mobilis campus cumbulis late secatur pervagabilibus, si flabra posuere; si turbo austrinus insorduit, immane turgescit, ita ut arborum comis quae margini insistunt superiectae asperginis fragor impluat. ^[17] ipse autem secundum mensuras quas ferunt nauticas in decem et septem stadia procedit, fluvio intratus, qui [p. 432] salebratim saxorum obicibus adfractus spumoso canescit impulsu et nec longum scopulis praecipitibus exemptus lacu conditur; quem fors fuat an incurrat an faciat, praeterit certe, coactus per cola subterranea deliquari, non ut fluctibus, sed ut piscibus pauperetur; 1 qui repulsi in gurgitem pigriorem carnes rubras albis abdominibus extendunt: ita illis nec redire valentibus nec exire permissis quendam vivum et circumlaticium carcerem corpulentia facit. ^[18] lacus ipse, qua dexter, incisis flexuosus nemorosusque, qua laevus, patens herbosus aequalis, aequor ab Africo viride per litus, quia in undam fronde porrecta ut glareas aqua, sic aquas umbra perfundit, huiusmodi colorem ab oriente par silvarum corona continuat. per Arctoum latus ut pelago natura, sic species, a Zephyro plebeius et tumultuarius frutex frequenterque lemborum superlabentum ponderibus

inflexus; hunc circa lubrici scirporum cirri plicantur simulque pingues
ulvarum paginae natant salicumque glaucarum fota [p. 434] semper dulcibus
aquis amaritudo. [19] in medio profundi brevis insula, ubi supra molares
naturaliter aggeratos per impactorum puncta remorum navalibus trita gyris
meta protuberat, ad quam se iucunda ludentium naufragia collidunt. nam moris
istic fuit senioribus nostris agonem Drepanitanum Troianae superstitionis
imitari, iam vero ager ipse, quamquam hoc supra debitum, diffusus in silvis
pictus in pratis, pecorosus in pascuis in pastoribus peculiosus. [20] sed non
amplius moror, ne, si longior stilo terminus, relegentem te autumnus inveniatur,
proinde mihi tribue veniendi celeritatem (nam redeundi moram tibi ipse
praestabis), daturus hinc veniam, quod brevitatem sibi debitam paulo
scrupulosior epistula excessit, dum totum ruris situm sollicita rimatur; quae
tamen summovendi fastidii studio nec cuncta perstrinxit. quapropter bonus
arbiter et artifex lector non paginam, quae spatia describit, sed villam, quae
spatiosa describitur, grandem pronuntiabunt. vale. [p. 436]

Sidonius Felici suo salutem

Gaudeo te, domine maior, amplissimae dignitatis infulas consecutum, sed id mihi ob hoc solum destinato tabellario nuntiatum non minus gaudeo; nam licet in praesentiarum sis potissimus magistratus et in lares Philagrianos patricius apex tantis post saeculis tua tantum felicitate remeaverit, invenis tamen, vir amicitiarum servantissime, qualiter honorum tuorum crescat communione fastigium, raroque genere exempli altitudinem tuam humilitate sublimas. [2] sic quondam Quintum Fabium magistrum equitum dictatorio rigori et Papirianae superbiae favor publicus praetulit; sic et Gnaeum Pompeium super aemulos extulit numquam fastidita popularitas; sic invidiam Tiberianam pressit universitatis amore Germanicus, quocirca nolo sibi de successibus tuis principalia beneficia plurimum blandiantur, quae nihil tibi amplius conferre potuerunt quam ut, si id noluissemus, transiremur inviti. illud peculiare tuum est, illud gratiae singularis, quod tam qui te aemulentur non habes quam non invenis qui sequantur, vale. [p. 438]

Sidonius Sagittario suo salutem

Vir clarissimus Proiectus, domi nobilis et patre patruoque spectabilibus, avo etiam praestantissimo sacerdote conspicuus, amicitiarum tuarum, nisi respuis, avidissime sinibus infertur, et cum illi familiae splendor probitas morum, patrimonii facultas iuventutis alacritas in omne decus pari lance conquadrent, ita demum sibi tamen videbitur ad arcem fastigatissimae felicitatis e vectus, si gratiae tuae sodalitate potiatur. [2] Optantii clarissimi viri nuper vita functi filiam, quod deo prosperante succedat, licet a matre pupillae in coniugium petierit obtinueritque, parum tamen votorum suorum promotum censet effectum, nisi assensum tuum super his omnibus seu sedulitate sua seu precatu nostrae intercessionis adipiscatur. namque ipse, quantum ad institutionem spectat puellae, in locum mortui patris curarum participatione succedis, conferendo virgini parentis adfectum, patroni auctoritatem, tutoris officium. [3] quocirca, quia dignus es ut domus tuae celeberrimam disciplinam etiam procul positorum petat ambitus, sicut decet [p. 440] bonarum partium viros, benignitate responsi proci supplicis verecundiam munerare et, qui ita expetitus deberes illi expetere pollicendam, securus permitte 1 promissam, quia sic te condicioni huic meritorum ratio praecepit, ut nec superstiti Optantio in liberos suos decuerit plus licere, vale.

Sidonius Petronio suo salutem

Iohannes familiaris meus inextricabilem labyrinthum negotii multiplicis incurrit et donec suarum merita chartarum vel vestra scientia vel si qua est vestrae (si tamen est ulla) similis inspexerit, quid respuat, quid optet ignorat. ita se quodammodo bipertitae litis forma confundit, ut propositio sua quem actionis ordinem propugnatura, quem sit impugnatura, non noverit. [2] pro quo precem sedulam fundo, ut perspectus chartulis suis si quid iure competit instruatis, quae qualiterve sint obicienda. quae refellenda monstrantes. non enim verebimur quod causae istius cursus, si de vestri manaverit fonte consilii, ulla contrastantum derivatione tenuetur. vale. [p. 442] THE LETTERS OF SIDONIUS

Sidonius Pegasio suo salutem

Proverbialiter celebre est saepe moram esse meliorem, sicuti et nunc experti sumus. Menstruanus amicus tuus longo istic tempore inspectus meruit inter personas nobis quoque caras devinctasque censi, opportunus elegans, verecundus sobrius, parcus religiosus et his morum dotibus praeditus ut, quotiens in boni cuiusque adscitur amicitias, non amplius consequatur beneficii ipse quam tribuat. [2] haec tibi non ut ignoranti, sed ut iudicio meo satisfacerem, scripsi, quam ob rem triplex causa laetandi: tibi prima, cui amicos sic aut instituere aut eligere contingit; Arvernensis secunda, quibus hoc in eo placuisse confirmo, quod te probasse non ambigo; illi tertia, de quo boni quique bona quaeque iudicaverunt, vale.

Sidonius Explicio suo salutem

Quia iustitia vestra iure fit universitati per complura recti experimenta venerabilis, idcirco singulas quasque personas id ipsum efflagitantes [p. 444] in examen vestrum libens et avidus emitto, quam primum ambiens me discussionis, illos simultatis onere laxari; quod demum ita sequetur, si non ex solido querimonias partium verecundus censor excludas; quamquam et hoc ipsum, quod copiam tui iurgantibus difficile concedis, indicium sit bene iudicaturi: quis enim se non ambiat arbitrum legi aut pretio aliquid indulturus aut gratiae? [2] igitur ignosce ad tam sanctae conscientiae praerogativam raptim perneciterque properantibus, quandoquidem sententiam tuam nec victus ut stolidus accusat nec victor ut argutus inridet, veritatisque respectu dependunt tibi addicti reverentiam, gratiam liberati, proinde impense obsecro ut inter Alethium et Paulum quae veniunt in disceptationem, mox ut utrimque fuerint opposita, discingas. namque, ni fallor, supra decemvirates pontificalesque sententias aegritudini huius prope interminabilis iurgii sola morum tuorum temperantia solita iudicandi salubritate medicabitur. vale. [p. 446]

Sidonius Desiderato suo salutem

Maestissimus haec tibi nuntio, decessit nudius tertius non absque iustitio matrona Philomathia. morigera coniunx domina clemens, utilis mater pia filia, cui debuerit domi forisque persona minor obsequium, maior officium, aequalis adfectum, haec cum esset unica iam diu matris amissae, facile diversis blandimentorum generibus effecerat ne patri adhuc iuveni subolis sexus alterius desideraretur. nunc autem per subita suprema virum caelibatu, patrem orbitate confodit. his additur quod quinque liberum parens immaturo exitu reddidit infortunatam fecunditatem. qui parvuli si matre sospite perdidissent iam diu debilem patrem, minus pupilli existimarentur. [2] hanc tamen, si quis haud incassum honor cadaveribus impenditur, non vispillonum sandapilariorumque ministeria ominosa tumulavere; sed cum libitinam ipsam flentes omnes, externi quoque, prensitarent remorarentur exoscularentur, sacerdotum propinquorumque manibus excepta perpetuis sedibus dormienti similior inlata est. post quae precatu parentis orbatu neniam funebrem non per [p. 448] elegos sed per hendecasyllabos marmori incisam planctu prope calente dictavi, quam si non satis improbas, ceteris epigrammatum meorum voluminibus applicandam mercennarius bybliopola suscipiet; si quod secus, sufficit saxo carmen saxeum contineri. hoc enim epitaphion est: [3]

Occasu celeri feroque raptam
gnaris quinque patrique coniugique
hoc flentis patriae manus locarunt
matronam Philomathiam sepulchro.

[5] o splendor generis, decus mariti,
prudens casta decens severa dulcis
atque ipsis senioribus sequenda,
discordantia quae solent putari
morum commoditate copulasti:

[10] nam vitae comites bonae fuerunt
libertas gravis et pudor facetus.
hinc est quod decimam tuae saluti
vix actam trieteridem dolemus
atque in temporibus vigentis aevi

[15] iniuste tibi iusta persoluta.

Placeat carmen necne: tu propera civitatemque festinus invise; debes enim consolationis officium duorum civium domibus adflctis, quod ita solvas deum quaeso, ne umquam tibi redhibeatur. vale. [p. 450]

Sidonius Donido suo salutem

Quaeris cur ipse iampridem Nemausum profectus vestra serum ob adventum desideria producam, reddo causas redditus tardioris nec moras meas prodero moror, quia quae mihi dulcia sunt tibi quoque, inter agros amoenissimos, humanissimos dominos, Ferreolum et Apollinarem, tempus voluptuosissimum exegi. praediorum his iura contermina, domicilia vicina, quibus interiecta gestatio peditem lassat neque sufficit equitatur. colles aedibus superiores exercentur vinitori et olivitori: Aracynthus et Nysam, celebrata poetarum carminibus iuga, censeas, uni domui in plana patentiaque, alteri in nemora prospectus; sed nihilo minus dissimilis situs similiter oblectat. [2] quamquam de praediorum quid nunc amplius positione, cum restat hospitalitatis ordo reserandus? iam primum sagacissimis in hoc exploratoribus destinatis, qui redditus nostri iter aucuparentur, domus utraque non solum tramites aggerum publicorum verum etiam calles compendiis tortuosos atque pastoria deverticula insedit, ne quo casu dispositis officiorum insidiis elaberemur. quas incidimus, fateor, sed minime [p. 452] inviti, iusque iurandum confestim praebere compulsi, ne, priusquam septem dies evolverentur, quicquam de itineris nostri continuatione meditaremur. [3] igitur mane cotidiano partibus super hospite prima et grata contentio, quatenus potissimum antea edulibus nostris culina fumaret; nec sane poterat ex aequo divisioni lancem ponere vicissitudo, licet uni domui mecum, alteri cum meis vinculum foret propinquitatis, quia Ferreolo praefectorio viro praeter necessitudinem sibi debitam dabat aetas et dignitas primi invitatoris praerogativam. [4] illicet a deliciis in delicias rapiebamur. vix quodcumque vestibulum intratum, et ecce huc 1 sphaeristarum contrastantium paria inter rotatiles catastropharum gyros duplicabantur, huc inter aleatoriarum vocum competitiones frequens crepitantium fritillorum tesserarumque strepitus audiebatur; huc libri adfatim in promptu (videre te crederes aut grammaticales pluteos aut Athenaei cuneos aut armaria exstructa bybliopolarum): sic tamen quod, qui inter matronarum cathedras codices erant, stilus his religiosus inveniebatur, qui vero per subsellia patrumfamilias, hi coturno Latiaris eloquii nobilitabantur; licet quaequam volumina quorumpiam auctorum servarent in causis disparibus dicendi parilitatem: nam simili! [p. 454] scientiae viri, hinc Augustinus hinc Varro, hinc Horatius hinc Prudentius lectitabantur. [5] quos inter Adamantius Origenes 1 Turrano Rufino interpretatus sedulo fidei nostrae lectoribus inspiciebatur; pariter et, prout singulis cordi, diversa censentes sermocinabamur, cur a quibusdam protomystarum tamquam scaevus cavendusque tractator improbaretur, quamquam sic esset ad verbum sententiamque translatus ut nec Apuleius Phaedonem sic Platonis neque Tullius Ctesiphontem sic Demosthenis in usum regulamque Romani sermonis exscripserint. [6] studiis hisce dum nostrum singuli quique, prout libuerat, occupabantur, ecce et ab archimagiro adventans, qui tempus instare curandi

corpora moneret, quem quidem nuntium per spatia clepsydrae horarum incrementa servantem probabat competenter ingressum quinta digrediens, prandebamus breviter [p. 456] copiose, senatorium 1 ad morem, quo insitum institutumque multas epulas paucis parabsidibus apponi, quamvis convivium per edulia nunc assa nunc iurulenta varietur, inter bibendum narratiunculae, quarum cognitu hilararemur institueremur, quia eas bifariam orditas laetitia peritiaque comitabantur, quid multa? sancte pulchre abundanter accipiebamur. [7] inde surgentes, si Vorocingi eramus (hoc uni praedio nomen), ad sarcinas et deversorium pedem referebamus; si Prusiani (sic fundus alter [p. 458] nuncupabatur), Tonantium cum fratribus, lectissimos aequaeavorum nobilium principes, stratis suis eiciebamus, quia nec facile crebro cubilium nostrorum instrumenta circumferebantur, excusso torpore meridiano paulisper equitabamus, quo facilius pectora marcida cibus cenatoriae fami exaceremus. [8] balneas habebat in opere uterque hospes, in usu neuter; sed cum vel pauxillulum bibere desisset assecularum meorum famulorumque turba compotrix, quorum cerebris hospitales creterrae nimium immersae dominabantur, vicina fonti aut fluvio raptim scrobis fodiebatur, in quam forte cum lapidum cumulus ambustus demitteretur, antro in hemisphaerii formam corylis flexibilibus 1 intexto fossa inardescens operiebatur, sic tamen ut superiectis Cilicum velis patentia intervalla virgarum lumine excluso tenebrarentur, vaporem repulsura salientem, qui undae ferventis aspergine flammatis silicibus excuditur. [9] hic nobis trahebantur horae non absque sermonibus salsis iocularibusque; quos inter halitu nebulae stridentis oppletis involutisque saluberrimus sudor eliciebatur; quo, prout libuisset, effuso coctilibus aquis ingerebamur, quarumque 2 fotu cruditatem nostram tergente resoluti aut fontano deinceps frigore putealique aut fluviali copia [p. 460] solidabamur: siquidem domibus medius it Vardo fluvius, nisi cum deflua nive pastus impalluit, flavis ruber glareis et per alveum perspicuus quietus calculosusque neque ob hoc minus piscium ferax delicatorum. [10] dicerem et cenas et quidem unctissimas, nisi terminum nostrae loquacitati, quem verecundia non adhibet, charta posuisset; quarum quoque replicatio fieret amoena narratu, nisi epistulae tergum madidis sordidare calamis erubesceremus. sed quia et ipsi in procinctu sumus teque sub ope Christi actutum nobis invisere placet, expeditius tibi cenae amicorum in mea cena tuaque commemorabuntur, modo nos quam primum hebdomadis exactae spatia completa votivae restituant esuritioni, quia disruptum ganea stomachum nulla sarcire res melius quam parsimonia solet, vale.

Sidonius Hesperio suo salutem

Amo in te quod litteras amas et usquequaque praeconiis cumulatissimis excolere [1] contendo tantae diligentiae generositatem, per quam nobis non solum initia tua verum etiam studia nostra com- [p. 462] mendas. nam cum videmus in huiusmodi disciplinam iuniorum ingenia succrescere, propter quam nos quoque subduximus ferulae manum, copiosissimum fructum nostri laboris adipiscimur. illud appone, quod tantum increbruit multitudo desidiorum ut, nisi vel paucissimi quique meram linguae Latiaris proprietatem de trivialium barbarismorum robigine vindicaveritis, eam brevi abolitam defleamus interemptamque: sic omnes nobilium sermonum purpurae per incuriam vulgi decolorabuntur. [2] sed istinc alias: interea tu quod petis accipe, petis autem ut, si qui versiculi mihi fluxerint postquam ab alterutro discessimus, hos tibi pro quadam morarum mercede pernumerem. dicto pareo; nam praeditus es quamquam iuvenis hac animi maturitate, ut tibi etiam natu priores gerere morem concupiscamus. ecclesia nuper ex-structa Lugduni est, quae studio papae Patientis summum coepti operis accessit, viri sancti strenui, severi misericordis quique per uberem munificentiam in pauperes humanitatemque non minora bonae conscientiae culmina levat. [3] huius igitur aedis extimis rogatu praefati antistitis tumultuarium carmen inscripsi trochaeis triplicibus adhuc mihi [p. 464] iamque tibi perfamiliaribus. namque ab hexametris eminentium poetarum Constantii et Secundini vicinania altari basilicae latera clarescunt, quos in hanc paginam admitti nostra quam maxime verecundia vetat, quam suas otiositates trepidanter edentem meliorum carminum comparatio premit. [4] nam sicuti novam nuptam nihil minus quam pulchrior pronuba decet, sicuti, si vestiatur albo, fuscus quisque fit nigrior, sic nostra, quantula est cumque, tubis circumfusa potioribus stipula vilescit, quam mediam loco, infimam merito despicabiliorem pronuntiari non imperitia modo sed et arrogantia facit, quapropter illorum iustius epigrammata micant quam istaec, quae imaginarie tantum et quodammodo umbratiliter effingimus. sed quorsum ista? quin potius paupertinus flagitatae cantilenae culmus immurmuret.

Quisquis pontificis patrisque nostri
conlaudas Patientis hic laborem,
voti compote supplicatione
concessum experiare quod rogabis.

[5] aedis celsa nitet nec in sinistrum
aut dextrum trahitur, sed arce frontis
ortum prospicit aequinoctialem.
intus lux micat atque bratteatum
sol sic sollicitatur ad lacunar,
[10] fulvo ut concolor erret in metallo.

distinctum vario nitore marmor
percurrit cameram solum fenestras,
ac sub versicoloribus figuris [p. 466]
vernans herbida crusta sapphiratos
[15] flectit per prasinum vitrum lapillos.
huic est porticus applicata triplex
fulmentis Aquitanicis superba,
ad cuius specimen remotiora
claudunt atria porticus secundae,
[20] et campum medium procul locatas
vestit saxea silva per columnas.
hinc agger sonat, hinc Arar resultat,
hinc sese pedes atque eques reflectit
stridentum et moderator essedorum,
[25] curvorum hinc chorus helciariorum
responsantibus alleluia ripis
ad Christum levat amnicum celeuma.
sic, sic psallite, nauta vel viator;
namque iste est locus omnibus petendus,
[30] omnes quo via ducit ad salutem.

[5] Ecce parui tamquam iunior imperatis: tu modo fac memineris
multiplicato me faenore re-munerandum, quoque id facilius possis
voluptuosiusque, opus est ut sine dissimulatione lectites, sine fine lecturias;
neque patiaris ut te ab hoc proposito propediem coniunx domum feliciter
ducenda de-flectat, sisque oppido meminens quod olim Marcia Hortensio,
Terentia Tullio, Calpurnia Plinio, Pudentilla Apuleio, Rusticiana Symmacho
legentibus meditantibusque candelas et candelabra tenuerunt. [6] certe si
praeter oratoriam 1 contubernio feminarum poeticum ingenium et oris tui
limam frequentium studiorum cotibus expolitam querens obtundi, re- [p. 468]
miniscere quod saepe versum Corinna cum suo Nasone complevit, Lesbia
cum Catullo, Caesennia cum Gaetulico, Argentaria cum Lucano, Cynthia cum
Propertio, Delia cum Tibullo. proinde liquido daret studentibus discendi per
nuptias occasionem tribui, desidibus excusationem, igitur incumbe, neque
apud te litterariam curam turba depretiet imperitorum, quia natura
comparatum est ut in omnibus artibus hoc sit scientiae pretiosior pompa, quo
rarior, vale.

Sidonius Rustico suo salutem

Si nobis pro situ spatiisque regionum vicinaremur nec a se praesentia mutua vasti itineris longinquitate discriminaretur, nihil apicum raritati licere in coeptae familiaritatis officia permitterem neque iam semel missa fundamenta certantis amicitiae diversis honorum generibus exstruere cessarem. sed animorum coniunctioni separata utrique porrecti-oribus terminis obsistit habitatio, equidem semel devinctis parum nocitura pectoribus. [2] sed tamen ex ipsa communium municipiorum discretione procedit quod, cum amicissimi simus, raritatem collo-quii de proluxa terrarum interiectione venientem [p. 470] in reatum volumus transferre communem, cum de naturalium rerum difficultate nec culpa nos debeat manere nec venia, domine inlustris, gerulos litterarum de disciplinae tuae institutione formatos et morum eriliū verecundiam praeferentes opportune admisi, patienter audiui, competenter explicui. vale.

Sidonius Agricolae suo salutem

Misisti tu quidem lembum mobilem solidum lecti capacem iamque cum piscibus; tum praeterea gubernatorem longe peritum, remiges etiam robustos expeditosque, qui scilicet ea rapiditate praetervolant amnis adversi terga qua deflui. sed dabis veniam quod invitanti tibi in piscationem comes venire dissimulo; namque me multo decumbentibus nostris validiora maeroris retia tenent, quae sunt amicis quaeque et externis indolescenda. unde te quoque puto, si rite germano movens adfectu, quo temporis puncto paginam hanc sumpseris, de reditu potius cogitaturum. [2] Severiana, sollicitudo communis, inquietata primum lentae tussis impulsu febribus quoque iam fatigatur, hisque per noctes ingravescentibus; propter quod optat exire in suburbanum; litteras tuas denique cum sumeremus, [p. 472] egredi ad villulam iam parabamus. quocirca tu seu venias seu moreris, preces nostras orationibus iuva ut ruris auram desiderant salubriter cedat ipsa vegetatio. certe ego vel tua soror inter spem metumque suspensi credimus eius taedium augendum si voluntati iacentis obstitissemus. [3] igitur ardori civitatis atque torpori tam nos quam domum totam praevio Christo pariter eximimus simulque medicorum consilia vitamus assidentum dissidentumque, qui parum docti et satis seduli languidos multos officiosissime occidunt, sane contubernio nostro iure amicitiae Iustus adhibebitur, quem, si iocari liberet in tristibus, facile convincerem Chironica magis institutum arte quam Machaonica. quo diligentius postulandus est Christus obsecrandus-que ut valetudini, cuius curationem cura nostra non invenit, potentia superna medeatur, vale.

Sidonius Serrano suo salutem

Epistulam tuam nobis Marcellinus togatus exhibuit, homo peritus virque amicorum, quae [p. 474] primoribus verbis salutatione libata reliquo sui tractu, qui quidem grandis est, patroni tui Petronii Maximi imperatoris laudes habebat; quem tamen tu pertinacius aut amabilius quam rectius venusque felicissimum appellas, propter hoc quippe, cur per amplissimos fascium titulos fuerit evectus usque ad imperium, sed sententiae tali numquam ego assentior, ut fortunatos putem qui rei publicae praecipitibus ac lubricis culminibus insistent. [2] nam dici nequit quantum per horas fert in hac vita miseriarum vita felicium istorum, si tamen sic sunt pronuntiandi qui sibi hoc nomen ut Sulla praesumunt, nimirum qui supergressi ius fasque commune summam beatitudinem existimant summam potestatem, hoc ipso satis miserieiores, quod parum intellegunt inquietissimo se subiacere famula-tui. nam sicut hominibus reges, ita regibus dominandi desideria dominantur. [3] hic si omittamus antecedentium principum casus vel secutorum, solus iste peculiaris tuus Maximus maximo nobis ad ista documento poterit esse, qui quamquam in arcem praefectoriam patriciam consularemque intrepidus ascenderat eosque quos gesserat magistratus ceu recurrentibus orbitis inexpletus iteraverat, cum tamen venit omnibus viribus ad principalis apicis abruptum, quandam potestatis immensae vertiginem sub corona patiebatur nec sustinebat dominus esse, [p. 476] qui non sustinuerat esse sub domino. [4] denique require in supradicto vitae prioris gratiam potentiam diuturnitatem eque diverso principatus paulo amplius quam bimenstris originem turbinem finem: profecto invenies hominem beatiorem prius fuisse quam beatissimus nominaretur. igitur ille, cuius anterieus epulae mores, pecuniae pompae, litterae fascies, patrimonia patrocina florebant, cuius ipsa sic denique spatia vitae custodiebantur ut per horarum disposita clepsydras explicarentur, is nuncupatus Augustus ac sub hac specie Palatinis liminibus inclusus ante crepusculum ingemuit quod ad vota pervenerat, cumque mole curarum pristinae quietis tenere dimensum prohiberetur, veteris actutum regulae legibus renuntiavit atque perspexit pariter ire non posse negotium principis et otium senatoris. [5] nec fefellerunt futura maerentem; namque cum ceteros aulicos honores tranquillissime percurrisset, ipsam aulam turbulentissime rexit inter tumultus militum popularium foederatorum; quod et exitus prodidit novus celer acerbus, quem cruentavit Fortunae diu lenocinantis perfidus finis, quae virum ut scorpios ultima sui parte percussit, dicere solebat vir litteratus atque ob ingenii merita quae- [p. 478] torius, partium certe bonarum pars magna, Fulgentis, ore se ex eius frequenter audisse, cum perosus pondus imperii veterem securitatem desideraret: ‘felicem te, Damocles, qui non uno longius prandio regni necessitatem toleravisti.’ [6] iste enim, ut legimus, Damocles provincia Siculus, urbe Syracusanus, familiaris tyranno Dionysio fuit. qui cum nimis laudibus bona patroni ut cetera scilicet inexpertus efferret:

‘vis,’ inquit Dionysius, ‘hodie saltem in hac mensa bonis meis pariter ac malis uti?’ ‘libenter,’ inquit.¹ tunc ille confestim laetum clientem quamquam et attonitum plebeio tegmine erepto muricis Tyrii seu Tarentini conchyliato ditat indutu et renidentem gemmis margaritisque aureo lecto sericatoque toreumati imponit. [7] cumque pransuro Sardanapallicum in morem panis daretur e Leontina segete confectus, insuper dapes cultae ferculis cultioribus apponerentur, spumarent Falerno gemmae capaces inque crystallis calerent unguenta glacialibus, huc 2 suffita cinnamo ac ture cenatio spargeret peregrinos naribus odores et madescentes nardo capillos circumfusa florumserta siccarent, coepit supra tergum sic recubentis repente vibrari mucro dstrictus e lacunaribus, qui [p. 480] videbatur in iugulum purpurati iam iamque ruiturus; nam filo equinae saetae ligatus et ita pondere minax ut acumine gulam formidolosi Tantaleo frenabat exemplo, ne cibi ingressi per ora per vulnera exirent. [8] unde post mixtas fletibus preces atque multimoda suspiria vix absolutus emicatimque prosiliens illa refugit celeritate divitias deliciasque regales, qua solent appeti, reductus ad desideria mediocrium timore summorum et satis cavens, ne beatum ultra diceret duceretque qui saeptus armis ac satellitibus et per hoc raptis incubans opibus ferro pressus premeret aurum. quapropter ad statum huiusmodi, domine frater, nescio an constet tendere beatos, patet certe miseros pervenire. vale.

Sidonius Maurusio suo Salutem.

Audio industriae tuae votisque communibus uberiore proventu, quam minabatur sterilis annus, respondere vindemiam. unde et in pago Vialoscensi, qui Martialis aetate citeriore vocitatus est propter hiberna legionum Iulianarum, suspicor diuturnius [p. 482] te moraturum; quo loci tibi cum ferax vinea est, tum praeter ipsam praedium magno non minus domino, quod te tuosque plurifaria frugum mansionumque dote remoretur. [2] ilicet si horreis apothecisque seu penu impleta destinas illic usque ad adventum hirundineum vel ciconinum Iani Numaeque ninguidos menses in otio fuliginoso sive tunicata quiete transmittere, nobis quoque parum in oppido fructuosae protinus amputabuntur causae morarum, ut, dum ipse nimirum frueris rure, nos te fruamur, quibus, ut recognoscis, non magis cordi est aut voluptati ager cum redditibus amplis quam vicinus aequalis cum bonis moribus, vale.

BOOK III.

Sidonius Avito suo salutem

Multis quidem vinculis caritatis ab ineunte pueritia quicquid venimus in iuventutem gratiae sese mutuae cura nexuerat, primum quia matribus nostris summa sanguinis iuncti necessitudo, dein quod ipsi isdem temporibus nati magistris usi, artibus instituti lusibus otiati, principibus evecti stipendiis perfuncti sumus; et, quod est ad amicitias ampliandas his validius efficaciusque, in singulis quibusque personis vel expetendis aequaliter vel cavendis iudicii parilitate certavimus. [2] propter [p. 4] quae omnia (praetereo 1 conscientiam, quae interius tibi longe praestantior eminentiorque) multum voluntates nostras copulaverat decursarum forinsecus actionum multitudo.2 sed, quod fatendum est, diu erectis utrimque amoris machinis ipse culmina pretiosa posuisti ecclesiam Arverni municipioli, cui praepositus, etsi immerito, videor, peropportuna oblatione locupletando; cuius possessioni plurimum contulisti Cuticiacensis praedii suburbanitate, non minus nostrae professionis fraternitatem loci proximitate dignatus ditare quam redditu. [3] et licet sororiae hereditatis duo consortes esse videamini, exemplo tamen fidei tuae superstes germana commota est ad boni operis imitationem. itaque tibi caelitus iure redhibetur tui facti meritum, alieni incitamentum, quo fit ut reperiare dignissimus quem divinitas inusitato successionum 3 genere sublimet; quae tamen nec diu distulit religiosam devotionem centuplicatis opulentare muneribus quaeque, ut confidimus, nihilo segnius caelestia largietur, cum terrena [p. 6] iam solvent. Nicetiana namque, si nescis, hereditas Cuticiaci supernum pretium fuit. [4] quod restat, exposcimus ut sicut ecclesiae nostrae ita etiam civitatis aequae tibi sit cura communis, quae cum olim, tum debebit ex hoc praecipue tempore ad tuum patrocinium vel ob tuum patrimonium pertinere, quod cuius meriti esse possit, quippe si vestra crebro illud praesentia invisat, vel Gothis credite, qui saepenumero etiam Septimaniam suam fastidiunt vel refundunt, modo invidiosi huius anguli etiam desolata proprietate potiantur. [5] sed fas est praesule deo vobis inter eos et rempublicam mediis animo quietiora concipere,1 quia, etsi illi veterum finium limitibus effractis omni vel virtute vel mole possessionis turbidae metas in Rhodanum Ligerimque proterminant, vestra tamen auctoritas pro dignitate sententiae sic partem utramque moderabitur ut et nostra discat quid debeat negare cum petitur et poscere adversa desinat cum negatur. vale. [p. 8]

Sidonius Constantio suo salutem

Salutat populus Arvernus, cuius parva tuguria magnus hospes implesti, non ambitiosus comitatu sed ambiendus adfectu, deus bone, quod gaudium fuit laboriosis cum tu sanctum pedem semirutis moenibus intulisti! quam tu ab omni ordine sexu aetate stipatissimus ambiebare! quae salsi erga singulos libra sermonis! quam te blandum pueri, comem iuvenes, gravem senes metiebantur! quas tu lacrimas ut parens omnium super aedes incendio prorutas et domicilia semiusta fudisti! quantum doluisti campos sepultos ossibus insepultis! quae tua deinceps exhortatio, quae reparationem suadentis 1 animositas! [2] his adicitur quod, cum inveneris civitatem non minus civica similitudine quam barbarica incursione vacuatam, pacem omnibus suadens caritatem illis, illos patriae reddidisti. quibus tuo monitu non minus in unum consilium quam in unum oppidum revertentibus muri tibi debent plebem [p. 10] reductam, plebs reducta concordiam, quocirca satis te toti suum, satis se toti tuos aestimant; et, quae gloria tua maxima est, minime falluntur. [3] observatur etenim per dies mentibus singulorum quod persona aetate gravis infirmitate fragilis, nobilitate sublimis religione venerabilis solius dilectionis obtentu abruptisti tot repagula, tot obiectas veniendi difficultates, itinerum videlicet longitudinem brevitatem dierum, nivium copiam penuriam pabulorum, latitudines solitudinum angustias mansionum, viarum voragines aut umore imbrium putres aut frigoribus siccitate tribulosas, ad hoc aut aggeres saxa asperos aut fluvios gelu lubricos aut colles ascensu salebrosos aut valles lapsuum adsiduitate derasas; 1 per quae omnia incommoda, quia non privatum commodum requirebas, amorem publicum rettulisti. [4] quod restat, deum precamur ut aevi metis secundum vota promotis bonorum amicitias indefessim expetas capias referas sequaturque te adfectio quam relinquis, et initiatae per te ubicumque gratiae longum tibi redhibeantur quam fundamenta tam culmina, vale. [p. 12]

Sidonius Ecdicio suo Salutem.

Si quando, nunc maxume Arvernīs meis deside-raris, quibus dilectio tui immane dominatur, et quidem multiplicatus ex causis: primum quod summas in adfectu partes iure sibi usurpat terra quae genuit, dein quod saeculo tuo solus ferme mortalium es qui patriae non minus desiderii nasciturus quam gaudii natus feceris; astipulantur assertis materni quondam puerperii tempora, quae proficiente conceptu concordantibus civium votis numerabantur. [2] omitto illa communia quidem, sed quae non mediocria caritatis incitamenta sunt, istius tibi reptatas caespitis glaebas, praetereo quod haec primum gramina incessu, flumina natatu, venatu nemora fregisti. omitto quod hic primum tibi pila pyrgus, accipiter canis, equus arcus ludo fuere, mitto istic ob gratiam pueritiae tuae undique gentium confluxisse studia litterarum tuaeque personae quondam debitum quod sermonis Celtici squamam depositura nobilitas nunc oratorio stilo, nunc etiam Camenalibus modis imbue-batur. [3] illud in te adfectum principaliter universitatis accendit, quod, quos olim Latinos fieri ex- [p. 14] egeras, barbaros deinceps esse vetuisti. non enim potest umquam civicis pectoribus elabi, quem te quantumque nuper omnis aetas ordo sexus e semiritis murorum aggeribus conspicabantur, cum interiectis aequoribus in adversum perambulatis et vix duodeviginti equitum sodalitate comitatus aliquot milia Gothorum non minus die quam campo medio, quod difficile sit posteritas creditura, transisti. [4] ad nominis tui rumorem personaeque conspectum exercitum exercitatissimum stupor obruit ita ut prae admiratione nescirent duces partis inimicae quam se multi quamque te pauci comitarentur. subducta est tota protinus acies in supercilium collis abrupti, quae cum prius applicata esset oppugnatione te viso non est explicata congressui. interea tu caesis quibusque optimis, quos novissimos agmini 1 non ignavia sed audacia fecerat, nullis tuorum certamine ex tanto desideratis solus planitie quam patentissima potiebare, cum tibi non daret tot pugna socios quot solet mensa convivas. [5] hinc iam per otium in urbem reduci quid tibi obviam processere officiorum plausuum, fletuum gaudiorum, magis temptant vota conicere quam verba reserare, siquidem cernere [p. 16] erat refertis capacissimae domus atriis illam ipsam felicissimam stipati reditus tui ovationem, dum alii osculis pulverem tuum rapiunt, alii sanguine ac spumis pingua frena suscipiunt, alii sellarum eques-trium madefacta sudoribus fulcra resupinant, alii de concavo tibi cassidis exituro flexilium lamminarum vincla diffibulant, alii explicandis ocrearum nexibus implicantur, alii hebetatorum caede gladiatorum latera dentata pernumerant, alii caesim atque punctim foraminatos circulos loricarum digitis livescentibus metiuntur. [6] hic licet multi complexibus tuorum tripudiantes adhaerescerent, in te maximus tamen laetitiae popularis impetus congerebatur; tandemque in turbam inermem quidem veneras sed de qua te nec armatus evolveres; ferebasque nimirum eleganter ineptias gratulantum et, dum inruentum tumultuoso diriperis

amplexu, eo condicionis accesseras piissimus publici amoris interpres ut necesse esset illi uberiores referre te gratiam qui tibi liberiores fecisset iniuriam. [7] taceo deinceps collegisse te privatis viribus publici exercitus speciem parvis extrinsecus maiorum opibus adiutum et infreniores 1 hostium ante discursus castigatis cohercuisse populatibus. taceo [p. 18] te aliquot superventibus cuneos mactasse turmales e numero tuorum vix binis temisve post proelium desideratis et tantum calamitatis adversae parti 1 inopinatis certaminibus inuictum ut occulere caesorum. numerositatem consilio deformiore meditarentur. siquidem quos humari nox succincta prohibuerat decervicatis liquere cadaveribus, tamquam minoris indicii foret quam villis 2 agnoscere crinitum dimisisse truncatum. [8] qui postquam luce revoluta intellexerunt furtum ruinae suae crudeli vilitate patuisse, tum demum palam officiis exsequialibus occupabantur, non magis cladem fraude quam fraudem festinatione celantes; sic tamen quod nec ossa tumultuarii caespitis mole tumulabant, quibus nec elutis vestimenta nec vestitis sepulchra tribuebant, iuste sic mortuis talia iusta solventes. iacebant corpora undique locorum plaustis convecta rorantibus, quae, quoniam percussis indesinenter incumberes, raptim succensis conclusa domiciliis culminum superlabentum rogalibus fragmentis funerabantur. [9] sed quid ego istaec iusto plusculum garrio, qui laborum tuorum non ex asse historiam texere sed pro parte memoriam facere praesumpsi, [p. 20] quo magis crederes votis tuorum, quorum exspectationi aegrescenti nulla salubrius ociosiusque quam tui adventus remedia medicabuntur? igitur, si quid nostratium precatibus adquiescis, actutum in patriam receptui canere festina et adsiduitatem tuam periculosae regum familiaritati celer exime, quorum consuetudinem expertissimus 1 quisque flammarum naturae bene comparat, quae sicut paululum a se remota inluminant, ita satis sibi admota comburunt. vale.

Sidonius Felici suo salutem

Gozolas natione Iudaeus, cliens culminis tui, cuius mihi quoque esset persona cordi, si non esset secta despectui, defert litteras meas, quas granditer anxius exaravi, oppidum siquidem nostrum quasi quandam sui limitis obicem circumfusarum nobis gentium arma terrificant. sic aemulorum sibi in medio positi lacrimabilis praeda populorum, suspecti Burgundionibus, proximi Gothis, nec impugnantum [p. 22] ira nec propugnantum caremus invidia. [2] sed istinc alias, interea, si vel penes vos recta sunt, bene est. neque enim huiusmodi pectore sumus, ut, licet apertis ipsi poenis propter criminum occulta plectamur, non agi prospere vel ubicumque velimus, nam certum est non minus vitiorum quam hostium esse captivum, qui non etiam inter mala tempora bona vota servaverit, vale.

Sidonius Hypatio suo salutem

Si vir spectabilis morumque vestrorum suspector admiratorque Donidius solam rationem domesticae utilitatis habuisset, satis abundeque sufficeret fides vestra commodis suis, etsi nullus intercessor accederet, sed amore meo ductus est, ut, quod ipse per se impetraverat, me faceret postulare, itaque nunc honori vestro hic quoque cumulus accrescit, quod duo efficimur debitores, cum tamen unus e nobis beneficium consequatur. [2] Eborolacensis praedii etiam ante barbaros desolatam medietatem, quae domus patriciae iura modo respicit, suffragio vestro [p. 24] iuri 1 suo optat adiungi. neque ad hanc nundinationem stimulo cupiditatis sed respectu avitae recordationis adducitur. siquidem fundi ipsius 2 integritas familiae suae dominium usque in obitum vitrici nuper vita decedentis aspexit; nunc autem vir alieni non appetens, sui parvus possessionis antiquae a se alienatae non tam damno angitur quam pudore; quam ut redimere conetur non avaritiae vitio sed verecundiae necessitate compellitur. [3] tribuere dignare votis suis, precibus meis, moribus tuis, ut ad soliditatem ruris istius te patrocinante perveniat, cui rem parentum sibi non solum notam verum etiam inter laetantis infantiae rudimenta reptatam sicut recepissem parum fructuosum, sic non emeruisse nimis videtur ignavum, ego vero tantum obstringar indultis ac si meae proficiat peculiariter proprietati, quicquid meus aetate frater professione filius, loco civis fide amicus acceperit, vale. [p. 26]

Sidonius Eutropio suo Salutem.

Si veteris commilitii, si deinceps innovatae per dies gratiae bene in praesentiarum fides vestra reminiscitur, profecto intellegitis ut vos ad dignitatum sic nos ad desideriorum culmina ascendere. ita namque fascibus vestris gratamur omnes, ut erectam per illos non magis vestram domum quam nostram amicitiam censeamus. testis est ille tractatus in quo exhortationis meae non minimum incitamenta valuerunt. ^[2] quibus vix potuistis adduci ut praefecturam philosophiae iungeretis, cum vos consecranei vestri Plotini dogmatibus inhaerentes ad profundum intempestivae quietis otium Platoniorum palaestra rapuisset, cuius disciplinae tunc fore adstruxi liberam professionem, cum nil familiae debuisses. I porro autem desidiae vicinior putabatur contemptus ille militiae, ad quam iactitant Ii vidi bonarum partium viros non posse potius quam nolle conscendere. ^[3] igitur, quod loco primore fieri par [p. 28] est, agimus gratias uberes Christo, qui statum celsitudinis tuae ut hactenus parentum nobilitate decorabat, ita iam nunc titulorum parilitate fastigat; simul et animorum spebus erectis fas est de cetero sperare meliora, certe creber provincialium sermo est annum bonum de magnis non tam fructibus quam potestatibus existimandum. qua de re vestrum est, domine maior, exspectionem nostram competentibus dispositionibus munerari. nam memor originis tuae nobilium sibi persuasit universitas, quamdiu nos Sabini familia rexit, Sabmiani familiam non timendam. vale.

Sidonius Felici suo salutem

Longum a litteris temperatis. igitur utrique nostrum mos suus agitur: ego garrio, vos tacetis. unde etiam, vir ad reliqua fidei officia insignis, genus reor esse virtutis tanto te otio non posse lassari. ecquid numquamne 1 respectu movebere familiaritatis antiquae, ut tandem a continuandi 2 silentii proposito pedem referas? aut 3 nescis quia [p. 30] garrulo non respondere convicium est? tu retices vel bybliotheclarum medius vel togarum et a me officium paupertini sermonis exspectas, cui scribendi, si bene perspicis, magis est facilitas quam facultas. [2] certe vel metus noster materiam stilo tuo faciat, mementoque viatorum manus gravare chartis, quatinus amicorum cura relevetur, et indicare festina, si quam praevis deo quaestor Licinianus trepidationi mutuae ianuam securitatis aperuerit, persona siquidem est, ut perhibent, magna exspectatione maior adventu, relatu sublimis inspectione sublimior et ob omnia felicitatis naturaeque dona monstrabilis. [3] summa censura, par comitas et prudentia fidesque misso mittentique conveniens; nihil adfectatum simulatumque, ponderique sermonum vera potius severitas quam severitatis imitatio; et nec, ut plurimi, qui cum credita diffidenter allegant, volunt videri egisse se 1 cautius, sed neque ex illo, ut ferunt, numero qui secreta dirigentium principum venditantes ambiunt a barbaris bene agi cum legato potius quam cum legatione. [4] hunc nobis morum viri tenorem secundus rumor invexit. mandate perniciter, si vero dicta conquadrant, ut tantisper a pervigili statione respirent quos a murali- [p. 32] bus excubiis non dies ninguidus, non-nox inlunis et turbida receptui canere persuadent; quia, etsi barbarus in hiberna concedat, mage differunt quam relinquant 1 semel radicatam corda formidinem, palpate nos prosperis, quia nostra non tam procul est a vobis causa quam patria, vale.

Sidonius Eucherio suo salutem

Veneror antiquos, non tamen ita ut qui aequaeavorum 2 meorum virtutes aut merita postponam. neque si Romana respublica in haec miseriarum extrema defluxit, ut studiosos sui numquam remuneretur, non idcirco Brutos Torquatosque non pariunt saecula mea. ‘quorsum istaec?’ inquis, de te mihi ad te sermo est, vir efficacissime, cui debet respublica quod supra dictis solutum laudat historia. [2] quapropter ignari rerum temeraria [p. 34] iudicia suspendant nec perseverent satis aut suspicere praeteritos aut despicere praesentes; quandoquidem facile clarescit rempublicam morari beneficia vos mereri, quamquam mirandum granditer non sit, natione foederatorum 1 non solum inciviliter Romanas vires administrante verum etiam fundamentaliter eruenta, si nobilium virorum militarium-que et supra vel spem nostrae vel opinionem partis adversae bellicosorum non tam defuerint 2 facta quam praemia, vale.

Sidonius Riothamo suo salutem

Servatur nostri consuetudo sermonis; namque miscernus cum salutatione querimoniam, non omnino huic rei studentes, ut stilus noster sit officiosus in titulis, asper in paginis, sed quod ea semper eveniunt de quibus loci mei aut ordinis hominem constat [p. 36] inconciliari, si loquatur, peccare, si taceat, sed et ipsi sarcinam vestri pudoris inspicimus, cuius haec semper verecundia fuit, ut pro culpis erubesceretis alienis. [2] gerulus epistularum humilis obscurus despicabilisque etiam usque ad damnum innocentis ignaviae mancipia sua Britannis clam sollicitantibus abducta deplorat. incertum mihi est an sit certa causatio; sed si inter coram positos aequanimiter obiecta discingitis,¹ arbitror hunc laboriosum posse probare quod obicit, si tamen inter argutos armatos tumultuosos, virtute numero contubernio contumacem poterit ex aequo et bono solus inermis, abiectus rusticus, peregrinus pauper audiri, vale,

Sidonius Tetradio suo salutem

Plurimum laudis iuvenes nostri moribus suis applicant quotiens de negotiorum
2 meritis ambi-gentes ad peritorum consilia decurrunt, sicuti nunc vir
clarissimus Theodorus, domi quidem nobilis, sed modestissimae
conversationis opinione generosior, qui per litteras meas ad tuas litteras, id est
ad [p. 38] meracissimum scientiae fontem laudabili aviditate proficiscitur, non
modo reperturus illic ipse quod discat sed et forsitan relaturus inde quod
doceat. [2] cui contra potentes factiososque, si vestra peritia non abundanter
opitularetur, prudentia consulta sufficeret, respondete, obsecramus, nisi vobis
tamen utriusque nostrum sociae preces oneri fastidiove reputabuntur, iudicio
suo, testimonio meo et substantiam causamque supplicis fluctuantem
medicabilis responsi salubritate fulcite. vale.

Sidonius Simplicio suo salutem

Etsi desiderium nostrum sinisteritas tanta comitatur ut etiam nunc nostris invidearis obtutibus, non idcirco is es, virorum optime, de cuius nos moribus lateant celsa memoratu: ita cuncti nostrates idemque summates viri optirnarum te exactissimarumque partium praestantissimum patremfamilias consono praeconio prosequuntur. [2] adstipulatur huic de te sententiae bonorum vel sic electus gener vel educta sic filia; in quorum copula tam felicem tibi controversiam vota pepererunt ut ambigas utrum [p. 40] iudicio an institutione superaveris. sed tamen hinc vel maxume, parentes ambo venerabiles, este securi: idcirco ceteros vincitis, quod vos filii transierunt, igitur dona venia litteras primas, quas ut necdum mittere desidia fuerat, ita vereor ne sit misisse garrulitas. carebit sane nostrum naevo loquacitatis officium si exemplo recursantis alloqui impudentiam paginae praesentis absolveris. vale.

Sidonius Secundo suo salutem

Avi mei, proavi tui tumulum hesterno (pro dolor!) die paene manus profana temeraverat; sed deus adfuit, ne nefas tantum perpetraretur. campus autem ipse dudum refertus tam bustualibus favillis quam cadaveribus nullam iam diu scrobem recipiebat; sed tamen 1 tellus, humatis quae superducitur, redierat in pristinam distenta planitiem pondere nivali seu diuturno imbrium fluxu sidentibus acervis: quae fuit causa ut locum auderent tamquam vacantem corporum baiuli rastris funebribus impiare. [2] quid plura? iam niger caespes ex viridi, iam supra anti- [p. 42] quum sepulchrum glabrae recentes, cum forte pergens urbem ad Arvernā publicum scelus e supercilio vicini collis aspexi meque equo effuso tam per aequata quam per abrupta proripiens et morae exiguae sic quoque impatiens, antequam pervenirem, facinus audax praevio clamore compescui. dum dubitant in crimine reperti dilaberentur an starent et superveni (confiteor errorem), supplicia captorum differre non potui, sed supra senis nostri ipsum opertorium torsi latrones, quantum sufficere posset superstitem curae, mortuorum securitati. [3] ceterum nostro quod sacerdoti nil reservavi, meae causae suaeque personae praescius in commune consului, ne vel haec iusto clementius vindicaretur vel illa iusto severius vindicaret, cui cum tamen totum ordinem rei ut satisfaciens ex itinere mandassem, vir sanctus et iustus iracundiae meae dedit gloriam, cum nil amplius ego venia postularem, pronuntians more maiorum reos tantae temeritatis iure caesos videri. [4] sed ne quid in posterum casibus liceat, quos ab exemplo vitare debemus, posco ut actutum me quoque absente tua cura sed [p. 44] meo sumptu resurgat in molem sparsa congeries, quam levigata pagina tegat, ego venerabili Gaudenzio reliqui pretium lapidis operisque mercedem, carmen hoc sane, quod consequetur, nocte proxima feci, non expositum, credo, quod viae non parum intentus. [5] quod peto ut tabulae, quantumcumque est, celeriter indatur; sed vide ut vitium non faciat in marmore lapidicida; quod factum sive ab industria seu per incuriam mihi magis quam quadratario lividus lector adscribet. ego vero, si pio studio rogata curaveris, sic agam gratias quasi nil tibi quoque laudis aut gloriae accedat, quem patruo tuo remoto solida praesentis officii sollicitudo mansisset pro gradu seminis.

Serum post patruos patremque carmen
haud indignus avo nepos dicavi,
ne fors tempore postumo, viator,
ignorans reverentiam sepulti
[5] tellurem tereres inaggeratam.
praefectus iacet hic Apollinaris,
post praetoria recta Galliarum
maerentis patriae sinu receptus,
consultissimus utilissimisque [p. 46]

[10] ruris militiae forique cultor,
exemploque aliis periculoso
liber sub dominantibus tyrannis.
haec sed maxima dignitas probatur,
quod frontem cruce, membra fonte purgans
[15] primus de numero patrum suorum
sacris sacrilegis renuntiavit.
hoc primum est decus, haec superba virtus,
spe praecedere quos honore iungas,
quique hic sunt titulis pares parentes,
[20] hos illic meritis supervenire.

[6] Novi quidem auctoris nostri non respondere doctrinae epitaphii
qualitatem, sed anima perita musicas non refutat inferias, tibi quoque non
debet 1 tardum videri quod heres tertius quartusque dependimus, cum tot
annorum gyro voluto magnum Alexandrum parentasse manibus Achillis et
Iulium Caesarem Hectori ut suo iusta solvisse didicerimus. vale.

Sidonius Apollinari suo salutem

Unice probo gaudeo admiror, quod castitatis adfectu contubernia fugis impudicorum, praesertim [p. 48] quibus nihil pensi, nihil sancti est in appetendis garriendisque turpitudinibus quique, quod verbis inverecundis aurium publicarum reverentiam incestant, granditer sibi videntur facetiari. cuius vilitatis esse signiferum Gnathonem patriae nostrae vel maximum intellege. [2] est enim hic gurgis de sutoribus fabularum, de concinnatoribus criminum, de sinistrarum opinionum duphicatoribus, loquax ipse nec dicax ridiculusque nec laetus arrogansque nec constans curiosusque nec perspicax atque indecenter adfectato lepore plus rusticus; tempora praesentia colens, praeterita carpens, futura fastidians; beneficii, si rogaturus est, importunus petendi derogator negati, aemulator accepti callidus reformandi, querulus flagitati garrulus restituti; at si rogandus, simulator parati dissimulator petiti, venditor 1 praestiti publicator occulti, calumniator morati infitiator soluti; [3] osor ieiuniorum, sectator epularum; laudabilem proferens non de bene vivente sed de bene pascente sententiam; inter haec tamen ipse avarissimus quemque non pascit tam panis bonus quam panis alienus, hoc solum comedens domi, [p. 50] si quid e raptis inter alaparum procellas praemisit obsoniis. sed nec est sane praedicabilis viri in totum silenda 1 frugalitas: ieiunat quotiens non vocatur; sed sic quoque levitate parasitica, si invitetur, excusans; si vitetur, explorans; si excludatur, exprobrans; si admittatur, exsultans; si verberetur, exspectans. [4] cum discubuerit, fertur actutum, si tarde comedat, in rapinas; si cito saturetur, in lacrimas; si sitiatur, in querellas; si inebrietur, in vomitus 2; si fatiget, in contumelias; si fatigetur, in furias; faeculentiae omnino par cloacali, quae quo plus commota, plus faetida est. ita vivens paucis voluptati, nullis amori, omnibus risui; vesicarum raptor fractorque ferularum, bibendi avidus, avidior detrahendi, rabido pariter ore spirans caenum, spumans vinum, loquens venenum facit ambigi putidior, temulentior an facinorosior existimetur. [5] sed dicis: ‘animi probra vultu 3 colorat et deprecatur ineptiam 4 mentis qualitas corporis; elegans videlicet homo pervenustusque cuiusque sit spectabilis persona visentibus.’ enimvero illa 5 sordidior est atque deformior cadavere rogali quod facibus admotis semicombustum moxque sidente strue torrium devolutum reddere pyrae iam fasti- [p. 52] diosus pollinctor exhorret. praeter hoc lumina gerit idem lumine carentia, quae Stygiae vice paludis volvunt lacrimas per tenebras. [6] gerit et aures immanitate barrinas, quarum fistulam biforem pellis ulcerosa circumvenit saxeis nodis et tofosis umore verrucis per marginem curvum protuberantibus. portat et nasum, qui cum sit amplius in foraminibus et strictus in spina, sic patescit horrori quod angustatur olfactui. praetendit os etiam labris plumbeum rictu ferinum, gingivis purulentum dentibus buxum, quod spurcat frequenter exhalatus e concavo molarium computrescentum mephiticus odor, quem supercumulat esculenta ructatio de dapibus hesternis et redundantum sentina cenarum. [7] promit et

frontem, quae foedissimo gestu cutem plicat supercilia distendit. nutrit et barbam, quae iam senectute canescens fit tamen morbo nigra Sullano. tota denique est misero facies ita pallida veluti per horas umbris maestificata larvalibus. taceo reliquam sui molem vinctam podagra pinguedine solutam, taceo cerebrum crebra vibice peraratum, quod parum amplius tegi constat capillis quam cicatricibus, taceo pro brevitate cervicis occipiti supinato scapularum adhaerere confinia. [8] taceo quia decidit honor umeris, decor brachiiis, robur lacertis, taceo chira- [p. 54] gricas manus unctis cataplasmatum pannis tamquam caestibus involutas. taceo quod alarum specubus hircosis atque acescentibus latera captiva vallatus nares circumsedentum ventilata duplicis Ampsancti peste funestat. taceo fractas pondere arvinae iacere mammas quasque foedum esset in pectore virili vel prominere, has ut ubera materna cecidisse, taceo ventris inflexi pendulos casses parti genitalium, quia debili, bis pudendae turpibus rugis turpius praebere velamen. [9] iam quid hic tergum spinamque commemorem? de cuius licet internodiorum fomitibus erumpens arcam 1 pectoris texat curvatura costarum, tota nihilominus haec ossium 2 ramosa compago sub uno velut exundantis abdominis pelago latet, taceo lumborum corpulentiam cluniumque, cui crassitudini comparata censetur alvus exilis. taceo femur aridum ac pandum, genua vasta poplites delicatos, crura cornea vitreos talos, parvos digitos pedes grandes, cumque distortis horreat ita liniamentis perque multiplicem pestilentiam exsanguis semivivusque nec portatus sedeat 3 nec sustentatus incedat, verbis tamen est ille quam membris exsecrabilior. [10] nam quamquam pruritu laborat sermonis inhonesti, tamen [p. 56] patronorum est praecipue cavendus arcanis, quorum est laudator in prosperis, delator in dubiis; et.1 si ad occulta familiarium publicanda temporis ratio sollicitet, mox per hunc Spartacum quaecumque sunt clausa franguntur quaeque obserata reserantur; ita quod, quas domorum nequiverit machinis apertae simultatis impetere, cuniculis clandestinae prodicionis impugnat. hoc fabricatu Daedalus noster amicitiarum culmen aedificat, qui sicut sodalibus velut Theseus inter secunda sociatur, sic ab his postmodum velut Proteus inter adversa dilabitur. [11] igitur ex voto meo feceris si talium sodalitati ne congressu quidem primore sociere, maxume illorum quorum sermonibus prostitutis ac theatralibus nullas habenas, nulla praemittit repagula pudor, nam quibus citra honestatis nitorem iactitabundis loquacis faece petulantiae lingua polluitur infrenis, his conscientia quoque sordidatissima est. denique facilius obtingit ut quispiam seria loquens vivat obscene, quam valeat ostendi qui pariter exsistat improbus dictis et probus moribus, vale. [p. 58]

Sidonius Placido suo Salutem.

Quamquam te tua tenet Gratianopolis, comperi tamen hospitum veterum fido relatu quod meas nugas sive confectas opere prosario seu poetarum stilo cantilenosas plus voluminum lectione dignere repositorum. gaudeo hoc ipso, quod recognovi chartulis occupari nostris otium tuum; sed probe intellego quod moribus tuis hanc voluptatem non operis effectus excudit sed auctoris adfectus, ideoque plus debeo, quia gloriae punctum, quod dictioni negares, das amicitiae. [2] de ceteris vero studii nostri derogatoribus quid ex asse pronuntiem, necdum deliberavi. nam qui maxime doctus sibi videtur, dictionem sanam et insanam ferme appetitu pari revolvit, non amplius concupiscens erecta quae laudet quam despecta quae rideat. atque in hunc modum scientia pompa proprietas linguae Latinae iudiciis otiosorum maximo spretui est, quorum scurrilitati neglegentia comes hoc volens tantum legere, quod carpat, sic non utitur litteris quod abutitur. vale. [p. 60]

BOOK IV.

Sidonius Probo suo salutem

Soror mihi quae uxor tibi: hinc inter nos summa et principalis necessitudo, et ea quidem patruelis, non germana fraternitas, quae plerumque se purius fortius meracius amat. nam facultatum inter germanos prius lite sopita iam qui nascuntur ex fratribus nihil invicem controversantur, et hinc saepe caritas in patruelibus maior, quia desistit simulas a divisione nec cessat affectus a semine, secundus nobis animorum nexus accessit de studiorum parilitate, quia idem sentimus culpamus laudamus in litteris et aequae nobis quaelibet dictio placet improbaturque. [2] quamquam mihi nimis arrego iudicium meum conterens tuo. quis enim iuvenum nesciat seniorum-que te mihi magistrum fuisse proprium, cum videremur habere communem, et si quid heroicis arduum comicus lepidum, lyricus cantilenosum orator decla- [p. 62] matorium, 1 historicus verum satiricus figuratum, grammaticus regulare panegyrista plausibile, sophista serium epigrammatista 2 lascivum, commentator lucidum iurisconsultus obscurum multifariam condiderunt, id te omnifariam singulis, nisi cui ingenium sibi que quis defuit, tradidisse? deus bone! quam sibi hinc patres nostri gloriabantur, 3 cum viderunt sub ope Christi te docere posse, me discere, et non solum te facere quod posses sed et velle quod faceres ideoque te bonum non minus quam peritum pro-nuntiari! [3] et vere intra Eusebianos lares talium te quaedam moneta suscepit disciplinarum, cuius philosophica incude formatus nunc varias nobis rerum sermonumque rationes ipso etiam qui docuerat probante pandebas, nunc ut Platon discipulus iam prope potior sub Socrate, sic iam tu sub Eusebio nostro inter Aristotelicas categorias artifex dialecticus atticissabas, cum ille adhuc aetatulam nostram mobilem teneram crudam modo castigatoria severitate decoqueret, modo mandatorum salubritate condiret. [4] at qualium, deus bone, quamque pretiosorum, quae si quis deportaret philosophaturus aut ad paludicolas Sygambros aut ad Caucasigenas [p. 64] Alanos aut ad equimulgas Gelonos, bestialium rigidarumque nationum corda cornea fibraeque glaciales procul dubio emollirentur egelidarentur neque illorum ferociam stoliditatemque, quae secundum beluas ineptit brutescit accenditur, rideremus contemneremus pertimesceremus. [5] igitur quia nos ut affinitas, ita studia iunxerunt, precor, quoquo loci es, amicitiae iura inconcussa custodias longumque tibi etsi sede absumus, adsimus affectu: cuius in-temeratae partes, quantum spectat ad vos, a nobis 1 in aevum, si quod est vitae reliquum, perennabuntur. vale.

Claudianus Sidonio Papae salutem

Si possibile factu esset, ut te, dominum meum, vel aliquotiens aliquantulum convenirem, non undeunde quarumpiam personarum aut voluntates aut necessitates anquirerem, 2 quae 3 in rem debiti mei usui mihi esse possent, quippe revisionis potestas [p. 66] multis modis et miseris perinde causis intercluditur. enimvero scribendi facultas aut raro idonea suppetit aut nec suppetit. istaec eadem remissibilia sint necne, tute iudicaveris. [2] porro autem vero, quod saepenumero scriptis vestris alii inpertuntur, qui id ipsum nec ambiunt quam egomet forsitan nec merentur amplius, non arbitror amicitiae legibus inpune committi. illud etiamnum dolenter faxo tacitum, quod libellos illos, quos tuo nomine nobilitari non abnuis, nullo umquam inperfvisti rescripto. sed vacuum forte non suppetit, quod tute modicum magnae admodum impendas amicitiae. [3] ecquo tumet occupatu umquam uspiamve implicabere, quin illud in aliorum commoda revergat? cum precatu deum placas, eundem non modo amicis sed ignotis quoque concilias. cum scripturarum caelestium mysteria rimaris, quo te studiosius imbuis, eo doctrinam ceteris copiosius infundis. cum tuas opes in usus inopum prodigis, tibi quidem maxime, sed aliis quoque consultum facis, proinde nihil videlicet, profecto nihil est tam infecundum actionum tuarum omnium, quod tibi uni soli tantum et non aliis quoque multis tecum uberem fructum ferat. [4] nulla igitur cuiusquam praepedimenti occasio praetendi vel falso potest, cur egomet specialis atque intumus [tuus] 1 nihil ab speciali meo fructi feram, a quo ignoti quoque multum capiant plurimi, sed, uti ego autumo, iuxta [p. 68] formam euangelici largitoris quod non das amico esurienti dabis improbo pulsatori. porro si etiamnum solito 1 obdurueris, faxim egomet quod tete paenitebit, quoniam, si peccabis 2 ultra reticendo, ego protinus ulciscar scribendo, porro enim ambiguo caret tam te puniendum scripto meo, quam punior egomet silentio tuo. vale.

Sidonius Claudiano suo salutem

Committi, domine maior, in necessitudinis iura pronuntias, cur quod ad salve tibi debitum spectat a stilo et pugillaribus diu temperem quodque deinceps nullas viantum volas mea papyrus oneraverit, quae vos cultu sedulae sospitatis 3 impertiat. praeter aequum ista coniectas, si reare mortalium quempiam, cui tamen sermocinari Latialiter cordi est, non pavere, cum in examen aurium tuarum quippe scriptus adducitur; tuarum, inquam, aurium, quarum peritiae, si me decursorum ad hoc aevi temporum praerogativa non obruat, nec Frontonianae [p. 70] gravitatis, aut ponderis Apuleiani fulmen aequiperem, cui Varrones, vel Atacinus vel Reatinus, 1 Plinii, vel avunculus vel Secundus, compositi in praesentiarum rusticabuntur. [2] adstipulatur iudicio meo volumen illud, quod tute super statu animae rerum verborumque scientia divitissimus propalavisti. in quo dum ad meum nomen prooemiaris, hoc munus potissimum cepi, ut meae fama personae, quam operae pretium non erat librorum suorum titulis inclarescere, tuorum beneficio perpetuaretur. at quod, deus magne, quantumque opus illud est, materia clausum declamatione conspicuum, pro-positione obstructum disputatione reseratum, et quamquam propter hamata syllogismorum puncta tribulosum, vernantis tamen eloquii flore monitum! [3] nova ibi verba, quia vetusta, quibusque conlatus merito etiam antiquarum litterarum stilus anti-quaretur; quodque pretiosius, tota illa dictio sic caesuratim succincta, quod profluens; quam rebus amplam strictamque sententiis sentias plus docere [p. 72] quam dicere, denique et quondam, nec iniuria, haec principalis facundia computabatur, cui paucis multa cohibenti curae fuit causam potius implere quam paginam. [4] at vero in libris tuis iam illud quale est, quod et teneritudinem quamquam 1 continuata maturitas admittit interseritque tempestivam censura dulcedinem, ut lectoris intentionem per eventilata disciplinarum philosophiae membra lassatam repente voluptuosis excessibus quasi quibusdam pelagi sui portibus foveat? o liber multifariam pollens, o eloquium non exilis sed subtilis ingenii, quod nec per scaturrigines hypeiholicas intumescit nec per tapinomata depressa tenuatur! [5] ad hoc unica singularis-que doctrina et in diversarum rerum assertione monstrabilis, cui moris est de singulis artibus cum singulis artificibus philosophari, quaeque, si fors exigit, tenere non abnuit cum Orpheo plectrum cum Aesculapio baculum, cum Archimede radium cum Euphrate horoscopium, 2 cum Perdice circinum cum Vitruvio perpendiculum quaeque numquam investigare destiterit cum Thalete tempora, cum Atlante sidera, cum Zeto 3 pondera, cum Chrysippo numeros, cum Euclide mensuras. [6] ad extremum nemo saeculo meo quae voluit affirmare sic valuit, si- [p. 74] quidem dum sese adversus eum, quem contra loquitur, exertat, morum ac studiorum linguae utriusque symbolam iure sibi vindicat, sentit ut Pythagoras dividit ut Socrates, explicat ut Platon implicat ut Aristoteles, ut Aeschines blanditur ut Demosthenes irascitur, vernat ut Hortensius aestuat ut Cathegus,

incitat ut Curio moratur ut Fabius, simulat ut Crassus dissimulat ut Caesar, suadet ut Cato dissuadet ut Appius persuadet ut Tullius. [7] iam si ad sacrosanctos patres pro comparatione veniatur instruit ut Hieronymus destruit ut Lactantius adstruit ut Augustinus, attollitur ut Hilarius summittitur ut Iohannes, ut Basilius corripit ut Gregorius consolatur, ut Orosius affluit ut Rufinus stringitur, ut Eusebius narrat ut Eucherius sollicitat, ut Paulinus provocat ut Ambrosius - perseverat. [8] iam vero de hymno tuo si percontare quid sentiam, commaticus est [p. 76] copiosus, dulcis elatus, et quoslibet lyricos dithyrambos amoenitate poetica et historica veritate supereminet, idque tuum in illo peculiare, quod servatis metrorum pedibus pedum syllabis syllabarumque naturis intra spatii sui terminum verba ditia versus pauper includit nec artati carminis brevitatem longitudinem phalerati sermonis eliminat; ita tibi facile factum est minutis trochaeis minutioribusque pyrrhichiis non solum molossicas anapaesticasque ternarias sed epitritorum etiam paeonumque quaternatas 1 supervenire iuncturas. [9] excrescit amplitudo proloquii angustias regulares et tamquam parvo auro grandis gemma vix capitur emicatque ut equi potentis animositas, cui frementi, si inter tesqua vel confraga frenorum lege teneatur, intellegis non tam cursum deesse quam campum, quid multis? arbitro me in utroque genere dicendi nec Athenae sic Atticae nec Musae sic musicae iudicabuntur, si modo mihi vel censendi copiam desidia longior non ademit, nam dum inpactae professionis obtentu novum scribendi morem gradatim appeto et veterem saltuatim dedisco, de bono oratore nil amplius habeo quam quod malus poeta esse plus coepi. [10] proin, quaeso, delicti huius mihi gratiam facias, quod [p. 78] aliquantisper mei meminens arentem venulam rarius flumini tuo misceo, tuam tubam totus qua patet 1 orbis iure venerabitur, quam constat geminata felicitate cecinisse, quando nec aemulum repperit nec aequalem, cum pridem aures et ora populorum me etiam circumferente pervagaretur. nobis autem grandis audacia, si vel apud municipales et cathedrarios oratores aut forenses rabulas garriamus, qui etiam cum perorant, salva pace potiorum, turba numerosior illitteratissimis litteris vacant, nam te, cui, seu liberum seu ligatum placeat alternare sermonem, intonare ambifariam suppetit, pauci, quos aequus amavit, mutabuntur, vale.

Sidonius Simplicio et Apollinari Suis salutem

Eccum vel tandem adest promissio mea, expectatio vestra, Faustinus, pater familias domi nobilis et inter maxima patriae iam mihi sibiue communis ornamenta numerandus. hic meus frater natalium parilitate, amicus animorum similitudine; saepe [p. 80] cum hoc seria, saepe etiam ioca miscui; cumque abhinc retro iuvenes eramus, in pila in tesseris, saltibus cursu, venatu natatu sancta semper ambobus, quia manente caritate, contentio, mihi quidem maior hic natu, tantum tamen, ut eum non tam honorari necesse esset quam delectaret imitari; simul et ipse hinc amplius capiebatur, quod se diligi magis quam quasi coli intellegebam sed propectu aetatis et 1 militia clericali, cum esset amabilis prius, coepit modo esse venerabilis. [2] per hunc salutem dico, videre vos sub ope Christi quam maturissime, si per statum publicum liceat, cupiens, quocirca, nisi desiderium meum videtur onerosum, remeante praefato fiam locorum vestrorum et temporum gnarus, stat sententia eluctari oppositas privatarum occupationum difficultates et conplectendis pectoribus vestris quamlibet longum officium deputare, si tamen, quod etiam nunc veremur, non vis maior disposita confundat. [3] quae vos quoque non perindignum est cum fratre Faustino, prout tempora monent, tractatu communicato deliberare. quem ego quia diligo, tamquam qui me diligat misi: si respondet iudicio meo, gratias ago; porro autem cum vir bonus ab omnibus censeatur, non est homo peior, si non est optimus, valete. [p. 82]

Sidonius Felici suo salutem

Iterat portitorem salutationis iteratio: Gozolas vester, deus tribuat ut noster, apicum meorum secundo gerulus efficitur, igitur verecundiam utrique eximite communem; nam si etiamnum silere meditemini, omnes et me cui et illum per quem scribere debebas 1 indignum arbitrabuntur. [2] de temporum statu iam nihil ut prius consulo, ne sit moribus tuis oneri, si adversa significes, cum prospera non sequantur, nam cum te non deceat falsa mandare atque item desint 2 votiva memoratu, fugio quicquid illud mali est per bonorum indicia cognoscere, vale.

Sidonius Apollinari suo salutem

Per Faustinum antistitem non minus mihi veteris contubernii sodalitate quam novae pro- [p. 84] fessionis communione devinctum verbo quaequam cavenda mandaveram: dicto paruisse vos gaudeo. siquidem prudentibus cordacitus insitum est vitare fortuita, sicut itidem absurdum, si coeptis audacibus adversetur eventus, consurgere in querimonias et inconsultarum dispositionum culpabiles exitus ad infamanda casuum incerta convertere. [2] ‘quorsum istaec?’ ais. fateor me nimis ventum, ne tempore timoris publici non timeres 1 et solidae domus ad hoc aevi inconcussa securitas ad tempestuosos hostium incursus pro intempestiva devotione trepidaret inchoaretque apud animorum matronalium teneritudinem sollemnitas expetita vilesce: 2 quamquam in pectoribus earundem ita sibi sit genuina sanctitas peculiare metata domicilium, ut, si quid secus viantibus accidisset, laetaturae fuerint quoddam se pro martyre tolerasse martyrium. ast ego, cui maiorem diffidentiam minor innocentia facit, super hoc ambiguo sententiae cautiore libentius adhaerescere nec difficulter applicor etiam tuta metuentibus. [3] proinde factum bene est, quod anceps iter salubriter distulistis neque intra iactum tantae aleae status tantae familiae fuit. et licet inchoata via potuerit prosperari, ego tamen huiusmodi consilio [p. 86] album calculum minime apponam, cuius temeritas absolvi nequit nisi beneficio felicitatis. dabit quidem talia vota divinitas dignis successibus promoveri licebitque adhuc horumce terrorum sub pacis amoenitate meminisse; sed praesentia faciunt cautos quos videbunt futura securos. [4] interim ad praesens apicum oblatores damna sibi quaequam per Genesium vestrum inflicta suspirat, si perspicis a vero non discrepare querimoniam, tribue, quaeso, convincenti reformationem, peregrino celeritatem, si vero calumniam plectibili sufflammat invidia, in eo iam praecessit vindicta pulsati, quod procax petitor sumptu et itinere confectus temere propositae litis exsudat incommoda, atque hoc in maximo hiemis accentu summisque cumulis nivium crustisque glacierum; quod tempus, quantum ad sectatores litium spectat, breve quidem saepe est audientiae sed diuturnum semper iniuriae, vale,

Sidonius Simplicio suo salutem

Solet dicere ‘currentem mones’ qui rogatum ut faciat quod facturus fuerat etiam non rogatus. [p. 88] percontare forsitan, quo spectet ista praemitti, baiulus apicum sedulo precatur, ut ad vos a me litteras ferat, cuius a nobis itinere comperto id ipsum erat utique, si tacuisset, orandus; namque hoc officium vester potius amor quam geruli respectus elicit. ceterum hic ipse beneficium se computat meruisse, qui praestitit, quamquam identidem quod poposcit acceperit, sed quae nobis amicitiarum iura minime agnoscens. [2] unde quamquam absens facile coniecto, quo repente stupore ferietur, cum intuitu nostri dignanter admissus intellexerit se paginam meam magis otiose flagitasse quam tradere, videre mihi videor, ut homini non usque ad invidiam per-faceto nova erunt omnia, cum invitabitur peregrinus ad domicilium, trepidus ad conloquium, rusticus ad laetitiam, pauper ad mensam, et cum apud crudos caeparumque crapulis esculentos hic agat vulgus, illic ea comitate retractabitur 1 ac si inter Apicios epulones et Byzantinos chironomuntas hucusque ructaverit. [3] attamen qualis ipse quantusque est, 2 percopiose me officii votivi compotem fecit, sed [p. 90] quamquam huiusmodi saepe personae despicabiles ferme sunt, in sodalibus tamen per litteras ex-colendis dispendii multum caritas sustinet, si ab usu frequentioris alloquii portitorum vilitate revocetur. vale.

Sidonius Evodio suo salutem

Cum tabellarius mihi litteras tuas reddidit, quae te Tolosam rege mandante mox profecturum certis amicis confitebantur, nos quoque ex oppido longe remotum rus petebamus, me quidem mane primo remoratum 1 vix e tenaci caterva persecutorum paginae tuae occasio excussit, ut satisfacere mandato saltim viator, saltim eques possem. [2] ceterum diluculo familia praecesserat ad duodeviginti milia passuum fixura tentorium, quo quidem loci sarcinulis relaxandis multa succedunt conducibilia, fons gelidus in colle nemoroso, subditus ager herbis abundans, fluvius ante oculos avibus ac pisce multo refertus, praeter haec iunctam habens ripae domum novam vetus amicus, cuius immensae humanitati nec si adquiescas nec si recuses modum ponas. [3] igitur huc nostris antecedentibus, cum tui causa sub-stitissemus, quo puer ocus vel e capite vici remit- [p. 92] teretur, iam duae secundae facile processerant, iam sol adultus roscidae noctis umorem radio crescente sorbuerat: aestus ac sitis invalescebant atque 1 in profunda serenitate contra calorem sola quae tegeret nebula de pulvere; tum longinquitas viae per virens aequor campi patentis exposita visentibus, quippe ob hoc ipsum sero pransuris, ingemebatur; nam viaturos etsi nondum terebat labore, iam tamen expectatione terrebat. [4] quae cuncta praemissa, domine frater, huc tendunt, ut tibi probem neque animo vacasse me multum neque corpore neque tempore, cum 2 postulatis obtemperavi. ilicet, ut ad epistulae vestrae tenorem iam revertamur, post verba, quae primum salve ferebant, hoc poposcisti, ut epigramma transmitterem duodecim versibus terminatum, quod posset aptari conchae capaci, quae per 3 ansarum latus utrumque in extimum gyri a rota fundi senis cavatur striaturis. [5] quarum puto destinas vel ventribus pandis singulos versus vel curvis meliore consilio, si id magis deceat, capitibus inscribere; istoque cultu expolitam reginae Ragnahildae disponis offerre, votis nimirum tuis pariter atque actibus patrocinium invictum praeparaturus. famulor iniunctis quomodocumque, non ut volebam; sed tuae culpae primus ignosce, qui spatii plus praestitisti argentario quam poetae, cum procul dubio non te lateret intra officinam litteratorum [p. 94] carminis si quid incus metrica produxerit non minus forti et asprata lima poliri. 1 sed ista vel similia quorsum? ecce iam canta. 2

Pistrigero quae concha vehit Tritone Cytheren
hac sibi conlata cedere non dubitet.

poscimus, inclina paulisper culmen erile
et munus parvum magna patrona cape

[5] Euodiumque libens non aspernare clientem,
quem faciens grandem tu quoque maior eris,
sic tibi, cui rex est genitor, socer atque maritus,
gnatus rex quoque sit cum patre postque patrem.

felices lymphae, clausae quae luce metalli
[10] ora tamen dominae lucidiora foveant!
nam cum dignatur regina hinc tinguere vultus,
candor in argentum mittitur e facie.

si tantum amore nostro teneris, ut scribere has nugas non erubescas, occule auctorem, de tua rectius parte securus, namque in foro tali sive Athenaeo plus charta vestra quam nostra scriptura laudabitur, vale. [p. 96]

Sidonius Industrio suo Salutem.

Interveni proxime Vettio 1 inlustri viro et actiones eius cotidianas penitissime et veluti ex otio inspexi. quas quoniam dignas cognitu inveni, non indignas relatu existimavi, primore loco, quod iure ceteris laudibus anteponeamus, servat inlaesam domino domus par pudicitiam; servi utiles: rustici morigeri, urbani amici oboedientes patronoque contenti; mensa non minus pascens hospitem quam clientem; humanitas grandis grandiorque sobrietas. [2] illa leviora, quod ipse, quem loquimur, in equis canibus accipitribus instituendis spectandas circumferendis nulli secundus; summus nitor in vestibus, cultus in cingulis, splendor in phaleris; pomposus incessus, animus serius (iste publicam fidem, ille privatam asserit dignitatem); remissio non vitians, correctio non cruentans, et severitas eius temperamenti, quae non sit taetra sed tetrica. [3] inter haec sacrorum voluminum lectio frequens, per quam inter edendum saepius sumit animae cibum; psalmos crebro lectitat, [p. 98] crebrius cantat; novoque genere vivendi monachum complet non sub palliolo sed sub paludamento; ferarum carnibus abstinet, cursibus adquiescit; itaque occulte delicateque religiosus venatu utitur nec utitur venatione. [4] filiam unicam parvam post obitum uxoris relictam solacio caelibatus alit avita teneritudine, materna diligentia, paterna benignitate; erga familiam suam nec in proferendo alloquio minax nec in admittendo consilio spernax nec in reatu investigando persequax; subiectorum statum condicionemque non dominio sed iudicio regit; putes eum propriam domum non possidere sed potius administrare. [5] qua industria viri ac temperantia inspecta ad reliquorum quoque censui pertinere informationem, si vel summotenus vita ceteris talis publicaretur, ad quam sequendam praeter habitum, quo interim praesenti saeculo imponitur, omnes nostra professionis homines utilissime incitarentur, quia, quod pace ordinis mei dixerim, si tantum bona singula in singulis erunt, plus ego admiror sacerdotalem virum quam sacerdotem, vale. [p. 100]

Sidonius Industrio suo Salutem.

Erumpo in salutationem licet seram, domine meus, annis ipse iam multis insalutatus, frequentiam veteris officii servare non audens, postquam me soli patrii finibus eliminatum peregrinationis adversa fregerunt, quapropter vos quoque ignoscere decet erubescitibus, siquidem convenit humiliatos humilia sectari neque cum illis parem familiaritatis tenere constantiam, quibus forte sit improbum plus amoris quam reverentiae impendere, propter hoc denique iam diu taceo vosque tacuisse, cum filius meus Heliodorus huc venit, magis toleranter quam libenter accepi. [2] sed dicere solebas, quamquam fatigans, quod meam quasi facundiam vererere. excusatio istaec, etiamsi fuisset vera, transierat, quia post terminatum libellum, qui 1 parum cultior est, reliquas denuo litteras usuali, licet accuratus mihi melior non sit, sermone contexto; non enim tanti est poliri formulas editione carituras. ceterum si caritatis tuae [p. 102] morem pristino colloquiorum cursui reddis, et nos vetustae loquacitatis orbitas recurremus, praeter haec avide praevisio Christo, sicubi locorum 1 fueritis, modo redux patronus indulgeat, advolaturi, ut rebus amicitia vegetetur, quae verbis infrequentata torpuerat. vale.

Sidonius Petreio suo salutem

Angit me nimis damnum saeculi mei nuper erepto avunculo tuo Claudiano oculis nostris, ambigo an quempiam deinceps parem conspicaturis. vir siquidem fuit providus prudens, doctus eloquens, acer et hominum aevi loci populi sui ingeniosissimus quique indesinenter salva religione philosopharetur; et licet crinem barbamque non pasceret, pallium et clavam nunc inrideret, nunc etiam execraretur, a collegio tamen conplatoniorum solo habitu ac fide dissociabatur. [2] deus bone, quid erat illud, quotiens ad eum sola 2 consultationis gratia conveniebamus! [p. 104] quam ille omnibus statim 1 totum non dubitans, non fastidians aperiebat, voluptuosissimum reputans, si forte oborta quarumpiam quaestionum insolubilitate labyrinthica scientiae suae thesauri eventilarentur. iam si frequentes consederamus, officium audiendi omnibus, 2 uni solum quem forsitan elegissemus deputans ius loquendi, viritim vicissimque, non tumultuatim nec sine schematis cuiuspiam gestu artificioso doctrinae suae opes erogaturus. [3] dein quaecumque dixisset protinus reluctantium syllogismorum contrarietatibus excipiebamus; sed repellebat omnium nostrum temerarias oppositiones: itaque nihil non perpensum probatumque recipiebatur. hinc etiam illi apud nos maxima reverentia fuit, quod non satis ferebat aegre pigram in quibuspiam sequacitatem. haec apud eum culpa veniabilis erat; quo fiebat esset ut nobis patientia eiusdem sine imitatione laudabilis, quis 3 enim virum super abditis consuleret invitus, a cuius disputationis communione ne idiotarum quidem imperitorumque sciscitatio repudiabatur? 4 [4] haec pauca de studiis, ceterum cetera quis competenti praeconio extollat, quod condicionis humanae per omnia memor clericos opere sermone populares, exhortatione maerentes destitutos solacio, captivos pretio ieiunos cibo nudos operimento consolabatur? pariter et super his plura [p. 106] replicare superforaneum statuo. nam merita sua, quibus divitem conscientiam censu pauperatus locupletavit, spe futurae retributionis celare plus studuit. [5] ... episcopum fratrem maiorem natu affectuosissime observans, quem diligebat ut filium, cum tamquam patrem veneraretur. sed et ille suspiciebat hunc granditer, habens in eo consiliarium in iudiciis vicarium in ecclesiis, procuratorem in negotiis vilicum in praediis, tabularium in tributis in lectionibus comitem, in expositionibus interpretem in itineribus contubernalem, sic utrique ab alterutro usque ad invidiam exempli mutua fide germanitatis officia restituebantur. [6] sed quid dolorem nostrum moderaturi causis potius doloris fomenta sufficimus? ergo, ut dicere institueramus, huic iam, ut est illud Maronianum, cineri ingrato id est gratiam non relatuero neniam condidimus tristem luctuosamque propemodum laboriose, quia faceret dictandi desuetudo difficultatem, nisi quod animum natura desidiosissimum dolor fletu gravidus accendit, eius hoc carmen est: 2

germani decus et dolor Mamerti,
mirantum unica pompa episcoporum,.
hoc dat 3 caespites membra Claudianus, [p. 108]
triplex bybliothea quo magistro,
[5] Romana, Attica, Christiana, fulsit;
quam totam monachus virente in aevo
secreta bibit institutione,
orator, dialecticus, poeta,
tractator, geometra, musicusque,
[10] doctus solvere vincla quaestionum
et verbi gladio secare sectas,
si quae catholicam fidem lacescunt.
psalmorum hic modulator et phonascus
ante altaria fratre gratulante
[15] instructas docuit sonare classes.
hic sollemnibus annis paravit
quae quo tempore lecta convenirent.
antistes fuit ordine in secundo,
fratrem fasce levans episcopali.
[20] nam de pontificis tenore summi
ille insignia sumpsit, hic laborem.
at tu, quisque doles, amice lector,
de tanto quasi nil viro supersit,
udis parce genis rigare marmor:
[25] mens et gloria non queunt humari.

[7] Ecce quod carmen, cum primum affui, super unanimi fratris ossa
conscripsi, namque tunc affui, cum funerarentur; 1 nec ob hoc tamen peridi in
totum desideratissimam flendi occasionem, nam [p. 110] dum forte meditarer,
lacrimis habenas anima parturiens laxavi fecique ad epitaphium quod alii
fecerunt ad sepulchrum, haec ergo scripsimus tibi, ne forsitan arbitrare
solam nos colere vivorum sodalitem rei que tuo iudicio essemus, nisi
amicorum vita carentum semper aequae ut incolumium reminisceremur.
namque et ex hoc, quod vix reservatur imaginaria fides vel superstitibus, non
praeter aequum opinabere, si perpauca esse conicias, qui mortuos ament.
vale.

Sidonius Simplicio et Apollinari Suis salutem

Deus bone, quantum naufragioso pelago conformis est motus animorum, quippe cum nuntiorum turbinibus adversis quasi propria tempestate confunditur!1 nuper ego filiusque communis Terentianae Hecyrae sales ruminabamus; studentī assidebam naturae meminens et professionis oblitus quoque absolutius rhythmos comicos incitata docilitate sequeretur, ipse etiam fabulam similis argumenti id est Epitrepontem Menandri in manibus habebam. [2] legebamus pariter laudabamus iocabamurque et, quae vota communia sunt, illum lectio, me ille [p. 112] capiebat, cum repente puer familiaris adstitit vultuosus. cui nos: ‘quid ita?’ et ille: ‘lectorem,’ inquit, ‘Constantem nomine pro foribus vidi a dominis Simplicio et Apollinare redeuntem; dedit quidem litteras quas acceperat sed perdidit quas recepit.’ [3] quibus agnitis serenitas laetitiae meae confestim nubilo superducti maeroris insorduit tantamque mihi bilem nuntii huiusce contrarietas excitavit, ut per plurimos dies illum ipsum hermam stolidissimum venire ante oculos meos inexoratus arcuerim, laturus aegre, si mihi apices aut quoscumque aut quorumcumque non redderet, taceam vestros, qui mihi, dum recti compos animus durat, minime frequentes maxime desiderabiles iudicabuntur. 4, at postquam nostra sensim temporis intervallo ira defremuit, percontor admissum,1 num verbo quippiam praeterea detulisset. respondit ipse, quamquam esset trepidus et sternax et prae reatu balbutiret ore, caecutiret intuitu, totum quo instrui, quo delectari valerem, paginis quae intercidissent fuisse mandatum, quocirca recurrite ad pugillares, replicate membranas et scripta rescribite. tamdiu enim aequanimiter admitto, ut desiderio meo sinister eventus officiat, donec ad vos nostro sermone per-veniat ad nos vestrum non pervenisse sermonem, valete. [p. 114]

Sidonius Vectio suo Salutem.

Nuper rogatu Germanici spectabilis viri Cantillensem ecclesiam inspexi. est ipse loco sitorum 2 facile primus quique post tergum cum iam duodecim lustra transmittat, cotidie tamen habitu cultuque conspicuo non iuvenescit solum sed quodammodo repuerascit. enimvero vestis adstricta, tensus coturnus, crinis in rotae specimen accisus barba intra rugarum latebras mersis ad cutem secta forcipibus, [2] ad hoc et munere superno membrorum solida coniunctio, integer visus, amplus in celeri gressus incessu, incorruptae lactea dentium compage gingivae, non illi stomachus nauseat, non vena flammatur, non cor incutitur, non pulmo suspirat, non riget lumbus, non iecur turget, non mollescit manus, non spina curvatur, sed praeditus sanitate iuvenali solam sibi vindicat de senectute reverentiam. [3] propter quae beneficia peculiararia dei, quoniam vobis iura amicitiae grandia vigent, quippe vicinis, obsecro ac moneo, ut consilio tuo, cui sequendo per conscientiam magnam maximam tribuis auctoritatem, non multum fidat ambiguis nec nimis nimiae credat [p. 116] incolumitati, sed tandem professione religionis arrepta viribus potius resurgentis innocentiae convalescat, faciat se vetustus annis meritis novum. [4] et quoniam nemo ferme est, qui plectibilibus careat occultis, ipse super his, quae clam commissa reminiscitur, palam fusa satisfactione solvatur, nam sacerdotis pater filiusque pontificis, nisi sanctus est, rubo similis efficitur, quem de rosis natum rosasque parientem et genitis gignentibusque floribus medium pungentibus comparanda peccatis dumorum vallat asperitas. vale.

Sidonius Polemio suo salutem

Gaius Tacitus unus e maioribus tuis, Ulpianorum temporum consularis, sub verbis cuiuspiam Germanici ducis in historia sua rettulit dicens: ‘cum Vespasiano mihi vetus amicitia; et, dum privatus esset, amici vocabamur.’ ‘quo respicit,’ ais, ‘ista praefari?’ ut scilicet memineris eo. tempore, quo personam publicam portas, gratiae te privatae memorem semper esse oportere, biennium prope clauditur, quod te praefectum praetorio Galliarum [p. 118] non nova vestra dignatione sed nostro affectu adhuc vetere gaudemus, qui, si Romanarum rerum sineret adversitas, aegre toleraremus, nisi singulae personae, non dicam provinciae, variis per te beneficiis amplificarentur. [2] et nunc, cum id, quod possibilitas tua non habet, verecundia non petatur,1 dicas velim, qualiter futurus fueris humanus in factis, qui perduras avarus in verbis, nam tuorum peritiae comparatus non solum Cornelios oratores sed Ausonios quoque poetas vincere potes, si te hactenus philosophantem 2 nova subito ob iurisdictionem gloria capit: et nos aliquod nomenque decusque gessimus. [3] at si videtur humilitas nostrae professionis habenda contemptui, quia Christo res humanas vitasque medicaturo putrium conscientiarum ultro 3 squalens ulcus aperimus, quod in nostri ordinis viris, etsi adhuc aliquid de neglegentia fetet, iam tamen nihil de superbia tumet, noveris volo non, ut est apud praesulem fori, sic esse apud iudicem mundi, namque ut is, qui propria vobis non tacuerit flagitia, damnatur, ita nobiscum qui eadem deo fuerit confessus absolvitur. unde liquido patet incongrue a partibus [p. 120] vestris nimis reum pronuntiari cuius causa plus spectat tribunal alienum. [4] quapropter imminentem querellam nostri doloris nequaquam valebis ulterius effundere,1 quia, succedentibus prosperis sive obliviscare seu neglegas gratiam antiquam, iuxta est acerbum, proinde si futura magni pensitas, scribe clerico, si praesentia, scribe collegae; et hanc in te ipse virtutem, si naturalis est, excole, si minus, ut insiticiam appone, qua sodales vetustos numquam pro consequentum novitate fastidias. porro autem videbere sic amicis uti quasi floribus, tamdiu gratis, donec recentibus, vale.

Sidonius Elaphio suo salutem

Epulum multiplex et capacissima lectisternia para: plurimis viis, pluribus turbis (ita bonorum contubernio sedit 2) ad te venit, quippe postquam omnibus tempus futurae dedicationis inclaruit. nam baptisterium, quod olim fabricabamini, scribitis posse iam consecrari. ad quae festa vos voti nos ministerii, officii multos fidei totos causa sollicitat; siquidem res est grandis exempli eo tempore a vobis nova [p. 122] ecclesiarum culmina strui, quo vix alius auderet vetusta sarcire. [2] quod restat, optamus, ut deo nostro per uberes annos, sicut vota redditis, ita reddenda voveatis, idque non solum religione celata, sed et conversione manifesta; mitigatoque temporum statu tam desiderio meo Christus indulgeat quam Rutenorum, ut possitis et pro illis offerre sacrificia, qui iam pro vobis offertis altaria. [3] de cetero, quamquam et 1 extremus autumnus iam diem breviat et viatorum sollicitas aures foliis toto nemore labentibus crepulo fragore circumstrepit inque castellum, ad quod invitas, utpote Alpinis rupibus cinctum, sub vicinitate brumali difficiliter escenditur, 2 nos tamen deo praevio per tuorum montium latera confragosa venientes nec subiectas cautes nec superiectas nives expavescemus, quamvis iugorum profunda declivitas aggere cocleatim fracto saepe redeunda sit, quia, et si nulla sollemnitas, tu satis dignus es, ut est Tullianum illud, propter quem Thespieae visantur, vale. [p. 124]

Sidonius Ruricio suo salutem

Accepi per Paterninum paginam vestram, quae plus mellis an salis habeat incertum est. ceterum eloquii copiam hanc praefert, hos olet flores, ut bene appareat non vos manifesta modo verum furtiva quoque lectione proficere, quamquam et hoc furtum quod deprecans exemplati libelli non venia tam debeat respicere quam gloria, quid tu enim facias absque virtute, qui nec ipsa peccata sine laude committis? [2] ego vero quicquid impositum est fraudis mihi, utpote absenti, libens audio principalique pro munere amplector, quod 1 quodammodo damnum indemne toleravi. neque enim quod tuo accessit usui, decessit hoc nostrae proprietati aut ad incrementa scientiae vestrae per detrimenta venistis alienae, quin potius ipse 2 iure abhinc uberi praeconio non carebis, 3 qui magis igneo ingenio naturam decenter ignis imitatus es 4 de quo si quid demere velis, remanet totus totusque transfertur, unde iam parce trepidare deque moribus amici plusculum recto secus credere, namque in hoc facto nos magis vulnus polluit culpa, si feriat ictus invidiae, vale. [p. 126]

Sidonius Aruogasti suo Salutem.

Eminentius amicus tuus, domine maior, obtulit mihi quas ipse dictasti litteras litteratas et gratiae trifariam renidentis 2 cultu refertas. quarum utique virtutum caritas prima est, quae te coegit in nobis vel peregrinis vel iam latere cupientibus humilia dignari; tum verecundia, cuius instinctu dum in-merito trepidas, merito praedicans; tertia urbanitas, qua te ineptire facetissime allegas et Quirinalis impletus fonte facundiae potor Mosellae Tiberim ructas, sic barbarorum familiaris, quod tamen nescius barbarismorum, par ducibus antiquis lingua manuque, sed quorum dextera solebat non stilum minus tractare quam gladium. [2] quocirca sermonis pompa Romani, si qua adhuc uspiam est, Belgicis olim sive Rhenanis abolita terris in te resedit, quo vel incolumi vel perorante, etsi apud limitem [ipsum] 3 [p. 128] Latina iura ceciderunt, verba non titubant. quapropter alternum salve rependens granditer laetor saltem in inlustri pectore tuo vanescentium litterarum remansisse vestigia, quae si frequenti lectione continuas, experire per dies, quanto antecellunt beluis homines, tanto anteferri rusticis institutos. [3] de paginis sane quod spiritalibus vis ut aliquid interpret improbus garriam, iustius haec postulantur 1 a sacerdotibus loco propinquis aetate grandaevis, fide claris opere vulgatis, ore promptis memoria tenacibus, omni denique meritorum sublimium dote potioribus. namque ut antistitem civitatis vestrae relinquam, consummatissimum virum cunctarumque virtutum conscientia et fama iuxta beatum, multo opportunius de quibuscumque quaestionibus tibi interrogatur 2 incliti Galliarum patres et protomystae, nec satis positus in longinquo Lupus nec parum in proximo Auspicius, quorum doctrinae abundanti eventilandae nec consultatio tua sufficit, proinde quod super hac precum parte non parui, benignus quidem sed et iustus ignosce, quia si vos imperitiam fugere par est, me quoque decet vitare iactantiam, vale. [p. 130]

Sidonius Lucontio suo Salutem.

Oblivisceris quod rogans eque contrario, si quid iniungas, ex asse meministi, repetere perlongum est de cito reditu quae tu tuique promiseritis mihi meisque, quorum omnium non sunt vel minima completa. quin potius, cum fugam a nobis machinaremini, quo reversuros ad sacrum pascha vos putaremus, nullae graves sarcinae ad praedium ex oppido ductae, nulla serraca, nulla esseda subvehendis oneribus adtrahebantur. [2] utque de matronalium partium nil querar fraude, quas cum expeditis tulistis impedimentis, tuque fraterque communis Volusianus vix singulorum clientum puerorumque comitatu ambiebamini; per quod sollicitudinem prosequentum vana mox recurrendi spe fefellistis; certe frater Volusianus, qui forte pergens in praedia Baiocassina totamque 1 provinciam Lugdunensem secundam pervagaturus, 2 expectationem nostram specie brevioris itineris elusit. [3] et nunc ipse sic multis contra fidem diebus otiabundus ais tibi si quas postea luserim metro nugas mitti [p. 132] oportere, annuo iniunctis, quia dignus es, ut talia legas; nam carmen ipsum, quod nunc e manibus elabitur, tam rusticanum est tamque impolitum, ut me non illud ad villam sed potius e villa mittere putes. [4] basilicam sancti pontificis confessorisque Martini Perpetuus episcopus, dignissimus tanto praedecessore successor, multum priori 1 quae fuit hactenus capaciorem novavit. magnum est, ut ferunt, opus nominandumque quod in honorem talis viri factum talis vir fecisse debuerit, huius me parietibus inscribere supradictus sacerdos hoc epigramma compellit, quod recensebis, ut est in his, quaecumque deposcit, privilegio caritatis imperiosissimus. [5] atque utinam molis illius pompam sive donaria nihil huius obsequii turpet oblatio; quod secus fore plurimum timeo, nisi forsitan inter omnia venusta sic epigrammatis istius foeditas placeat, ut niger naevus candido in corpore, qui quidem solet sic facere risum quod accipere suffragium, sed quid hinc amplius? pone fistulas ipse pastorias et elegiae nostrae, quia pede claudicat, manum porrigere.

Martini corpus totis venerabile terris,
in quo post vitae tempora vivit honor, [p. 134]
texerat hic primum plebeio machina cultu,
quae confessori non erat aequa suo.

[5] nec desistebat cives onerare pudore
gloria magna viri, gratia parva loci;
antistes sed qui numeratur sextus ab ipso
longam Perpetuus sustulit invidiam,
internum removens modici penetrale sacelli
[10] amplaque tecta levans exteriore domo;
creveruntque simul valido tribuente patrono
in spatiis aedes, 1 conditor in meritis,

quae Salamoniaco potis est configere templo,
septima quae mundo fabrica mira fuit.
[15] nam gemmis auro argento si splenduit illud,
istud transgreditur cuncta metalla fide.
livor, abi, mordax absolvanturque priores,
nil novet aut addat garrula posteritas;
dumque venit Christus, populos qui suscitet omnes,
[20] perpetuo durent culmina Perpetui.

[6] Obtulimus, ut cernis, quod cantilenae recentis obvium manui fuit; sed
nec hoc minus, si moras nectis, astra quatiemus, versibus quoque
satiographis, si res exegerit, usuri, quos huic carmini lenitate adaequandos
falso putabis, namque efficacius citius ardentius natura mortalium culpat
aliqua quam laudet, vale. [p. 136]

Sidonius Florentino suo Salutem.

Et moras nostras et silentium accusas, utrumque purgabile est; namque et
venimus et scribimus, vale.

Sidonius Domnicio 1 suo salutem

Tu, cui frequenter arma et armatos 2 inspicere iucundum est, quam voluptatem, putamus, mente conceperas,³ si Sigismerem regium iuvenem ritu atque cultu gentilicio ornatum, utpote sponsum seu petitoem, praetorium soceri expetere vidisses! illum equus quidem phaleris comptus, immo equi radiantibus gemmis onusti antecedeabant vel etiam subsequebantur, cum tamen magis hoc ibi decorum conspiciebatur,⁴ quod cursoribus 5 suis sive pedisequis pedes et ipse medius incessit, flammeus cocco rutilus auro lacteus serico, tum cultui tanto coma rubore 6 cute concolor. ^[2] regulatorum autem sociorumque [p. 138] comitantum forma et in pace terribilis; quorum pedes primi perone saetoso talos adusque vinciebantur; genua crura suraeque sine tegmine; praeter hoc vestis alta stricta versicolor vix appropinquans poplitibus exertis; manicae sola brachiorum principia velantes; viridantia saga limbis marginata puniceis; penduli ex umero gladii balteis supercurrentibus strinxerant clausa bullatis latera rhenonibus. ^[3] eo quo comebantur ornatu muniebantur; lanceis uncatis securibusque missibilibus 1 dextrae refertae clipeis laevam partem adumbrantibus, quorum lux in orbibus nivea, fulva in umbonibus ita cenum prodebat ut studium, cuncta prorsus huiusmodi, ut in actione thalamorum non appareret minor Martis pompa quam Veneris, sed quid haec pluribus? spectaculo tali sola praesentia tua defuit, nam cum viderem quae tibi pulchra sunt non te 2 videre, ipsam eo tempore desiderii tui impatientiam desideravi, vale.

Sidonius Apro suo salutem

Est quidem princeps in genere monstrando partis paternae praerogativa, sed tamen multum est, [p. 140] quod debemus et matribus, non enim a nobis aliquid exilius fas honorari quod pondera illarum quam quod istorum semina sumus, sed originis nostrae de-finiendae materia vel ratio sit penes physicos: nos, unde haec ipsa praemisimus, persequamur. [2] Haeduis pater tibi, mater Arverna est. primis Haeduis deberis, ergo non solis, vel propter illud exemplum nostri Maronis, quo teste Pallas, sic habitus Arcas quod pariter et Samnis, in Mezentium movere potuisset ut peregrinus arma Etruscorum, ni mixtus matre Sabella partem quoque patriae inde traxisset. ecce habes magnum maximo auctore documentum, quod patriae pars computanda sit et regio materna, nisi poetas et cum ab historia non recedunt mentiri existimabis. [3] igitur Arverni si portionem tui saltem vicissim iure sibi vindicant, patienter admitte querirnoniarn desiderantum, qui tibi per unius oris officium non unius pectoris profudere secretum, quos palam et coram dicere puta: ‘quid in te mali tantum, ingrate, commisimus, ut per tot annos quondam humum altricem nunc velut hosticum solum fugias? hic incunabula tua fovimus; hic vagientis infantiae Iactantia membra formavimus; hic civi-carum baiulabare pondus ulnarum. [4] hinc avus [p. 142] Fronto, blandus tibi sibi severus, qui exemplo esse potuisset his, quos habemus nos in exemplo; hinc avia Auspicia, quae tibi post tuae matris orbato 1 decessum dependit una curam duarum, sed et matertera tua hinc, et hinc 2 fuit sanctior sanctis Frontina virginibus, quam verebatur mater pater venerabatur, summae abstinentiae puella, summi rigoris, ac fide ingenti 3 sic deum timens, ut ab hominibus metue-retur. hic te imbuendum liberalibus disciplinis grammatici rhetorisque studia florentia monitu certante foverunt, unde tu non tam mediocriter institutus existi, ut tibi liceat Arvernos vel propter litteras non amare. [5] taceo territorii peculiarem iucunditatem; taceo illud aequor agrorum, in quo sine periculo quaestuosae fluctuant in segetibus undae, quod industrius quisque quo plus frequentat, hoc minus naufragat; viatoribus molle, fructuosum aratoribus, venatoribus voluptuosum; quod montium cingunt dorsa pascuis latera vinetis, terrena villis saxosa castellis, opaca lustris aperta culturis, concava fontibus abrupta fluminibus; quod denique huiusmodi est, ut semel visum advenis multis patriae oblivionem saepe persuadeat. [6] taceo civitatem [p. 144] ipsam tui semper sic amantissimam, ut soli 1 nobilium contubernio praeferre nil debeas, cui tu manu iniecta feliciter raptus inserebare; sicque omnes praesentiae vestrae voluptas, quod tamen nullum satias cepit, iam quid istic de re familiari tua dicam, cuius hic status est, ut tuam expensam hoc sit facinus tolera-tura, quo crebrius? nam dominus agricola, si larem hic foveat, sic facit sumptum quod auget et 2 redditum.’ haec unus tibi omnium civium, certe bonorum, voto petitu vice garrio; qui cum tanto honore te poscant, tanto amore desiderent, intellegi datur gaudii plus te, dum tribuis quod rogaris, assecuturum. vale.

Sidonius Leoni suo salutem

Vir magnificus Hesperius, gemma amicorum litterarumque, nuper urbe cum rediit e Tolosatium, praecipere te dixit, ut epistularum curam iam terminalis libris earum converteremus ad stilum historiae, reverentia summa, summo et 3 affectu talem atque tantam sententiam amplector; idoneum quippe pronuntias ad opera maiora quem mediocria [p. 146] putas deserere debere, sed, quod fatendum est, facinus audeo huiusmodi suspicere iudicium quam suscipere consilium. [2] res quidem digna quam tu iuberis sed non minus digna quam faceres, namque et antiquitus, cum Gaius Cornelius Gaio Secundo paria suasisset, ipse postmodum quod iniunxit arripuit, idque ab exemplo nunc melius 1 aggredieris, 2 quia et ego Plinio ut discipulus assurgo et tu vetusto genere narrandi iure Cornelium antevenis, qui saeculo nostro si revivisceret teque qualis in litteris et quantus habere conspicaretur, modo verius Tacitus esset. [3] itaque tu molem thematis missi 3 recte capessis, cui praeter eloquentiam singularem scientiae ingentis magna opportunitas, cotidie namque per potentissimi consilia regis totius sollicitus orbis pariter [eius] 4 negotia et iura, foedera et bella, loca spatia merita cognoscis, unde quis iustius sese ad ista succinxerit, quam ille, quem constat gentium motus legationum varietates, facta ducum pacta regnantum, tota denique publicarum rerum secreta didicisse, quique praestanti positus in culmine non necesse [p. 148] habet vel suppressere verum vel concinnare mendacium? [4] at nostra longe condicio dispar, quibus dolori peregrinatio nova nec usui lectio vetus, tum 1 religio professioni est, humilitas appetitui, mediocritas obscuritati, nec in praesentibus rei tantum, quantum in futuris spei locatum, postremo languor impedimento iamque vel sero propter hunc ipsum desidia cordi; aequaeva certe iam super studiis nulla laus curae, sed ne postuma quidem. [5] praecipue gloriam nobis parvam ab historia petere 2 fixum, quia per homines clericalis officii temerarie nostra iactanter aliena, praeterita infructuose praesentia semiplene, turpiter falsa periculose vera dicuntur, est enim huiusmodi thema [vel opus], 3 in quo bonorum si facias mentionem, modica gratia paratur, si notabilium, maxuma offensa, sic se illi 4 protinus dictioni color odorque satiricus admiscet. illicet: scriptio historica videtur ordine a nostro multum abhorrere, cuius inchoatio invidia, continuato labor, finis est odium. [6] sed tunc ista [p. 150] proveniunt, clericis si aliquid dictetur auctoribus; qui colubrinis oblatratorum molaribus fixi, si quid simpliciter edamus, insani, si quid exacte, praesuinptiosi vocamur. at si tu ipse, cui datum est saltibus gloriae proterere posse 1 cervices vituperonum seu supercurrere, materiae istius libens provinciam sortiare, nemo te Celsius scripserit, nemo et antiquius, etiamsi placeat recentia loqui; quandoquidem sermonum copia impletus ante, nunc rerum, non reliquisti, cur venenato morsu secere. atque ideo te in posterum consuli utilitas, audiri voluptas, legi auctoritas erit. vale.

Sidonius Proculo suo salutem

Filius tuus, immo communis ad me cucurrit, qui te relicto deliquisse se maeret, obrutus paenitendi pudore transfugii. igitur audito culpa tenore corripui latitabundum verbis amans vultu minaci et mea quidem voce sed vice tua dignum abdicatione [p. 152] cruce culleo clamans ceterisque suppliciiis parricidalibus. ad haec ille confusus inrubit, nil impudenti excusatione deprecatus errorem, sed ad cuncta convictum cum redarguerem, verecundiae iunxit comites lacrimas ita profluas ubertimque manantes, ut secuturae correctioni fidem fecerint. [2] rogo ergo sis clemens in se severo et deum sequens non habeas te iudice reum se profitente damnabilem; quem si inaudita genera poenarum iubeas inexoratus excipere, non potest amplius per te dolore quam per se pudore torqueri, libera metu desperationem suam, libera confidentiam meam et, pietatis paternae necessitatem si bene interpretor, te quoque absolve, qui conficeris occulto, quod filius publico maerore conficitur. cui fecisse me constat plurimum iniuriae, si tu tamen vel parum feceris, quam certe, ut spero, non facies, nisi scopulis durior duras aut adamantibus rigidior perseveras insecabilibus. [3] ergo si de moribus tuis deque amicitii iuste meliora praesumo, excusato propitius indulge, quem reconcilians fore fidelem constanter in posterum spondeo, quoque velociter culpa soluto ego beneficio ligor, magnopere deposcens, non ut ignoscas modo verum ut et pro- [p. 154] tinus, et revertentem non domo solum sed et pectore admittas. deus magne, quam laetus orietur tibi dies, mihi nuntius, animus illi, cum paternis pedibus affusus ex illo ore laeso, ore terribili, dum convicium expectat,1 osculum exceperit! vale. [p. 156]

Sidonius Turno suo salutem

Bene nomini, bene negotio tuo congruit Mantuani illud: Turne, quod optanti divum promittere nemo auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro. pecuniam pater tuus Turpio, vir tribunicius, mutuam pridem, si recordaris, a Maximo Palatino postulavit [p. 158] impetravitque, nil quidem loco fiducia pignorisque vel argenti sequestrans vel obligans praediorum; sed, ut chirographo facto docetur, cauta centesima est faeneratori, quae per bilustre producta tempus modum sortis ad duplum adduxit. [2] sed cum pater tuus morti propinqua morbo incumbente succumberet atque ob hoc ipsum publica auctoritas male valentem patremfamilias violentius ad reformandum debitum artaret nec sustineri valeret improbitas executorum, proficiscenti mihi Tolosam iam desperatus litteris imperavit, ut me rogante creditor vester modicas saltim largiretur indutias, precibus orantis citus annui, quia cum Maximo mihi non notitiae solum verum et hospitii vetera iura. igitur ad amicum libens ex itinere perrexī, quamquam villa non paucis aggere a publico milibus abesset. [3] ut veni, occurrit mihi ipse, quem noveram antea corpore erectum gressu expeditum, voce liberum facie liberalem, multum ab antiquo dissimilis incessu, habitus viro, gradus pudor, color sermo religiosus, [p. 160] tum coma brevis barba prolixa, tripodes sellae, Cilicum vela foribus appensa, lectus nil habens plumae, mensa nil purpurae, humanitas ipsa sic benigna quod frugi, nec ita carnibus abundans ut leguminibus; certe, si quid in cibis unctius, non sibi sed hospitibus indulgens. [4] cum surgeremus, clam percontor adstantes, quod genus vitae de tribus arripuisset ordinibus, monachum ageret an clericum paenitentemve.1 dixerunt nuper impacto sacerdotio fungi, quo recusantem factiose ligasset civicus amor. luce revoluta, dum pueri clientesque capiendis animalibus occuparentur, secretae conlocutionis peto copiam, praestat: amplector nil opinantem gratularique me primum pro sui status apice confirmo, tum consequentes misceo preces. [5] Turpionis nostri rogata profero, allego necessitates, extrema deploro, quae duriora maerentibus amicis hinc viderentur, quod faenore ligatus corpore solveretur: meminisset ergo professionis novae, sodalitatis antiquae, exactorumque circumlatrantum barbaram instantiam indultis tantisper indutiis moderaretur; et, si decessisset aeger, tribueret heredibus annui luctus tempus immune; si, quod optarem, pristinam Turpio salutem recuperasset, indulgeret exhausto [p. 162] per otium facultatem convalescendi. [6] adhuc rogabam, cum repente vir caritatis flere granditer coepit non moram debiti sed periculum debitoris; frenato-que singultu: ‘absit a me,’ inquit, ‘ut haec reposcam clericus ab aegro, quae vix petissem miles a sospite, sed et liberos eius ita diligo, ut etiam si quid adversum cesserit amico, nil sum ab his amplius postulaturus quam mei officii ratio permittit. quapropter scribe sollicitis (quoque plus credant litteris tuis, meas iunge), quisquis ille fuerit languoris eventus, quem tamen fratri prosperum optamus, quod et annum solutioni spatium prorogabo et

superpositam medietatem, quae per usurae nomen accrevit, indulgeam, sola simpli restitutione contentus.’ [7] egi ad haec gratias deo maximas, hospiti magnas, qui sic amaret tam suam famam quam conscientiam, confirmans amicum praemittere sibi quod dimitteret vobis, atque hinc superna regna mercari, quod beneficia terrena non venderet. ergo quod restat enitere, ut auctore te protinus saltim commodata summa solvatur, sic ut ingentes nihilominus gratias agas etiam nomine illorum, qui tibi germanitate coniuncti fors per aetatem sapere non possunt, quid muneris consequantur. [8] non est cur dicere incipias: ‘habeo consortes necdum celebrata [p. 164] divisio est; avarius me constat esse tractatum quam coheredes; frater ac soror sub annis adhuc tute-laribus agunt; sorori necdum maritus, fratri necdum curator, curatori necdum satisdator inventus est.’ quod quidem totum creditoribus bene, sed malis dicitur; at cum habet talis persona contractum, quae velit medium relaxare, cum totum possit exigere, si moram patitur, quicquid propter misericordiam concesserat pie, iuste reposcit propter iniuriam, vale.

Sidonius Domnulo suo salutem

Nequeo differre, quin grandis communione te gaudii festinus inperitiam, nimirum nosse cupientem, quid pater noster in Christo pariter et pontifex Patiens Cabillonum profectus more religionis, more constantiae suae fecerit, cum venisset in oppidum suprascriptum provincialium sacerdotum praeivio partim, partim comitante collegio, scilicet ut municipio summus aliquis antistes ordinaretur, cuius [p. 166] ecclesiae disciplina nutabat, postquam iunior episcopus Paulus discesserat decesseratque, exceperunt pontificale concilium variae voluntates oppidanorum, nec non et illa quae bonum publicum semper evertunt studia privata; [2] quae quidam triumviratus accenderat competitorum, quorum hic antiquam natalium praerogativam reliqua destitutus morum dote ructabat, hic per fragores parasiticos culinarum suffragio comparatos Apicianis plausibusingere-batur, hic, apice votivo si potiretur, tacita pactione promiserat ecclesiastica plosoribus suis praedae praedia fore. [3] quod ubi viderunt sanctus Patiens et sanctus Euphronius, qui rigorem firmitatemque sententiae sanioris praeter odium gratiamque primi tenebant, consilio cum coepiscopis prius clam communicato quam palam prodito strepituque despecto turbae furentis iunctis 1 repente manibus arreptum nihilque tum minus quam quae agebantur optantem suspicantemque sanctum Iohannem, virum honestate humanitate mansuetudine insignem. [4] (lector hic [p. 168] primum, sic minister altaris, idque ab infantia, post laborum temporumque processu archidiaconus, in quo seu gradu seu ministerio multum retentus propter industriam diu dignitate non potuit augeri, ne potestate posset absolvi): attamen hunc iam secundi ordinis sacerdotem dissonas inter partium voces, quae differebant laudare non ambientem sed nec audebant culpae laudabilem, stupentibus factiosis erubescens malis, acclamantibus bonis reclamantibus nullis collegam sibi consecraverat. [5] nunc ergo Iurensia si te remittunt iam monasteria, in quae libenter solitus escendere 1 iam caelestibus supernisque praeludis habitaculis, gaudere te par est de communium patrum vel patronorum seu sic sentiente concordia seu sic concordante sententia, illius quoque nomine exulta, quem creaverunt Euphronius testimonio, manu Patiens, ambo iudicio, in quo fecit Euphronius quod conveniret non senectutis modo suae verum etiam dignitatis longaevitati, fecit et Patiens, vir quamlibet magnis par tamen laudibus, quod satis decuit facere personam, quae caput est civitati nostrae per sacerdotium, provinciae vero per civitatem, vale. [p. 170]

BOOK V.

Sidonius Petronio suo salutem

Audio, quod lectitandis epistulis meis voluptuosam patientiam inpendas. magnum hoc est et litterarum viro convenientissimum, cum studiis ipse maxumis polleas, ea in aliis etiam minima complecti, sed ex hoc ipso consummatissima tibi gloria reponderatur; nam satis eminet meritis ingenii proprii qui fuerit fautor alieni. [2] commendo Vindicium necessarium meum, virum religiosum et leviticae dignitati, quam nuper indeptus est, accommodatissimum. cui meis e pugillaribus transferre quae iusseras non vacans proquam provincia 1 fuit, hic vobis aliquid neniarum munusculi vice detuli; 2 quamquam, quae tua sanctitas, semper grandia litteras nostras praemia putes. [3] interea necessitatem praefati [p. 172] portitoris insinuo, quem traxit isto negotii oborti bipertita condicio, siquidem hac definitione perrexit, ut aut ineat litem aut adeat hereditatem. nam patrueli paterno caelibi intestatoque defuncto per agnationis praerogativam succedere parat, nisi tamen coeptis factiosa vis obviet. contra quas tamen cunctas difficultates solus post opem Christi supplici tuo sufficis, cuius confido quod, si meruerit persona gratiam, consequetur causa victoriam, vale.

Sidonius Nymphidio suo salutem

Librum de statu animae tribus voluminibus inlustrem Mamertus Claudianus peritissimus Christianorum philosophus et quorumlibet primus eruditum totis sectatae 1 philosophiae membris artibus partibusque comere et excolere curavit, novem quas vocant Musas disciplinas aperiens esse, non feminas. namque in paginis eius vigilax lector inveniet veriora nomina Camenarum, quae propriam de se sibi pariunt nuncupationem. illic enim et grammatica dividit et oratoria declamat et arithmetica numerat et geometrica metitur et musica ponderat et dia- [p. 174] lectica disputat et astrologia 1 praenoscit et architectonica struit et metrica modulatur. [2] huius lectionis novitate laetatus excitatusque maturitate raptim recensendam transferendamque, ut videras, petisti, ut petieras, impetrasti sub sponsione citae redhibitionis. nec me falli nec te fallere decet. tempus est commodata restitui, quia liber ipse, si placuit, debuit exhibere satietatem, si displicuit, debuit movere fastidium, tu autem, quicquid illud est, fidem tuam celeriter absolve, ne si repetitum libellum serius reddere paras, membranas potius videaris amare quam literas. vale.

Sidonius Apollinari suo salutem

Par erat quidem garrulitatem nostram silentii vestri talione frenari. sed quoniam perfecta dilectio non tam debet recolere, quid officiorum solvat, quam meminisse, quid debeat, etiam nunc laxatis verecundiae habenis obsequium alloquii impudentis iteramus. cuius improbitas vel hinc maxime dinoscitur, quod tacetis. ergone quid tempore hostilitatis [p. 176] ageritis, frater, nosse non merui? dissimulastis trepido pro vobis amico vel securitatem prodere vel timorem? [2] quid est aliud, si requirenti tuas supprimas 1 actiones, quam suspicari eum, qui tui sollicitus existat, aut certe non gavisurum compertis prosperis aut tristem, si diversa cesserint, non futurum? facessat haec a bonis moribus impietatis opinio et a candore suo vera caritas naevum tam miserae suspicionis eliminat. namque, ut Crispus vester affirmat, idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. [3] interea si vel vos valetis, bene est. ego autem, infelicis conscientiae mole depressus, vi febrium nuper extremum salutis accessi, utpote cui indignissimo tantae professionis pondus impactum est, qui miser, ante compulsus docere quam discere et ante praesumens bonum praedicare quam facere, tamquam sterilis arbor, cum non habeam opera pro pomis, spargo verba pro foliis. [4] quod restat, orate, ut operae pretium sit, quod ab inferna propemodum sede remeavimus, ne, si in praeteritis criminibus manserimus, incipiat ad animae potius mortem pertinere quod vivimus, ecce quod agimus indicamus; ecce adhuc, quid agatis, inquirimus. fit a nostra parte quod pium est, vos deinceps facite quod videtur, illud sane [p. 178] velut Atticas 1 leges ita aeri 2 credite incisum, nos sub ope Christi numquam admissuros amoris terminum, cuius studuimus fundare principium, vale.

Sidonius Simplicio suo salutem

Quod non recepi scripta qui miseram, imputo amicitiae, sed deputo plus pudori, nam, nisi praeter aequum autumo, ut salutatio mihi debita dissimularetur, non illud contumacia sed verecundia fuit. at si ulterius paginae garrienti forem claudis, pessulum opponis, quieti quidem tuae non invitus indulgeo, sed non procul a te reos meos inventurum me esse denuntio. [2] nam totam silentii vestri invidiam verti non iniurium est ad superbiam filiorum, qui se diligi sentientes quoddam patiuntur de nostra sedulitate fastidium, quos monere pro [p. 180] patria auctoritate debebitis, ut contractae apud nos offensae amaritudinem politis affatibus dulcare non desinant. vale.

Sidonius Syagrio suo salutem

Cum sis consulis pronepos idque per virilem successionem (quamquam id ad causam subiciendam minus attinet), cum sis igitur e semine poetae, cui procul dubio statuas dederant litterae, si trabeae non dedissent (quod etiam nunc auctoris culta versibus verba testantur), a quo studia posterorum ne parum quidem, quippe in hac parte, degeneraverunt, immane narratu est, quantum stupeam sermonis te Germanici notitiam tanta facilitate rapuisse. [2] atqui pueritiam tuam competenter scholis liberalibus memini imbutam et saepenumero acriter eloquenterque declamasse coram oratore satis habeo compertum, atque haec cum ita sint, velim dicas, unde subito hauserunt pectora tua euphoniā gentis alienae, ut modo mihi post ferulas lectionis Maronianae postque desudatam varicosi Arpinatis opus- [p. 182] etiam loquacitatemque quasi de harilao 1 vetere novus falco 2 prorumpas? [3] aestimari minime potest, quanto mihi ceterisque sit risui, quotiens audio, quod te praesente formidet linguae suae facere barbarus barbarismum. adstupet tibi epistulas interpretari curva Germanorum senectus et negotiis mutuis arbitrum te disceptatoremque desumit. novus Burgundionum Solon in legibus disserendis, novus Amphion in citharis, sed trichordibus, temperandis, amaris frequentaris, expeteris oblectas, eligeris adhiberis, decernis audiris. et quamquam aequae corporibus ac sensu rigidi sint indolatilesque, amplectuntur in te pariter et discunt sermonem patrium, cor Latinum. [4] restat hoc unum, vir facetissime, ut nihilo segnius, vel cum vacabit, aliquid lectioni operis 3 impendas custodiasque hoc, prout es elegantissimus, temperamentum, ut ista tibi lingua teneatur, ne ridearis, illa exerceatur, ut rideas. vale. [p. 184]

Sidonius Apollinari suo Salutem.

Cum primum aestas decessit autumnus et Arvernorum timor potuit aliquantisper ratione temporis temperari, Viennam veni, ubi Thaumastum, germanum tuum, quem pro iure vel sanguinis vel aetatis reverenda familiaritate complector, maestissimum inveni, qui quamquam recenti caelibatu granditer afficiebatur, pro te tamen parum minus anxius erat: timebat enim verebaturque, ne quam tibi calumniam turbo barbaricus aut militaris concinnaret improbitas. [2] namque confirmat magistro militum Chilperico, victoriosissimo viro, relatu venenato quorumpiam sceleratorum fuisse secreto insusurratum tuo praecipue machinatu oppidum Vasionense partibus novi principis applicari. si quid hinc tibi tuisque suspicionis incutitur, raptim doce recursu familiarium paginarum, ne vobis sollici- [p. 186] tudinis aut praesentiae meae opportunitas pereat, curae mihi peculiariter erit, si quid tamen cavendum existimabis, ut te faciat aut gratia impetrata securum aut explorata iracundia cautiorem. vale.

Sidonius Thaumasto suo salutem

Indagavimus tandem, qui apud tetrarcham nostrum germani tui et e diverso partium novi principis amicitias criminaurentur, si tamen fidam sodalium sagacitatem clandestina delatorum non fefellere vestigia, hi nimirum sunt, ut idem coram positus audisti, quos se iamdudum perpeti inter clementiores barbaros Gallia gemit, hi sunt, quos timent etiam qui timentur. hi sunt, quos haec [p. 188] peculiariter provincia manet, 1 inferre calumnias deferre personas, afferre minas auferre substantias. [2] hi sunt, quorum laudari audis in otio occupationes in pace praedas, inter arma fugas inter vina victorias, hi sunt, qui causas morantur adhibiti impediunt praetermissa fastidiunt admoniti obhviscuntur locupletati, hi sunt, qui emunt lites vendunt inter-cessionem, deputant arbitros iudicanda dictant dictata convellunt, attrahunt litigaturos protrahunt audiendos, trahunt addictos retrahunt transigentes. hi sunt, quos si petas etiam nullo adversante beneficium, piget promittere pudet negare paenitet praestitisse. [3] hi sunt, quorum comparationi digitum tollerent Narcissus Asiaticus, Massa Marcellus, Carus Parthenius, Licinus et Pallas, hi sunt, qui invident tunicatis otia stipendia paludatis, viatica veraedariis 2 mercatoribus nundinas, munuscula lega- [p. 190] tis portoria quadruplatoribus, praedia provincialibus flamma municipibus, arcanis pondera mensuras allectis salaria tabulariis, dispositiones numerariis praetorianis sportulas, civitatibus indutias vectigalia publicanis, reverentiam clericis originem nobilibus, consessum prioribus congressum aequalibus, cinctis iura discinctis privilegia, scholas instituendis mercedes instituentibus litteras institutis. [4] hi sunt, qui novis opibus ebrii, ut et minima cognoscas, per utendi intemperantiam produnt imperitiam possidendi; nam libenter incedunt armati ad epulas, albat ad exsequias, pelliti ad ecclesias, pullati ad nuptias, castorinati ad litanias. nullum illis genus hominum ordinum temporum cordi est. in foro Scythae, in cubiculo viperae, in convivio scurrae, in exactionibus Harpyiae, in contentionibus statuariae, in quaestionibus bestiae, in tractatibus cocleae, in contractibus trapezitae; ad intellegendum saxei, ad iudicandum lignei, ad suscensendum flammei, ad ignoscendum ferrei, ad amicitias pardi, ad facetias ursi, ad fallendum vulpes, ad superbiendum tauri, ad consumendum minotauri. [5] spes firmas in rerum motibus habent, dubia tempora certius amant, et ignavia pariter conscientiaque trepidantes, cum sint [p. 192] in praetoriis leones, in castris lepores, timent foedera, ne discutiantur, bella, ne pugnent, quorum si nares afflaverit uspiam robiginosi aura marsupii, confestim videbis illic et oculos Argi et manus Briarei et Sphingarum ungues et periuria Laomedontis et Ulixis argutias et Sinonis fallacias et fidem Polymestoris et pietatem Pygmalionis adhiberi. [6] his moribus obruunt virum non minus bonitate quam potestate praestantem. sed quid faciat unus, undique venenato vallatus interprete? quid, inquam, faciat, cui natura cum bonis, vita cum malis est? ad quorum consilia Phalaris cruentior Mida cupidior, Ancus

iactantior Tarquinius superbior, Tiberius callidior Gaius periculosior, Claudius socordior Nero impurior, Galba avarior Otho audacior, Vitellius sumptuosior Domitianus truculentior redderetur. [7] sane, quod principaliter medetur afflic- [p. 194] tis, temperat Lucumonem nostrum Tanaquil sua et aures mariti virosa susurronum faece completas opportunitate salsi sermonis eruderat. cuius studio [factum 1] scire vos par est nihil interim quieti fratrum communium apud animum communis patroni iuniorum Cibratarum venena nocuisse neque quicquam deo propitiante nocitura, si modo, quamdiu praesens potestas Lugdunensem Germaniam regit, nostrum suumque Germanicum praesens Agrippina moderetur. vale.

Sidonius Secundino suo salutem

Diu quidem est, quod te hexametris familiarius inservientem stupentes praedicantesque lectita-bamus. erat siquidem materia iucunda, seu nupti- [p. 196] ales tibi thalamorum faces sive perfossae regiis ictibus ferae describerentur. sed triplicibus trochaeis nuper in metrum hendecasyllabum compaginatis nihil, ne tuo quidem iudicio, simile fecisti, [2] deus bone, quid illic inesse fellis 1 leporis piperataeque facundiae minime tacitus inspexi! nisi quod ferventis fulmen ingenii et eloquii salsa libertas plus personis forte quam causis impediabantur; ut mihi non figuratius Constantini domum vitamque videatur vel pupugisse versu gemello consul Ablabius 2 vel momordisse disticho tali clam Palatinis foribus appenso: Saturni aurea saecula quis requirat? sunt haec gemmea, sed Neroniana. quia scilicet praedictus Augustus isdem fere temporibus extinxerat coniugem Faustam calore balnei, filium Crispum frigore veneni. [3] tu tamen nihilo segnius operam saltim facetis satirarum coloribus intrepidus impende, nam tua scripta nostrorum [p. 198] vitiis proficientibus tyrannopolitarum 1 locupletabuntur. non enim tam mediocriter intumescunt quos nostra iudicia saeculi 2 culpa 3 fortunatos putant, ut de nominibus ipsorum quandoque reminiscendis sit posteritas laboratura: namque improborum probra aequae ut praeconia bonorum immortalia manent, vale.

Sidonius Aquilino suo salutem

In meo aere duco, vir omnium virtutum capacissime, si dignum tu quoque putas, ut quantas habemus amicitiarum causas, tantas habeamus ipsi amicitias, avitum est quod reposco; testes mihi in praesentiarum avi nostri super hoc negotio Apollinaris et Rusticus advocabuntur, quos laudabili familiaritate [p. 200] coniunxerat litterarum dignitatum, periculorum conscientiarum similitudo, cum in Constantino inconstantiam, in Iovino facilitatem, in Gerontio perfidiam, singula in singulis, omnia in Dardano crimina simul execrarentur. [2] aetate, quae media, patres nostri sub uno contubernio, vixdum a pueritia in totam adulescentiam evecti, principi Honorio tribuni notariique militavere tanta caritate peregrinantes, ut inter eos minima fuerit causa concordiae, quod filii amicorum commemorabantur.¹ in principatu Valentiniani imperatoris unus Galliarum praefuit parti, alter soliditati; sed ita se quodam modo tituli amborum compensatione fraterna ponderaverunt, ut prior fuerit fascium tempore ² qui erat posterior dignitate. [3] ventum ad nos id est ventum est ad nepotes, quos nil decuerit plus cavere, quam ne parentum antiquorumque nostrorum per nos forte videatur antiquata dilectio, ad hoc in similem familiaritatem praeter hereditariam praerogativam multifaria opportunitate compellimur; aetas utrius- [p. 202] que ¹ non minus iuncta quam patria; unus nos exercuit ludus, magister instituit; una nos laetitia dissolvit, severitas cohercuit, disciplina formavit. [4] de cetero, si deus annuit, in annis iam senectutis initia pulsantibus, simus, nisi respuis, animae duae, animus unus, imbuamusque liberos invicem diligentes ² idem velle nolle, refugere sectari, hoc patrum vero iam supra vota, si per Rusticum Apollinaremque proavorum praedicabilium tam reformatur corda quam nomina, vale,

Sidonius Sapaudō suo salutem

Si quid omnino Pragmatius illustris, hoc inter reliquas animi virtutes optime facit, quod amore studiorum te singulariter amat, in quo solo vel maxime animum advertit veteris peritiae diligentiaeque resedissee vestigia, equidem non iniuria tibi fautor est; nam debetur ab eo percopiosus litteris honor. [2] hunc olim perorantem et rhetorica sedilia plausibili oratione frangentem socer [p. 204] eloquens ultro in familiam patriciam adscivit, licet illi ad hoc, ut sileam de genere vel censu, aetas venustas pudor patrocinentur. sed, ut comperi, erubescibat iam etiam 1 tunc vir serius et formae dote placuisse, quippe cui merito ingenii suffecisset adamari. et vere 2 optimus quisque morum praestantius pulchritudine placet; porro autem praetervolantia corporis decora currentis aevi profectu defectuque labascunt. hunc quoque manente sententia Galliis post praefectus Priscus Valerianus consiliis suis tribunalibusque sociavit, iudicium antiquum perseverantissime tenens, ut cui scientiae obtentu iunxerat subolem, iungeret et dignitatem. [3] tua vero tam clara, tam spectabilis dictio est, ut illi divisio Palaemonis gravitas Gallionis, abundantia Delphidii Agroecii disciplina, fortitudo Alcimi Adelphii teneritudo, rigor Magni dulcedo Victorii non modo non superiora sed vix aequiparabilia scribant, sane ne videar tibi sub hoc quasi [p. 206] hyperbolico rhetorum catalogo blanditus quippiam gratificatusque, solam tibi acrimoniam Quintiliani pompamque 1 Palladii comparari non ambigo 2 sed potius adquiesco. [4] quapropter si quis post vos Latiae favet eruditioni, huic amicitiae gratias agit et sodalitati vestrae, si quid hominis habet, tertius optat adhiberi, quamquam, quod est gravius, non sit satis ambitus iste fastidium vobis excitaturus, quia pauci studia nunc honorant, simul et naturali vitio fixum est radicatumque pectoribus humanis, ut qui non intellegunt artes non mirentur artifices, vale.

Sidonius Potenti No suo salutem

Multum te amamus; et quidem huiusce dilectionis non est erroneus aut fortuitus affectus. namque ut sodalis tibi devinctior fierem, iudicavi, est enim consuetudinis meae, ut eligam ante, post [p. 208] diligam, quatenam, ¹ inquis, in me tibi probanda placere? ^[2] dicam libenter et breviter, quorum unum fieri gratia, alterum charta conpellit. veneror in actionibus tuis, quod multa bono cuique imitabilia geris, colis ut qui sollertissime; aedificas ut qui dispositissime; venaris ut qui efficacissime; pascis ut qui exactissime; iocaris ut qui facetissime; iudicas ut qui aequissime; suades ut qui sincerissime; commoveris ut qui tardissime; placaris ut qui celerrime; redamas ut qui fidelissime. ^[3] haec omnia exempla vivendi iam hinc ab annis puberibus meus Apollinaris si sequitur, gaudeo; certe ut sequatur, admoneo, in quo docendo instituendoque, modo sub ope Christi disposita succedant, plurimum laetor maximam me formulam vitae de moribus tuis mutuaturum. vale.

Sidonius Calminio suo salutem

Quod rarius ad vos a nobis pagina meat, non nostra superbia sed aliena impotentia facit, neque super his quicquam planius quaeras, quippe cum [p. 210] silentii huius necessitatem par apud vos metus interpretetur, hoc solum tamen libere gemo, quod turbine dissidentium partium segreges facti mutuo minime fruimur aspectu, neque umquam patriae sollicitis offerris obtutibus, nisi forsitan cum ad arbitrium terroris alieni vos loricae, nos propugnacula tegunt, ubi ipse in hoc solum captivus adducens, ut pharetras sagittis vacuare, lacrimis oculos implere cogaris, nobis quoque non recusantibus, quod tua satis aliud moliuntur vota quam iacula. [2] sed quia interdum etsi non per foederum veritatem, saltem per indutiarum imaginem quaedam spei nostrae libertatis fenestra resplendet, impense flagito, uti nos, cum maxime potes, affatu paginae frequentis impertias, sciens tibi in animis obsessorum civium illam manere gratiam, quae obliviscatur obsidentis invidiam, vale. [p. 212]

Sidonius Pannychio suo salutem

Seronatum Tolosa nosti redire? si nondum, et credo quod nondum, vel per haec disce, iam Clausetiam pergit Euanthius iamque contractas operas cogit cruderare, si quid forte deiectu caducae frondis agger insorduit. certe si quid voraginosum est, ipse humo advecta scrobibus oppletis trepidus exaequat, utpote beluam suam de valle Tarnis ducaliter antecessurus, musculis similis inter saxosa vel brevia ballaenarum corpulentiam praeguber-nantibus. [2] at ille sic ira celer, quod-piger mole, ceu draco e specu vix evolutus iam metu exdnguibus Gabalitanis e proximo infertur; quos singulos sparsos inoppidatos nunc inauditis indictionum generibus exhaurit, nunc flexuosa calumniarum fraude circumretit, ne tum quidem domum laboriosos redire permittens, cum tributum annuum datavere. [3] [p. 214] signum et hoc certum est imminens adventus, quod catervatim, quo se cumque converterit, vincti trahuntur vincula trahentes; quorum dolore laetatur, pascitur fame, praecipue pulchrum arbitratu ante turpare quam punire damnandos; crinem viris nutrit, mulieribus incidit; e quibus tamen si rara quosdam venia respexerit, hos venalitas solvit, vanitas illos, nullos misericordia, sed explicandae bestiae tali nec oratorum princeps Marcus Arpinas nec poetarum Publius Mantuanus sufficere possunt. [4] proinde quia dicitur haec ipsa perniciēs appropinquare, cuius proditiōibus deus obviet, praeveni morbum providentiae salubritate contraque lites iurgiosorum, si quae moventur, pactionibus consule, contra tributa securitatibus, ne malus homo rebus bonorum vel quod noceat vel quod praestet inveniat. in summa, de Seronato vis accipere quid sentiam? ceteri affligi per suprascriptum damno verentur; mihi latronis et beneficia suspecta sunt. vale. [p. 216]

Sidonius Apro suo Salutem.

Calentes 1 nunc te Baiae et scabris cavernatim ructata pumicibus aqua sulphuris atque iecorosis ac phthisiscentibus languidis medicabilis piscina delectat? an fortasse montana sedes circum castella et in eligenda sede perfugii quandam pateris ex munitionum frequentia difficultatem? quicquid illud est, quod vel otio vel negotio vacas, in urbem tamen, nisi fallimur, rogationum contemplatione revocabere. [2] quarum nobis sollemnitatem primus Mamertus pater et pontifex reverentissimo 2 exemplo, utilissimo experimento invenit instituit invexit. erant quidem prius, quod salva fidei pace sit dictum, [p. 218] vagae tepentes infrequentesque utque sic dixerim oscitabundae supplicationes, quae saepe interpellantum prandiorum obicibus hebetabantur, maxime aut imbres aut serenitatem deprecaturae; ad quas, ut nil amplius dicam, figulo pariter atque hortuloni non oportuit convenire. [3] in his autem, quas suprafatus summus sacerdos nobis et protulit pariter et contulit, ieiunatur oratur, psallitur fletur. ad haec te festa cervicum humiliatarum et sternacium civium suspiriosa contubernia peto; et, si spiritalem animum tuum bene metior, modo citius venies, quando non ad epulas sed ad lacrimas evocarís. vale.

Sidonius Ruricio suo salutem

Officii sermone praefato bybliopolam nostrum 1 non gratiose sed iudicialiter expertus insinuo, cuius ut fidem in pectore, sic in opere celeritatem circa dominum te 2 mihi sibiue communem satis abunde probavi, librum igitur hic ipse deportat heptateuchi, scriptum velocitate summa, summo nitore, quamquam et a nobis relectum et retractatum. defert [p. 220] volumen et prophetarum, licet me absente decursum, sua tamen cura manue de supervacuis sentiis cruderatum, nec semper illo contra legente, qui promiserat operam suam; credo, quia infirmitas fuerit impedimento, quominus pollicita compleret. [2] restat, ut exhortatio vestra seu sponsio famulum sic vel studentem placere vel meritum gratia competenti remuneretur; quae utique pro tali labore si solvitur, incipiet ad vestram respicere mercedem, sed cum hoc ego de sola gratia precer, vos quid mereatur aspicite quem constat affectum domini magis ambire quam praemium, vale.

Sidonius Papianillae Suae salutem

Ravenna veniens quaestor Licinianus, cum primum tetigit Alpe transmissa Galliae solum, litteras adventus sui praevias misit, quibus indicat esse se gerulum codicillorum, quorum in adventu [p. 222] fratri etiam tuo Ecdicio, cuius aequae titulis ac meis gaudes, honor patricius accedit, celerrime, si cogites eius aetatem, si merita, tardissime, namque ille iam pridem suffragium dignitatis ineundae non solvit in lance sed in acie, aerariumque publicum ipse privatus non pecuniis sed manubiis locupletavit. [2] hoc tamen sancte Iulius Nepos, armis pariter summus Augustus ac moribus, quod decessoris Anthemii fidem fratris tui sudoribus obligatam, quo citior, hoc laudabilior absolvit; siquidem iste complevit, quod ille saepissime pollicebatur, quo fit, ut deinceps pro republica optimus quisque possit ac debeat, si quid cuiuspiam virum est, quia securus, hinc avidus impendere, quandoquidem mortuo quoque imperatore laborantium devotioni quicquid sponderit princeps, semper redhibet principatus. [3] interea tu, si affectum tuum bene colligo, hisce compertis magnum solacium inter adversa maxima capis nec animum tuum a tramite communium gaudiorum vicinae quoque obsidionis terror exorbitat. novi enim probe ne meo quidem te, quem ex lege [p. 224] participas, sic honore laetatum, quia, licet sis uxor bona, soror optima es. qua de re propitio deo 1 Christo ampliatos prosapiae tuae titulos ego festinus gratatoriis apicibus inscripsi, pariter absolvens sollicitudinem tuam, fratris pudorem; quem nil de propria dignitate indicaturum, si verecundum forte nescires, nec sic impium iudicares. [4] ego vero non tantum insignibus vestris, quae tu hactenus quanto liberius, tanto inpatientius praestolabare (quamquam his quoque granditer), quantum concordia fruor; quam parem nostris suisque liberis in posterum exopto, votis 2 in commune deprecans, ut sicut nos utramque familiam nostram praefectoriam nacti etiam patriciam divino favore reddidimus, ita ipsi quam suscipiunt patriciam faciant consularem. [5] Roscia salutatur, cura communis; quae in aviae amitarumque indulgentissimo sinu, quod raro nepotibus contingit alendis, 3 et cum severitate [p. 226] nutritur. qua tamen tenerum non infirmatur aevum sed informatur ingenium, vale.

Sidonius Eriphio suo salutem

Es, Eriphi meus, ipse qui semper numquamque te tantum venatio civitas ager avocat, ut non obiter litterarum voluptate tenere; fitque eo studio, ut nec nostra fastidias, qui tibi, ut scribis, Musas olemus. quae sententia tamen large probatur vero carere, quamque 1 et 2 apparet aut ex ioco venire, si laetus es, aut ex amore, si serius, ceterum a iusto longe resultat, cum mihi assignas 3 quae vix Maroni vix 4 aut Homero competenter accommodarentur. [2] haec relinquamus idque, unde causa, sermocinemur. dirigi ad te praecipis versus, quos viri amplissimi, soceri tui, precibus indulsi; qui contubernio mixtus aequalium vivit moribus ad iubendum obsequendum-que iuxta paratis, sed quia scire desideras et locum et causam, quo facilius intellegas rem perexiguam, tibi potius vitio verte, quod loquacior erit opere praefatio. [3] conveneramus ad sancti Iusti sepul- 1 quamque L: quāq P: quamquam TC: quanquam MF: namque coni. Luetjohann. 2 om. Wilamowitz. 3 assignat T. 4 vix seclud. Luetjohann. [p. 228] chrum (sed tibi infirmitas impedimento, 1 ne tunc adesses); processio fuerat antelucana, sollemnitas anniversaria, populus ingens sexu ex utroque, quem capacissima basilica non caperet quamlibet cincta diffusis cryptoporticibus. cultu peracto vigiliarum, quas alternante mulcedine monachi clericique psalmicines concelebraverant, quisque in diversa secessimus, non procul tamen, utpote ad tertiam praesto futuri, cum sacerdotibus res divina facienda; [4] de loci sane turbarumque compressu deque numerosis luminibus inlatis nimis anheli; simul et aestati nox adhuc proxima tecto 2 clausos vapore torruerat, etsi iam primo frigore tamen autumnalis Aurorae de-tescebat. itaque cum passim varia ordinum corpora dispergerentur, placuit ad conditorium Syagrii consulis civium primis una coire, quod nec impleto iactu sagittae separabatur. hic pars sub umbra palmitis adulti, quam stipitibus altatis cancellatimque pendentibus pampinus superducta texuerat, pars caespite in viridi sed floribus odoro consedaramus. [5] verba erant dulcia iocosa fatigatoria; [p. 230] praeterea, quod beatissimum, nulla mentio de potestatibus aut de tributis, nullus sermo qui proderetur, nulla persona quae proderet. 1 fabulam certe referre dignam relatu dignisque sentiis quisque potuisset: audiebatur ambitiosissime; nec erat idcirco non distincta narratio, quia laetitia permixta, inter haec otio diu 2 marcidis aliquid agere visum. [6] mox bipertitis, erat ut aetas, acclamationibus efflagitata profertur his pila, his tabula, sphaerae primus ego signifer fui, quae mihi, ut nosti, non minus libro comes habetur, altera ex parte frater meus Domnicus, 3 homo gratiae summae, summi leporis, tesserarum ceperat quatiebatque, quo velut classico ad pyrgum vocabat aleatores. nos cum caterva scholasticorum lusimus abunde, quantum 4 membra torpore statarii laboris hebetata cursu salubri vegetarentur. [7] hic vir inlustris Philomatius, ut est illud Mantuani poetae, ausus et ipse manu iuvenum temptare laborem, sphaeristarum se turmalibus constanter immiscuit, pulchre enim hoc fecerat, sed cum adhuc

essent [p. 232] anni minores, qui cum frequenter de loco stantum medii currentis impulsu summo veretur, nunc quoque acceptus in aream tam pilae coram praetervolantis quam superiectae nec intercideret 1 tramitem nec caveret ac 2 per catastropham saepe pronatus aegre de ruinoso flexu se recolligeret, primus ludi ab accentu sese removit suspiciosus extis incalescentibus. namque et iecusculi fibra tumente pungebant exercitatum crebri dolores. [8] destiti protinus et ipse, facturus communione cessandi rem caritatis, ne vere- [p. 234] cundiam lassitudo fraterna pateretur, ergo, ut resedimus,1 [et] 2 illum mox aquam ad faciem petere sudor admonuit: exhibita poscenti est, pariter et linteum villis onustum, quod pridiana squama politum casu sub ipsis aediculae valvis bipatentibus de ianitoris erecto trochleatim fune nutabat. [9] quo dum per otium genas siccant: 'vellem,' inquit, 'ad pannum similis officii aliquod tetrastichon mihi scribi iuberis.' 'fiat,' inquam. 'sed quod meum,' dixit,3 'et nomen metro teneret.' respondi possibilis factu quae poposcisset. ait 4 et ipse: 'dicta ergo.' tunc ego arridens: 'ilico scias Musas moveri, si choro ipsarum non absque arbitris vacem.' respondit ille violenter et perurbane, ut est natura vir flammeus quidamque facundiae fons inexhaustus: 'vide, domine Solii, ne magis Apollo forte moveatur, quod suas alumnas solus ad secreta sollicitas.' iam potes nosse, quem plausum sententia tam repentina, tam lepida commovent. [10] nec plus moratus mox suo scriba, qui pugillarem iuxta tenebat, ad me vocato subditum sic epigramma composui: [p. 236] Mane novo seu cum ferventia balnea poscunt seu cum venatu frons calefacta madet, hoc foveat pulcher faciem Filimatus udam, migret ut in bibulum vellus ab ore liquor. Epiphanius noster vix suprascripta peraraverat, et nuntiatum est hora monente progredi episcopum de receptorio, nosque surreximus. [11] da postulatae tu veniam cantilenae. illud autem ambo, quod maius est quodque me nuper in quendam dies bonos male ferentem parabolice seu figurate dictare iussistis quodque expeditum cras dirigetur, clam recensete; et, si placet, edentes fovete; si displicet, delentes ignoscitote. vale.

Sidonius Attalo suo salutem

Haeduae civitati te praesidere coepisse libens atque cum gaudio accepi, laetitiae causa quadri-pertita est: prima, quod amicus; secunda, quod iustus es; tertia, quod severus; quarta, quod proximus, quo fit, ut nostris nostrorumque con- [p. 238] tractibus plurimum tibi velis debeas possis opitulari, igitur amplectens in familiari vetusto novum ius potestatis indeptae materiam beneficiis tuis iam diu quaero, quibus me tantum fidere agnosce, ut, etsi non invenio quae poscam, quaesiturus mihi videaris ipse quae tribuas. vale.

Sidonius Pudenti suo salutem

Nutricis meae filiam filius tuae rapuit: facinus indignum quodque nos vosque inimicasset, nisi protinus scissem te nescisse faciendum, sed conscientiae tuae purgatione praelata 2 petere dignaris culpae calentis impunitatem, sub condicione concedo: si stupratorem pro domino iam patronus originali solvas inquilinatu. [2] mulier autem illa iam libera est; quae tum demum videbitur non ludibrio addicta sed assumpta coniugio, si reus noster, pro quo precaris, mox cliens factus e tributario plebeiam potius incipiat habere personam quam colonariam. nam meam haec sola seu compositio [p. 240] seu satisfactio vel 1 mediocriter contumeliam emendat; qui tuis votis atque amicitiiis hoc adquiesco, si laxat libertas maritum, ne constringat poena raptorem. vale.

Sidonius Pastori suo salutem

Quod die hesterno tractatui civitatis in concilio defuisti, ex industria factum pars melior accepit, quae suspicata est id te cavere, ne tuis umeris onus futurae legationis imponeretur, gratulor tibi, quod istis moribus vivis, ut necesse habeas electionem tui timere; laudo efficaciam, suspicio prudentiam, prosequor laude felicitatem; opto denique aequalia his, quos aequaliter amo. [2] multi frequenter, quos [p. 242] execrabilis popularitas agit, civium maximos manu prensant deque consessu publico : abducunt ac sequestratis oscula impingunt, operam suam spondent, sed non petiti; utque videantur in negotii communis assertionem 1 legari, evectionem refundunt ipsosque sumptus ultro recusant et ab ambitu clam rogant singulos, ut ab omnibus palam rogentur. [3] sic quoque, cum fatigatio gratuita possit libenter admitti, libentius tamen 2 atque amabilius 3 verecundi leguntur, idque cum expensa; tantum impudentia sese ingerentum ponderis habet, etiam fasci cum tributario nomine ipsorum nil superfunditur. proinde quamquam non te fefellit, quid boni quique meditarentur, redde te tamen expectantium votis expetentumque caritatem proba, qui iam probasti pudorem, quod defuisti primum, modestiae adscribitur; ad ignaviam respicit secunda dilatio. [4] praeterea tibi Arelatem 4 profecturo est venerabilis in itinere mater fratres amantes redamantisque patriae solum, ad quod et praeter occasionem voluptuose venit; tum domus propria, cuius [p. 244] actorem, vineam messem olivetum, tectum quoque ipsum, vel dum praeterveharis, inspicere res commodi est. quapropter, missus a nobis, et tibi per-venis; namque erit talis viae tuae causaeque nostrae condicio, ni fallor, atque opportunitas, ut pro beneficio civitati posse imputare quandocumque 1 videaris, quod tuos videris, vale.

Sidonius Sacerdoti et Iustino Suis salutem

Victorius patruus vester, vir, ut egregius, sic undecumque doctissimus, cum cetera potenter, tum potentissime condidit versus, mihi quoque semper a parvo cura Musarum; nunc vos parenti venitis heredes, quam iure, tam merito: ilicet ego poetae proximus fio professione, vos semine, ergo iustissimum est, ut diem functo 2 sic quisque nostrum succedat, ut iungitur, ideoque patrimonia tenete, date carmina, valete. [p. 246]

BOOK VI.

Sidonius Domino Papae Lupo salutem

Benedicatur 1 spiritus sanctus et pater dei omnipotentis, quod tu, pater patrum et episcopus episcoporum et alter saeculi tui Iacobus, de quadam specula caritatis nec de inferiore Hierusalem tota ecclesiae dei nostri membra superinspicias, dignus qui omnes consoleris infirmos quique merito ab omnibus consularis, et quid nunc ego dignum dignationi huic, putris et fetida reatu terra, respondeam? [2] colloquii salutaris tui et indigentiam patiens et timorem recordatione vitae plectibilis adducor, ut clamem tibi quod dixit domino tuus ille collega: exi a me, quia homo peccator sum, domine, sed si [p. 248] iste timor non temperetur affectu, vereor, ne Gerasenorum destituatur exemplo et discedas a finibus meis. quin potius illud, quod mihi conducibilius est, conleprosi mei te proposita condicione constringam, ut aiam tibi: si vis, potes me mundare, qua ille sententia non plus de Christo quid peteret prodidit, quam quid crederet publicavit, [3] ergone cum sis procul ambiguo primus omnium toto, qua patet, orbe pontificum, cum praerogativae subiciatur, cum censurae tuae adtremat etiam turba collegii, cum in gravitatis vestrae comparisonem ipsa etiam grandaeavorum corda puerascant, cum post desudatas militiae Lirinensis excubias et in apostolica sede novem iam decursa quinquennia utriusque sanctorum ordinis quendam te conclamatissimum primipilarem spiritualia castra venerentur, tu nihilominus hastatorum antesignanorumque paulisper contubernio seque-stratus ultimos calones tuos lixasque non despicias et ad extimos trahariorum, qui per insipientiam suam adhuc ad carnis sarcinas sedent, crucis diu portatae vexilla circumfers ac manum linguae porrigis in conscientia vulneratis? [4] nosti, ut apparet, ex adversa acie sauciatos, dux veterane, colligere et [p. 250] peritissimus tubicen ad Christum a peccatis receptui canere; et euangelici pastoris exemplo non amplius laetaris, si permaneant sani, quam si non remaneant desperati. te ergo, norma morum, te, columna virtutum, te, si blandiri reis licet, vera, quia sancta, dulcedo, despiciatissimi vermis ulcera digitis exhortationis contrectare non piguit; tibi avaritiae non fuit pascere monitis animam fragilitate ieunam et de apotheca dilectionis altissimae sectandae nobis humilitatis propinare mensuram. [5] sed ora, ut quandoque resipiscam, quantum 1 meas deprimat oneris impositi massa cervices. 2 facinorum continuatione miser eo necessitatis accessi, ut is pro peccato populi nunc orare compellar, pro quo populus innocentum vix debet impetrare si supplicet. nam quis bene medelam aeger impertiat? quis febriens arroganti tactu pulsum distinguat incolumem? quis desertor scientiam rei militaris iure laudaverit? quis esculentus abstemium competenter arguerit? indignissimus mortalium necesse habeo dicere quod facere detrecto, et ad mea ipse verba damnabilis, cum non impleam quae moneo, 3 idem in me meam 4 [p. 252] cotidie cogor dictare sententiam. [6] sed si tu inter me et illum, cui concrucifigeris, dominum nostrum pro scelerum meorum populo, iunior mage quam minor Moyses, intercessor assistas, 1 non ulterius descendemus in infernum viventes nec per carnalium vitiorum incentiva flammati ad altare

domini ignem diutius accendemus alienum; quia quamquam nos utpote reos gloriae libra non respicit, satis tamen superque gaudebimus, si precatu tuo levare valeamus interioris hominis nostri etsi non integrum ad remunerationem, certe vel cicatricatum pectus ad veniam, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

Sidonius Domino Papae Pragmatico salutem

Venerabilis Eutropia matrona, quod ad nos spectat, singularis exempli, quae parsimonia et humanitate certantibus non minus se ieiuniis quam cibis pauperes pascit et in Christi cultu pervigil sola in se compellit peccata dormire, maioribus orbitatis [p. 254] necessitate litis adiecta in remedium mali duplicis perfectionem vestrae consolationis expetere festinat, gratanter habitura, sive istud tibi peregrinatio brevis seu longum computetur officium. [2] igitur praefata venerabilis fratris mei nunc iam presbyteri Agrippini, ne iniuriosum sit dixisse nequitias, certe fatigatur argutiis; qui abutens inbecillitate matronae non desistit spiritalis animae serenitatem saecularium versutiarum flatibus turbidare; cui filii nec post multo nepotis amissi duae pariter plagae recentes ad diuturni viduvii vulnus adduntur. [3] tempta-vimus inter utrumque componere, nos maxime, quibus in eos novum ius professio vetustumque faciebant amicitiae, aliqua censes, suadentes quaequam, plurima supplicantes; quodque miremini, in omnem concordiae statum promptius a feminea parte descensum 1 est. et quamquam se altius profuturum 2 filiae paterna iactaret praerogativa, nurui tamen magis placuit munificentiae socualis oblatio. [4] iurgium interim semisopitum vestris modo sinibus infertur, pacificate certantes, et pontificalis auctoritate censurae suspectis sibi partibus indicite gratiam, dicite veritatem, sancta enim Eutropia, si quid [p. 256] vadimonio meo creditis, victoriam computat, si vel post damna non litiget. unde et suspicor vobis unam pronuntiandam domum discordiosam, licet inveniatis utramque discordem, memor nostri esse dignare, domine para.

Sidonius Domino Papae Leontio salutem

Etsi nullis hortatibus 1 primordia nostrae pro-fessionis animatis neque sitim ignorantiae hactenus saecularis ullo supernae rigatis imbre doctrinae, non ego tamen tantum mei memineris non sum, ut a meis ac tuis 2 praesumam partibus aequali officiorum lance certandum, nam cum nostra mediocritas aetate vitae, tempore dignitatis, privilegio loci, laude scientiae, dono conscientiae vestrae facile vincatur, nullum meremur, si par expectamus alloquium. [2] igitur non incusantes silentium vestrum sed loquacitatem nostram potius excusare nitentes [p. 258] commendamus apicum portitorem, cuius si peregrinationem prompto favore foveatis, grandis actionibus illius portus securitatis aperitur, negotium huic testamentarium est. latent eum propriarum merita chartarum: togatorum illic perorantium peritiam consulere perrexit, pro victoria computaturus, si se intellexerit iure superari, modo ne sibi suisque desidiaie vitio perperam cavissee culpetur. hunc eatenus commendare praesumo, ut, si eum instruere dignanter advocatio consulta fastidit, auctoritas coronae tuae dissimulantibus studeat excudere responsi celeritatem, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

Sidonius Domino Papae Lupo salutem

Praeter officium, quod incomparabiliter eminenti apostolatu tuo sine fine debetur, etsi absque intermissione solvatur, commendo supplicum baiulorum pro nova necessitudine vetustam necessitatem,¹ qui in Arvernā regionem longum iter, his quippe [p. 260] temporibus, emensi casso labore venerunt, namque unam feminam de affectibus suis, quam forte Vargorum (hoc enim nomine indigenas latrunculos nuncupant) superventus abstraxerat, isto deductam ante aliquot annos isticque distractam cum non falso indicio comperissent, certis quidem signis sed non recentibus inquisivere vestigiis. [2] atque obiter haec eadem laboriosa, priusquam hi adessent, in negotiatoris nostri domo dominioque palam sane venundata defungitur, quodam Prudente (hoc viro nomen), quem nunc Tricassibus degere fama divulgat, ignotorum nobis hominum collaudante contractum;¹ cuius subscriptio intra formulam nundinarum tamquam idonei adstipulatoris ostenditur. auctoritas personae, opportunitas praesentiae tuae inter coram positos facile valebit, si dignabitur, senem totius indagare violentiae, quae, quod gravius est, eo facinoris accessit, quantum portitorum datur nosse memoratu, ut etiam in illo latrocinio quendam de numero vianum constet extinctum. [3] sed quia iudicii vestri medicinam expetunt civilitatemque, qui negotium criminale parturiunt,strarum, si bene metior, partium pariter et morum est, aliqua [p. 262] indemni compositione istorum dolori, illorum periculo subvenire et quodam salubris sententiae temperamento hanc partem minus afflictam, illam minus ream et utramque plus facere securam; ne iurgii status, ut sese fert temporis locique qualitas, 1 talem descendat 2 ad terminum, quale coepit habere principium, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

Sidonius Domino Papae Theoplasto salutem

Causam meam nesciens agit qui ad vos a me litteras portat; nam, dum votivi mihi fit genitus opportunus officii, beneficium praestat, quod se arbitratur accipere, sicuti nunc venerabilis Donidius dignus inter spectatissimos quosque numerari, cuius clientem puerosque commendo, profectos seu in patroni necessitate seu in domini, laborem [p. 264] peregrinantum qua potestis ope humanitate intercessione tutamini; ac, si in aliquo amicus ipse per imperitiam novitatemque publicae conversationis videbitur minus efficax, vos hoc potius aspiciate, quid absentis causa, non quid praesentis persona mereatur. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa,

Sidonius Domino Papae Eutropio salutem

Postquam foedifragam gentem redisse in sedes suas comperi neque quicquam
viantibus insidiarum parare, nefas credidi ulterius officiorum 1 differre
sermonem, ne vester affectus quandam vitio meo duceret ut gladius inpolitus
de curae raritate robiginem. unde misso in hoc solum negotii gerulo
litterarum, quam vobis sit corpusculi status in solido quamve ex animi
sententia res agantur, sollicitus inquiero, sperans, ne semel mihi amor vester
indultus aut interiecti itineris longitudine aut absentiae com- [p. 266] munis
diuturnitate tenuetur, quia bonitas conditoris habitationem potius hominum
quam caritatem frnalibus claudit angustiis. [2] restat, ut vestra beatitudo
compunctorii salubritate sermonis avidam nostrae ignorantiae pascat esuriem.
est enim tibi nimis usui, ut exhortationibus tuis interioris hominis maciem
saepenumero mysticus adeps et spiritalis arvina distendat. memor nostri esse
dignare, domine papa.

Sidonius Domino Papae Fonteio salutem

Si aliquid ad inchoandam gratiam compendii posteris tribuit necessitudo praemissa seniorum, ego quoque ad apostolatus tui notitiam pleniorum cum praerogativa domesticae familiaritatis accedo, nam sic te familiae meae validissimum in Christo semper patronum fuisse reminiscor, ut amicitias tuas non tam expetendas mihi quam repetendas putem, his adicitur, quod indignissimo mihi impositum sacerdotalis nomen officii conflare me ad precumstrarum praesidia compellit, ut adhuc ulcerosae conscientiae nimis hiulca vulnera vestro saltem cicatricentur oratu. [2] quapropter me meosque commendans et excusans litteras seriores granditer obsecro, ut [p. 268] intercessione consueta, cuius viribus immane polletis, clericalis tirocinii in nobis reptantia rudimenta tueamini, ut, si quid dignabitur de morum pravitate nostrorum immutabilis dei mutare clementia, totum id suffragiorum vestrorum patrocinio debeamus, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

Sidonius Domino Papae Graeco salutem

Apicum oblatores pauperem vitam sola mercandi actione sustentat; non illi est opificium quaestui, militia commodo, cultura compendio; ob hoc ipsum, quod mercennariis prosecutionibus et locaticia fatigatione cognoscitur, fama quidem sua sed facultas crescit aliena, sed tamen quoniam illi fides magna est, etsi parva substantia, quotiens cum pecuniis quorumpiam catapli recentis nundinas adit, creditoribus bene credulis sola deponit morum experimenta pro pignore. [2] inter dictandum mihi ista suggesta sunt, nec ob hoc dubito audita fidenter asserere, quia non parum mihi intumos agunt 2 quibus est ipse satis intumus. huius igitur teneram frontem, dura [p. 270] rudimenta commendo; et, quia nomen eiusdem lectorum nuper albus accepit, agnoscitis profecturo civi me epistolam, clerico debuisse formatam; quem propediem non iniuria reor mercatorem splendidum fore, si hinc ad vestra obsequia festinans frigoribus fontium civicorum sapientiae fontem meracioris 1 anteferat. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

Sidonius Domino Papae Lupo salutem

Vir iam honestus Gallus, quia iussus ad coniugem redire non distulit, litterarum mearum obsequium,strarum reportat effectum, cui cum pagina, quam miseratis, reseraretur, actutum compunctus ingemuit destinataque non ad me epistulam sed in se sententiam iudicavit, itaque confestim iter in patriam spopondit adornavit arripuit, quem [p. 272] nos propter hanc ipsam paenitudinis celeritatem non increparive sed consolatorie potius compellare cura-vimus, quia vicinaretur innocentiae festinata correctio. [2] neque enim quisquam etiam sibi bene conscius plus facere praesumpsit, si quis tamen vestrae correptionis orbitarn non reliquit, quippe cum ea ipsa, quae legimus, parcentis verba censurae maxuma 1 emendationis incitamenta sint.2 nam quid potest esse castigationis huiusce tenore pretiosius, in qua forte peccato animus aeger repperit intrinsecus remedium, cum non valeret extrinsecus invenire convicium? [3] quod superest, obsecramus, ut crebra oratione, per quam vitiis omnibus immane dominamini, nos quoque, sicut euangelicos magos remeasse manifestum est, vel iam nunc per aliam viam morum in beatorum patriam redire faciatis, paene omiseram, quod minime praetereundum fuit: agite gratias Innocentio, spectabili viro, qui, ut praeceperatis, naviter morem gessit iniunctis. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa. [p. 274]

Sidonius Domino Papae Censorio salutem

Gerulum litterarum levitici ordinis honestat officium, hic cum familia sua depraedationis Gothicae turbinem vitans in territorium vestrum delatus est ipso, ut sic dixerim, pondere fugae; ubi in re ecclesiae, cui sanctitas tua praesidet, parvam sementem semiconfecto caespiti advena ieiunus iniecit, cuius ex solido colligendae fieri sibi copiam exorat. [2] quem si domesticis fidei deputata humanitate foveatis, id est, ut debitum glaebae cano-nem non petatur, tantum lucelli praestitum sibi computat (peregrini hominis ut census, sic animus angustus), ac si in patrio solo rusticaretur. huic si legitimam, ut mos est, solutionem perexiguae segetis indulgeas, tamquam opipare viaticatus cum gratiarum actione remeabit. per quem si me stilo solitae dignationis impertias, mihi fraternitatieque istic sitae pagina tua veluti polo lapsa reputabitur, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa. [p. 276]

Sidonius Domino Papae Eleutherio salutem

Iudaeum praesens charta commendat, non quod mihi placeat error, per quem pereunt involuti, sed quia neminem ipsorum nos decet ex asse damnabilem pronuntiare, dum vivit; in spe enim adhuc absolutionis est cui suppetit posse converti. [2] quae sit vero negotii sui series, ipse rectius praesentanea coram narratione patefaciet. nam prudentiae satis obviat epistulari formulae debitam concinnitatem plurifario sermone porrigere. sane quia secundum vel negotia vel iudicia terrena solent huiuscemodi homines honestas habere causas, tu quoque potes huius laboriosi, etsi impugnas perfidiam, propugnare personam, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

Sidonius Domino Papae Patienti salutem

Aliquis aliquem, ego illum praecipue puto suo vivere bono, qui vivit alieno quique fidelium calamitates indigentiamque miseratus facit in terris opera [p. 278] caelorum. ‘quorsum istaec?’ 1 inquis, te ista 2 sententia quam maxume, papa beatissime, petit, cui non sufficit illis tantum necessitatibus opem ferre, quas noveris, quique usque in extimos terminos Galliarum caritatis indage porrecta prius soles indigentum respicere causas quam inspicere personas. [2] nullius obest tenuitati debilitatique, si te expetere non possit, nam praevenis manibus illum, qui non valuerit ad te pedibus pervenire, transit in alienas provincias vigilantia tua et in hoc curae tuae latitudo diffunditur, ut longe positorum consoletur angustias; et hinc fit, 3 ut, quia crebro te non minus absentum verecundia quam praesentum querimonia movet, saepe terseris eorum lacrimas, quorum oculos non vidisti. [3] omitto illa, quae cotidie propter defectionem 4 civium pauperatorum inrequietis toleras excubiis precibus expensis. omitto te tali semper agere temperamento, sic semper humanum, sic abstemium iudicari, ut constet indesinenter regem praesentem prandia tua, reginam laudare ieiunia, omitto tanto te cultu ecclesiam tibi creditam convenustare, ut dubitet inspector, meliusne nova opera consurgant an vetusta reparentur, [4] omitto per te plurimis locis basilicarum fundamenta consurgere, ornamenta duplicari; cumque multa in statu fidei [p. 280] tuis dispositionibus augeantur, solum haereticorum numerum minui, teque quodam venatu apostolico feras Fotinianorum mentes spiritualium praedicationum cassibus implicare, atque a tuo barbaros iam sequaces, quotiens convincuntur verbo, non exire vestigio, donec eos a profundo gurgite erroris felicitis-simum animarum piscator extraxeris. [5] et horum aliqua tamen cum reliquis forsitan communicanda collegis; illud autem deberi tibi quodam, ut iuris-consulti dicunt, praecipui titulo nec tuus poterit ire pudor infitias, quod post Gothicam depopulationem, post segetes incendio absumptas peculiari sumptu inopiae communi per desolatas Gallias gratuita frumenta misisti, cum tabescentibus fame populis nimium contulisses, si commercio fuisset species ista, non muneri. 1 vidimus angustas tuis frugibus vias; vidimus per Araris et Rhodani ripas non unum, quod unus impleveras, horreum. [6] fabularum cedant figmenta gentilium et ille quasi in caelum relatus pro reperta spicarum novitate Triptolemus, quem Graecia sua, caementariis pictoribus significibusque 2 illustris, sacravit templis formavit statuis effigiavit imaginibus, illum dubia fama concinnat 3 [p. 282] per rudes adhuc et Dodonigenas populos duabus vagum navibus, quibus poetae deinceps formam draconum deputaverunt, ignotam circumtulisse sementem, tu, ut de mediterranea taceam largitate, victum civitatibus Tyrrheni maris erogaturus granariis tuis duo potius flumina quam duo navigia complesti. [7] sed si forte Achaicis Eleusinae superstitionis exemplis tamquam non idoneis religiosos laudatus offenditur, seposita mystici intellectus reverentia venerabilis

patriarchae Ioseph historiam diligentiam comparemus, qui contra sterilitatem septem uberes annos insecuturam facile providit remedium, quod praevidit. secundum tamen moralem sententiam nihil iudicio meo minor est qui in superveniente simili necessitate non divinat et subvenit. [8] quapropter, etsi ad integrum conicere non possum, quantas tibi gratias Arelatenses 1 Reienses, 2 Avenniocus Arausionensis quoque et Albensis, Valentinaeque nec non et Tricastinae urbis possessor exsolvat, quia difficile est eorum ex asse vota metiri, quibus noveris alimoniam sine asse col- [p. 284] latam, Arverni tamen oppidi ego nomine uberes perquam gratias ago, cui ut succurrere meditare, non te communio provinciae, non proximitas civitatis, non opportunitas fluvii, non oblatio pretii adduxit. [9] itaque ingentes per me referunt grates quibus obtigit per panis tui abundantiam ad sui sufficientiam pervenire, igitur si mandati officii munia satis videor implese, ex legato nuntius ero. illicet scias volo: per omnem fertur Aquitaniam gloria tua; amaris laudans, desideraris excoleris, omnium pectoribus, omnium votis, inter haec temporum mala bonus sacerdos, bonus pater, bonus annus es quibus operae pretium fuit fieri famem suam periculo, si aliter esse non poterat tua largitas experimento, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa. [p. 286]

BOOK VII.

Sidonius Domino Papae Mamerto salutem

Rumor est Gothos in Romanum solum castra movisse: huic semper irruptioni nos miseri Arverni ianua sumus, namque odiis inimicorum hinc peculiaria fomenta subministramus, quia, quod necdum terminos suos ab Oceano in Rhodanum Ligeris alveo limitaverunt, solam sub ope Christi moram de nostra tantum obice patiuntur, circumiectarum vero spatia tractumque regionum iam pridem regni minacis importuna devoravit impressio. [2] sed animositati nostrae tam temerariae tamque periculosae non nos aut ambustam murorum faciem 1 aut putrem sudium cratem aut propugnacula vigilum trita pectoribus confidimus opitulatura; solo tantum 2 invectarum te auctore rogationum palpamur auxilio, quibus inchoandis instituendisque populus Arvernus, [p. 288] etsi non effectum pari, affectu certe non impari coepit initiari, et ob hoc circumfusus necdum dat terga terroribus. [3] non enim latet nostram sciscitationem, quod 1 primis temporibus harumce supplicationum institutarum civitas caelitus tibi. credita per cuiusque modi 2 prodigiorum terculamenta vacuabatur. name modo scaenae 3 moenium publicorum crebris terrae motibus concutiebantur; nunc ignes saepe 4 flammati caducas culminum cristas superiecto favillarum monte tumulabant; nunc stupenda foro cubilia collocabat audacium pavenda mansuetudo cervorum: cum tu inter ista discessu primorum populariumque statu urbis exinanito ad nova celer veterum Ninivitarum exempla decurristi, ne divinae admonitioni tua quoque desperatio conviciaretur. [4] et vere iam de deo tu minime poteras absque peccato post virtutum experimenta diffidere, nam cum vice quadam civitas conflagrare coepisset, fides tua in illo ardore plus caluit; et cum in conspectu pavidae plebis obiectu solo corporis tui ignis recussus in tergum fugitivos flexibus sinuaretur, miraculo terribili novo invisitato 5 affuit flammae cedere per reverentiam, cui sentire defuit per naturam. [5] igitur primum nostri ordinis viris et [p. 290] his paucis iudicis ieiunia interdicis flagitia, supplicia praedicis remedia promittis; exponis omnibus nec poenam longinquam esse nec veniam; doces denuntiatae solitudinis minas orationum frequentia esse amoliendas; mones assiduitatem furentis incendii aqua potius oculorum quam fluminum posse restingui; mones minacem terrae motuum conflictationem fidei stabilitate firmandam. [6] cuius confestim sequax humilis turba consilii maioribus quoque suis fuit incitamento, quos cum non piguisset fugere, redire non puduit, qua devotione placatus inspector pectorum deus fecit esse obsecrationem vestram vobis saluti, ceteris imitationi, utrisque praesidio, denique illic deinceps non fuere vel damna calamitati vel ostenta formidini. quae omnia sciens populus iste Viennensibus tuis et accidis prius et non accessisse posterius vestigia tam sacro-sanctae informationis amplectitur, sedulo petens, ut conscientiae tuae beatitudo mittat orationum suarum suffragia quibus exempla transmisit. [7] et quia tibi soli concessa est, post avorum memoriam vel confessorem Ambrosium duorum martyrum repertorem, in partibus orbis occidui martyris [p. 292] Ferreoli solida

translatio adiecto nostri capite Iuliam, quod istinc turbulento quondam persecutori manus rettulit cruenta carnificis, non iniurium est, quod pro compensatione deposcimus, ut nobis inde veniat pars patrocinii, quia vobis hinc rediit pars patroni, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa,

Sidonius Domino Papae Graeco salutem

Oneras, consummatissime pontificum, verecundiam meam, multifaria laude cumulando si quid stilo rusticante peraravero. atque utinam reatu careat, quod apicum primore congressu quamquam circumscriptus veritati resultantia tamen et diversa conexui; ignorantiae siquidem meae callidus viator imposuit, nam dum solum mercatoris praetendit officium, litteras meas ad formatae vicem, scilicet ut lector, elicuit, sed quas aliquam gratiarum actionem continere decuisset. namque, ut post comperi, plus [p. 294] Massiliensium benignitate provectus est, 1 quam status sui seu per censum seu per familiam forma pateretur. [2] quae tamen ut gesta sunt si quispiam dignus relator evolveret, fierent iucunda memoratu, sed quoniam iubetis ipsi, 2 ut aliquid vobis a me laetum copiosumque pagina ferat, date veniam, si hanc ipsam tabellarii nostri hospitalitatem comicis salibus comparandam salva vestrarum aurium severitate perstringamus, ne secundo insinuatam non 3 nunc primum nosse videamur, simul et, si moris est regularum 4 ut ex materia omni usurpentur principia dicendi, cur hic quoque quodcumque mihi sermocinatur materia longius quaeratur expetaturque, nisi ut sermoni nostro sit ipse pro causa, cui erit noster sermo pro sarcina? [3] Arverni huic patria; parentes natalibus non superbis sed absolutis, et sicut nihil illustre iactantes, ita nihil servile metuentes, contenti censu modico sed eodem vel suffi-ente vel libero; militia illis in clericali potius quam in Palatino decursa comitatu, pater istius granditer [p. 296] frugi et liberis parum liberalis quique per nimiam parsimoniam iuveni filio plus prodesse quam placere maluerit. quo relicto tunc puer iste vos petiit nimis expeditus, quod erat maximum conatibus primis impedimentum; nihil est enim viatico levi gravius. [4] attamen primus illi in vestra moenia satis secundus introitus, sancti Eustachii, qui vobis decessit, actutum dicto factoque gemina benedictio; hospitium brevi quaesitum, iam Eustachii cura facile inventum, celeriter aditum, civiliter locatum. iam primum crebro occurso 1 excolere vicinos, identidem ab his ipse haud aspernanter resalutari. agere cum singulis, prout aetatis ratio permetteret: grandaevos obsequiis, aequaevos officiis obligare. [5] pudicitiam prae ceteris sobrietatemque sectari, quod tam laudandum in iuventute quam rarum, summatibus deinceps et tunc comiti civitatis non minus opportunis quam frequentibus excubiis agnosci innotescere familiarescere, sicque eius in dies sedulitas maiorum sodalitatibus promoveri; fovere boni quique certatim, votis omnes plurimi consiliis, privati donis cincti 2 beneficiis adiuvaré; perque haec spes opesque istius raptim saltuatimque cumulari. [6] forte accidit, ut deversorio, cui ipse [p. 298] successerat, quaedam femina non minus censu quam moribus idonea vicinaretur, cuius filia infantiae iam temporibus emensis necdum tamen nubilibus annis appropinquabat, huic hic blandus (siquidem ea aetas infantulae, ut adhuc decenter) nunc quaedam frivola, nunc ludo apta virgineo scruta donabat; quibus isti parum grandibus causis plurimum

virgunculae animus copulabatur. [7] anni obiter thalamo pares: quid morer multis? adolescens, solus tenuis peregrinus, filius familias et e patria patre non solum non volente verum et ignorante discedens, puellam non inferiorem natalibus, facultatibus superiorem, medio episcopo, quia lector, solacio comitis, quia cliens, socru non inspiciente substantiam, sponsa non despiciente personam, uxorem petit, impetrat, ducite conscribuntur tabulae nuptiales; et si qua est istic municipioli nostri sub-urbanitas, matrimonialibus illic inserta documentis mimica largitate recitatur. [8] peracta circumscriptione legitima et fraude sollemni levat divitem coniugem pauper adamatus et diligenter quae ad socerum 1 pertinuerant rimatis convasatisque, non parvo etiam corollario facilitatem credulitatemque munificentiae socrualis 2 emungens receptui in patriam cecinit praestigiator invictus, quo profecto mater puellae pro hyperbolicis instrumentis coepit actionem [p. 300] repetundarum velle proponere et tunc demum de mancipiorum sponsaliciae donationis paucitate maerere, quando iam de nepotum numerositate gaudebat. ad hanc placandam noster Hippolytus perrexerat, cum litteras meas prius obtulit. [9] habetis historiam iuvenis eximii, fabulam 1 Miletiae 2 vel Atticae parem, simul et ignoscite praeter aequum epistularem formulam porrigenti, quam ob hoc stilo morante produxi, ut non tamquam ignotum recipietis quem civem beneficiis reddidistis, pariter et natura comparatum est, ut quibus impendimus studium praestemus affectum, vos vero Eustachium pontificem tunc ex asse digno herede 3 decessisse monstrabitis, si ut propinquis testamenti, sic clientibus patrocinii legata solvatis. [10] ecce parui et oboedientis officium garrulitate complevi, licet qui indocto negotium prolixitatis iniungit, aegre ferre [p. 302] non debeat, si non tam eloquentes epistulas recipit quam loquaces. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

Sidonius Domino Papae Megethio salutem

Diu multumque deliberavi, quamquam mihi animus affectu 1 studioque 2 parendi sollicitaretur, 3 an destinarem, sicuti iniungis, contestatiunculas, quas ipse dictavi, vicit ad ultimum sententia, quae tibi obsequendum definiebat. igitur petita transmissi: et quid modo dicemus? grandisne haec oboedientia? puto, grandis est; grandior impudentia tamen, hac enim fronte possemus fluminibus aquas, silvis ligna transmittere; hac [enim] 4 temeritate Apellen peniculo, caelo Phidian, 5 malleo Polyclitum muneraremur. 6 [2] dabis ergo veniam praesumptioni, papa sancte facunde venerabilis, quae [p. 304] doctissimo examini tuo naturali garrulitate deblaterat. habet consuetudo nostra pro ritu, ut etsi pauca edit, multa conscribat, veluti est canibus innatum, ut, etsi non latrant, tamen hirriant. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

Sidonius Domino Papae Fonteio salutem

Insinuare quoscumque iam paveo, quia commendatis nos damus verba, vos munera; tamquam non principalitas sit censenda beneficii, quod a me peccatore digressis sanctae communionis portio patet, testis horum est Vindicius noster, qui segnius domum pro munificentiae vestrae fasce remeavit, quoquo loco est, constanter affirmans, cum sitis opinione magni, gradu maximi, non tamen esse vos amplius dignitate quam dignatione laudandos. [2] praedicat melleas sanctas et floridas, quae procedunt de temperata communionem, blanditias; nec tamen ex hoc quicquam pontificali deperire personae, quod sacerdotii fastigium non frangitis comitate, sed flectitis. quibus agnitis sic inardesco, ut tum me sim felicissimum iudicaturus, cum mihi coram posito sub divina ope contigerit tam securum de deo suo pectus licet praesumptiosis, artis tamen fovere [p. 306] complexibus. [3] accipite confitentem: suspicio quidem nimis severos et imbecillitatis meae conscius aequanimiter fero asperos mihi; sed, quod fatendum est, hisce moribus facilius humilitate submittimur quam familiaritate sociamur.1 in summa, viderit, qua conscientiae dote turgescat, qui se ambientibus rigidum reddit; ego tamen morum illius aemulator esse praelegerim, 2 qui etiam longe positorum incitare in se affectat affectum. [4] illud quoque mihi inter maxima granditer cordi est, quod apostolatus vestri patrocinium copiosum verissimis dominis animae meae, Simplicio et Apollinari, intermina intercessione conferre vos comperi. si verum est, rogo, ut non habeat vestra caritas finem; si falsum est, peto, ut non differat habere principium, praeterea commendo gerulum litterarum, cui istic, id est in Vasionensi oppido, 3 quiddam necessitatis exortum sanari vestrae auctoritatis reverentiaeque 4 pondere potest, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa. [p. 308]

Sidonius Domino Papae Agroecio salutem

Biturigas decreto civium petitus adveni: causa fuit evocationis titubans ecclesiae status, quae nuper summo viduata pontifice utriusque professionis ordinibus ambiendi sacerdotii quoddam classicum cecinit, fremit populus per studia divisus; pauci alteros, multi sese non offerunt solum sed inferunt, si aliquid pro virili portione secundum deum consulas veritatemque, omnia occurrunt levia varia fucata, et (quid dicam?) sola est illic simplex impudentia. [2] et nisi me immerito queri iudicaretis, dicere auderem tam praecipitis animi esse plerosque tamque periculosi, ut sacrosanctam sedem dignitatemque affectare pretio oblato non reformident, remque iam dudum in nundinam mitti auctionemque potuisse, si quam paratus invenitur emptor, venditor tam desperatus inveniretur. proin quaeso, ut officii mei novitatem pudorem necessitatem exspecta- [p. 310] tissimi 1 adventus tui ornes contubernio, tuteris auxilio. [3] nec te, quamquam Senoniae caput es, inter haec dubia subtraxeris intentionibus medendis Aquitanorum, quia minimum refert, quod nobis est in habitatione divisa provincia, quando in religione causa coniungitur, his accedit, quod de urbibus Aquitanicae primae solum oppidum Arvernum Romanorum 2 reliquum partibus bella fecerunt, quapropter in constituendo praefatae civitatis anti-stite provincialium collegarum deficimur numero, nisi metropolitanorum reficiamur assensu. [4] de cetero quod ad honoris vestri spectat praerogativam, nullus a me hactenus nominatus, nullus adhibitus, nullus electus est; omnia censurae tuae salva inlibata solida servantur. tantum hoc meum duco, vestras invitare personas expectare voluntates laudare sententias, [p. 312] et 1 cum in locum statumque pontificis quisque sufficitur, ut a vobis praeceptum, a me procedat obsequium. [5] sed si, quod tamen arbitror minime fore, precibus meis apud vos malesuadus obstiterit interpres, poteritis praesentiam vestram potius excusare quam culpam; sicut e diverso, si venitis, ostenditis, quia terminus potuerit poni vestrae quidem regioni, sed non potuerit caritati. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

Sidonius Domino Papae Basilio salutem

Sunt nobis munere dei novo nostrorum temporum exemplo amicitiarum vetera iura, diuque est quod invicem diligimus ex aequo, porro autem, quod ad communem conscientiam pertinet, tu patronus: quamquam hoc ipsum praesumptiose arroganterque loquar; 2 namque iniquitas mea tanta est, ut mederi de lapsuum eius assiduitate vix etiam tuae supplicationis efficacia queat. [2] igitur, [p. 314] quia mihi es tam patrocinio quam dilectione bis dominus, pariter et quod meministi probe, quo polleas igne sensuum, fonte verborum, qui viderim Modaharium, civem Gothum, haereseos Arianæ iacula vibrantem quo tu spiritualium testimoniorum mucrone confoderis, servata ceterorum tam reverentia quam pace pontificum non iniuria tibi defleo, qualiter ecclesiasticas caulas istius aetatis 1 lupus, qui peccatis pereuntium saginatur animarum, clandestino morsu necdum intellecti dentis arrodit. [3] namque hostis antiquus, quo facilius insultet balatibus ovium destitutarum, dormitantum prius incipit cervicibus imminere pastorum, neque ego ita mei in eminens non sum, ut nequaquam me hunc esse reminiscar, quem longis adhuc abluenda fletibus conscientia premat; cuius stercorea tamen sub ope Christi quandoque mysticis orationum tuarum rastris eruderabuntur. sed quoniam supereminet privati reatris verecundiam publica salus, non verebor, etsi carpat zelum in me fidei sinister interpres, sub vanitatis invidia causam proderet veritatis. [4] Evarix, rex Gothorum, quod limitem regni sui rupto dissolutoque foedere antiquo vel tutatur armorum iure vel pro- [p. 316] movet, nec nobis peccatoribus hic accusare nec vobis sanctis hic discutere permissum est. quin potius, si requiras, ordinis res est, ut et dives hic purpura byssoque veletur et Lazarus hic ulceribus et paupertate feriat; ordinis res est, ut, dum in hac allegorica versamur Aegypto, Pharao incedat cum diademate, Israelita cum cophino; ordinis res est, ut, dum in hac figuratae Babylonis fornace decoquimur, nos cum Ieremia spiritalem Ierusalem suspiriosis plangamus ululatibus et Assur fastu regio tonans sanctorum sancta proculcet. [5] quibus ego praesentum futurarumque beatitudinum vicissitudinibus inspectis communia patientius incommoda fero; primum, quod mihi quae merear introspectanti, quaecumque adversa provenerint, leviora reputabuntur; dein quod certum scio maximum esse remedium interioris hominis, si in hac area mundi variis passionum flagellis trituretur exterior. [6] sed, quod fatendum est, praefatum regem Gothorum, quamquam sit ob virium merita terribilis, non tam Romanis moenibus quam legibus [p. 318] Christianis insidiaturum pavesco. tantum, ut ferunt, ori, tantum pectori suo catholici mentio nominis acet, ut ambigas ampliusne suae gentis an suae sectae teneat principatum, ad hoc armis poteris acer animis alacer annis hunc solum patitur errorem, quod putat sibi tractatum consiliorumque successum tribui pro religione legitima, quem potius assequitur pro felicitate terrena. [7] propter quod discite cito catholici status valetudinem occultam, ut apertam festinetis adhibere

medicinam. Burdigala, Petrogorii, Ruteni, Lemovices, Gabalitani, Helusani, Vasates, Convenae, Auscenses, multoque iam maior numerus civitatum summis sacerdotibus ipsorum morte truncatus nec ullis deinceps episcopis in de-functorum officia suffectis, per quos utique minorum ordinum ministeria subrogabantur, latum spiritalis ruinae limitem traxit, quam fere constat sic per singulos dies morientum patrum proficere defectu, ut non solum quoslibet haereticos praesentum verum etiam haeresiarchas priorum temporum potuerit inflectere: ita populos excessu pontificum orbatos tristis intercisae fidei desperatio premit. [8] nulla [p. 320] in desolatis cura dioecesibus 1 [parochiisque]. 2 videas in ecclesiis aut putres culminum lapsus aut valvarum cardinibus avulsis basilicarum aditus hispidorum veprium fruticibus obstructos. ipsa, pro dolor, videas armenta non modo semipatentibus iacere vestibulis sed etiam herbosa viridantium altarium latera depasci. sed iam nec per rusticas solum solitudo parochias: ipsa insuper urbanarum ecclesiarum conventicula rarescunt. [9] quid enim fidelibus solacii superest, quando clericalis non modo disciplina verum etiam memoria perit? equidem cum clericus quisque defungitur, si benedictione succidua non accipiat dignitatis heredem, in illa ecclesia sacerdotium moritur, non sacerdos, atque ita quid spei restare pronunties, ubi facit terminus hominis finem religionis? altius inspicite spiritalium damna membrorum: profecto intellegetis, quanti subrepti sunt 3 episcopi, tantorum vobis populorum fidem periclitaturam. taceo vestros Crocum Simpliciumque collegas, quos cathedris sibi traditis eliminatos similis [p. 322] exilii cruciat poena dissimilis, namque unus ipsorum dolet se non videre quo redeat; alter se dolet videre quo non redit. [10] tu sacratissimorum pontificum, Leontii Fausti Graeci, urbe ordine caritate medius inveniris; per vos mala foederum currunt, per vos regni utriusque pacta condicionesque portantur, agite, quatenus haec sit amicitiae 1 concordia 2 principalis, 3 ut episcopali ordinatione permissa populos Galliarum, quos limes Gothicae sortis incluserit, teneamus ex fide, etsi non tenemus ex foedere, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa. [p. 324]

Sidonius Domino Papae Graeco salutem

Ecce iterum Amantius, nugigerulus noster, Massiliam suam repetit, aliquid, ut moris est, de manubiis civitatis domum reportaturus, si tamen . . . aut 1 catapulus arriserit. per quem ioculariter plura garrire, si pariter unus idemque valeret animus exercere laeta et tristia sustinere, siquidem nostri hic nunc est infelicis anguli status, cuius, ut fama confirmat misera minus 2 fuit sub bello quam sub pace condicio. [2] facta est servitus nostra pretium securitatis alienae. Arvernorum, pro dolor, [p. 326] servitus, qui, si prisca replicarentur, audebant se quondam fratres Latio dicere et sanguine ab Iliaco populos computare. si recentia memorabuntur, hi sunt, qui viribus propriis hostium publicorum arma remorati sunt; cui saepe populo Gothus non fuit clauso intra moenia formidini, cum vicissim ipse fieret oppugnatoribus positus intra castra terrori. hi sunt, qui sibi adversus vicinorum aciem tam duces fuere quam milites; de quorum tamen sorte certaminum si quid prosperum cessit, vos secunda solata sunt, si quid contrarium, illos adversa fregerunt, illi amore rei publicae Seronatum barbaris provincias propinquantem non timuerunt legibus tradere, quem convictum deinceps res publica vix praesumpsit occidere. [3] hoccine meruerunt inopia flamma, ferrum pestilentia, pingues caedibus gladii et macri ieiuniis proeliatore? propter huius tam 1 inclitae pacis expectationem avulsas muralibus rimis herbas in cibum traximus, crebro per ignorantiam venenatis graminibus infecti, quae indiscretis foliis sucisque [p. 328] viridantia saepe manus fame concolor legit? pro his tot tantisque devotionis experimentis nostri, 1 quantum audio, facta iactura est? [4] pudeat vos, precamur, huius foederis, nec utilis nec decori, per vos legationes meant; vobis primum pax quamquam principe absente non solum tractata reseratur, verum etiam tractanda committitur, veniabilis sit, quaesumus, apud aures vestras veritatis asperitas, cui convicii invidiam dolor eripit, parum in commune consulitis; et, cum in concilium convenitis, non tam curae est 2 publicis mederi periculis quam privatis studere fortunis; quod utique saepe diuque facientes iam non primi comprovincialium coepistis esse, sed ultimi. [5] at quousque istae poterunt durare praestigiae? non enim diutius ipsi maiores nostri hoc nomine gloriabuntur, qui minores incipiunt non habere, quapropter vel consilio, quo potestis, statum concordiae tam turpis incidite. adhuc, si necesse est, obsideri, adhuc pugnare, adhuc esurire delectat, si vero tradimur, qui non potuimus viribus [p. 330] obtineri, invenisse vos certum est quid barbarum suaderetis 1 ignavi. [6] sed cur dolori nimio frena laxamus? quin potius ignoscite afflictis nec imputate maerentibus. namque alia regio tradita servitium sperat, Arverna supplicium, sane si medicari nostris ultimis non valetis, saltem hoc efficit prece sedula, ut sanguis vivat, quorum est moritura libertas; parate exulibus terram, capiendis redemptionem, viaticum peregrinaturis. si murus noster aperitur hostibus, non sit clausus vester hospitibus, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

Sidonius Domino Papae Euphronio salutem

Quandoquidem me clericalis officii vincula ligant, felicissimum mediocritatis meae statum pronuntiarem, si nobis haberentur quam territoria vicina tam moenia, de minimis videlicet rebus coronam tuam maximisque consulerem, fieretque [p. 332] actionum mearum quasi cuiuspiam fluvii placidus 1 cursus atque inoffensus, si e tractatu 2 tuo veluti ex saluberrimo fonte manaret. procul dubio tunc ille non esset aut spumosus per iactantiam aut turbidus per superbiam aut caenosus per conscientiam aut praeceps per iuventutem, quin potius in illo squalidum si quid ac putre sorderet, totum id ad-mixta consilii tui vena dilueret. [2] sed quoniam huiusmodi votis spatia sunt longa interposita praepedimento, sedulo precor, ut consulentem de scrupulo incursae ambiguitatis expedias et, quia Simplicium, spectabilem virum, episcopum sibi flagitat populus Biturix ordinari, quid super tanto debeam negotio facere, decernas. huius es namque vel erga me dignationis vel erga reliquos auctoritatis, ut si quid fieri voles (voles autem quicquid aequissimum est), non suadere tam debeas quam iubere. [3] de quo tamen Simplicio scitote narrari plurima bona, atque ea quidem a plurimis bonis, quae testimonia mihi prima fronte conloquii non satis grata, quia satis gratiosa, iudicabantur. at postquam aemulos eius nihil vidi amplius quam silere, atque eos maxime, qui fidem foveant Arianorum, neque [p. 334] quippiam nominato, licet necdum nostrae professions, illicitum opponi, animum adverti exactis-simum virum posse censerī, de quo civis malus loqui, bonus tacere non posset. [4] sed cur ego istaec 1 ineptus adieci, tamquam darem consilium qui poposci? quin potius omnia ex vestro nutu arbitrio litterisque disponentur sacerdotibus, popularibus manifestabuntur. neque enim ita desipimus in totum, ut evocandum te primum, si venire possibile est, deinde, si quid sequius, 2 certe consulendum decerneremus, nisi in omnibus obsecuturi. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

Sidonius Domino Papae Perpetuo salutem

Desiderio spiritalium lectionum, quarum 3 tibi tam per authenticos quam per disputatores byblio-theca fidei catholicae 4 perfamiliaris est, etiam illa, quae maxime 5 tuarum scilicet aurium minime digna [p. 336] sunt occupare censuram, noscere cupis; siquidem iniungis, ut orationem, quam 1 videor 2 ad plebem Biturigis in ecclesia sermocinatus, tibi dirigam; cui non rhetorica partitio, non oratoriae minae,³ non grammaticales figurae congruentem decorem disciplinamque suppeditaverunt. [2] neque enim illic, ut exacte perorantibus mos est, aut pondera historica aut poetica schemata scintillasve controversalium clausularum libuit aptari. nam cum me partium seditiones studia varietates in diversa raptarent, sic dictandi mihi materiam suggerebat iniuria, quod tempus occupatio subtrahebat. etenim tanta erat turba competitorum, ut cathedrae unius numerosissimos candidatos nec duo recipere scamna potuissent, omnes placebant sibi, omnes omnibus displicebant. [3] neque [enim] 4 valuissimus aliquid in commune consulere, nisi iudicii sui faciens plebs lenita iacturam sacerdotali se potius iudicio subdidisset, presbyterorum sane paucis angulatim fringultientibus, porro autem palam ne mussitantibus quidem, quia plerique non minus suum quam reliquos ordines pertimescebant. igitur, dum publice totos singuli [p. 338] cavent, factum est, ut omnes non aspernanter audirent quod deinceps ambierent exponerent. 1 [4] itaque paginam sume subditis voluminibus adiunctam, quam duabus vigiliis unius noctis aestivae Christo teste dictatam plurimum vereor ne ipsi amplius lectioni, quae hoc de se probat, quam mihi credas, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa. CONTIO [5] Refert historia saecularis, dilectissimi, quendam philosophorum discipulis advenientibus prius tacendi patientiam quam loquendi monstrasse doctrinam et sic incipientes quosque inter disputantium consecutorum cathedras mutum sustinuisse quinquennium, ut etiam celeriora quorumpiam ingenia non liceret ante laudari quam deceret agnosci. ita fiebat, ut eosdem post longam taciturnitatem locutos quisque audire coeperat, non taceret 2 quia, donec scientiam natura combiberit, non maior est gloria dixisse quod noveris quam siluisse quod nescias. [6] at nunc mediocritatem meam manet longe diversa condicio, cui per suspiriosas voragines et flagitiorum volutabra gradienti professionis huiusce [p. 340] pondus impactum est; et prius quam ulli bonorum reddam discentis obsequium, cogor debere ceteris docentis officium, adicitur huic impossibilitati pondus pudoris, quod mihi peculiariter paginae decretalis oblatu pontificis eligendi mandastis arbitrium coram sacrosancto et pontificatu maximo dignissimo papa; qui cum sit suae provinciae caput, sit etiam mihi usu institutione, facundia privilegio, tempore aetate praestantior, ego deque coramque metropolitano verba factururus, et provincialis et iunior, pariter fero inmeriti verecundiam, procacis invidiam. [7] sed quoniam vestro sic libitum errori, ut ipse prudentia carens prudentem vobis, in cuiusque

personam bona multa concurrant, sub ope Christi episcopum exquiram, noveritis huiusmodi assensu multum me honoris, plus oneris excipere, primore loco grandem publicae opinionis sarcinam penditote, quod iniunxistis incipienti consummata iudicia atque ab hoc rectum consilii tramitem postulatis,^[1] in quo recolitis adhuc nuper erratum, igitur quia vobis id fuit cordi, obsecro, ut quales nos fide creditis, tales intercessione faciatis atque dignemini humilitatem no- [p. 342] stram orationibus potius in caelum ferre quam plausibus. ^[8] primum tamen nosse vos par est, in quas me obloquiorum Scyllas et in quos linguarum, sed humanarum, latratus quorundam vos infamare conantum turbo coniecerit. est enim haec quaedam vis malis moribus, .ut innocentiam multitudinis devenustent scelera paucorum, cum tamen e diverso bonorum raritas flagitia multorum nequeat excusare virtutibus communicatis. ^[9] si quempiam nomina-vero monachorum, quamvis illum, Paulis Antoniis, Hilarionibus Macariis conferendum, sectatae anachoreseos praerogativa comitetur, aures ilico meas incondita tumultu circumstrepitas ¹ ignobilium pumilionum murmur everberat conquerentum: ‘hic qui nominatur,’ inquit, ‘non episcopi, sed potius abbatis complet officium et intercedere magis pro animabus apud caelestem quam pro corporibus apud terrenum iudicem potest.’ sed quis non exacerbescat, cum videat sordidari virtutum sinceritatem criminatione vitiorum? ^[10] si eligimus humilem, vocatur abiectus: si proferimus erectum, superbire censetur; si minus institutum, propter imperitiam [p. 344] creditur inridendus: si aliquatenus doctum, propter scientiam clamatur inflatus; si severum, tamquam crudelis horretur: si indulgentem, facilitate culpatur; si simplicem, despicitur ut brutus: si acrem, vitatur ut calidus; ¹ si diligentem, superstitiosus decernitur: si remissum, neglegens iudicatur; si sollertem, cupidus: si quietum, pronuntiatur ignavus; si abstemium producimus, avarus accipitur: si eum qui prandendo pascat, edacitatis impetitur: si eum qui pascendo ieiunet, vanitatis arguitur. ^[11] libertatem pro improbitate condemnant: verecundiam pro rusticitate fastidiunt; rigidos ob austeritatem non habent caros: blandi apud eos communione vilesunt. ac sic, utrolibet genere vivatur, semper hic tamen bonarum partium mores pungentibus linguis maledicorum veluti bicipitibus hamis inuncabuntur. inter haec monasterialibus disciplinis aegre subditur vel popularium cervicositas vel licentia clericorum. ^[12] si clericum dixero, sequentes aemulantur, derogant antecedentes. nam ita ex his pauci, quod reliquorum pace sit dictum, solam clericatus diuturnitatem pro meritis autumant calculandam, ut nos in antistite consecrando non utilitatem velint eligere sed aetatem, tamquam diu potius quam bene vivere debeat accipi ad summum sacerdotium adipiscendum [p. 346] pro omnium gratiarum privilegio decoramento lenocinamento. et ita quipiam, in ministrando segnes in obloquendo celeres, in tractatibus otiosi in seditionibus occupati, in caritate infirmi in factione robusti, in aemulationum conservatione stabiles in sententiarum assertionem nutantes, nituntur regere ecclesiam, quos iam regi necesse erit ¹ per senectam. ^[13] sed nec diutius placet propter paucorum

ambitus multorum notare personas: hoc solum astruo, quod, cum nullum proferam nuncupatim, ille confitetur repulsam, qui profitetur offensam, sane id liberius dico, de multitudine circumstantium multos episcopales esse, sed totos episcopos esse non posse; et, cum singuli diversorum charismatum proprietate potiantur, sufficere omnes sibi, omnibus neminem. [14] si militarem dixerō forte personam, protinus in haec verba consurgitur: ‘Sidonius ad clericatum quia de saeculari professione translatus est, ideo sibi assumere metropolitanum de religiosa congregatione dissimulat; natalibus turget, dignitatum fastigatur insignibus, contemnit pauperes Christi.’ [15] quapropter in praesentiarum solvam quam non tam bonorum caritati quam maledicorum suspicioni [p. 348] debeo fidem (vivit 1 Spiritus Sanctus, omnipotens Deus noster, qui Petri voce damnavit in Simone mago cur opinaretur gratiam benedictionis pretio sese posse mercari) me in eo, quem vobis opportunum censui, nec pecuniae favere nec gratiae, sed statu satis superque trutinato personae temporis, provinciae civitatis, virum, cuius in consequentibus raptim vita replicabitur, competentissimum credidisse. [16] benedictus Simplicius, hactenus vestri iamque abhinc nostri, modo per vos deus annuat, habendus ordinis comes, ita utrique parti vel actu vel professione respondet, ut et respublica in eo quod admiretur et ecclesia possit invenire quod diligat. [17] si natalibus servanda reverentia est, quia et hos non omittendos euangelista monstravit (nam Lucas laudationem Iohannis aggressus praestantissimum computavit, quod de sacerdotali stirpe veniebat, et nobilitatem vitae praedicaturus prius tamen extulit familiae dignitatem): parentes ipsius aut cathedris aut tribunalibus praesederunt. inlustris in utraque conversatione prosapia aut episcopis floruit 2 aut praefectis: ita semper huiusce maioribus aut humanum aut divinum dictare ius usui fuit. [p. 350] [18] si vero personam suam tractatu 1 consiliosiore pensemus, invenimus eam tenere istic interspecta-biles principem 2 locum, sed dicitis iure 3 Eucherium et Pannychium inlustres haberi superiores: quod hactenus eos esto putatos, sed praesentem iam modo ad causam illi ex canone non requiruntur, qui ambo ad secundas nuptias transierunt, si annos ipsius computemus, habet efficaciam de iuventute, de senectute consulum, si litteras vel ingenium conferamus, certat natura doctrinae. [19] si humanitas requirenda est, civi clerico peregrino, minimo maximoque, etiam supra sufficientiam offertur, et suum saepius panem ille potius, qui non erat redditurus, agnovit, si necessitas arripiendae legationis incubuit, non ille semel pro hac civitate stetit vel ante pellitos reges vel ante principes purpuratos. si ambigitur quo magistro rudimentis fidei fuerit imbutus: ut proverbialiter loquar, domi habuit unde disceret. [20] postremo iste est ille, [p. 352] carissimi, cui in tenebris ergastularibus constituta multipliciter obserata barbarici carceris divinitus claustra patuerunt. istum, ut audivimus, tam socero quam patre postpositis ad sacerdotium duci oportere vociferabamini; quo quidem tempore plurimum laudis domum rettulit, quando honorari parentum maluit dignitate quam propria. [21] paene transieram, quod praeteriri non oportuerat. sub Moyse quondam, sicut psalmographus ait, ‘in

diebus antiquis,' ut tabernaculi foederis forma consurgeret, totus Israel in eremo ante Beselehelis pedes oblaticii symbolam coacervavit impendii. Salomon deinceps, ut templum aedificaret in Solymis, solidas populi vires in opere concussit, quamvis Palestinorum [p. 354] captivas opes et circumiectorum regum tributarias functiones australis reginae Sabaitis gazae cumula-erit. hic vobis ecclesiam iuvenis miles, tenuis solus, adhuc filius familias et iam pater extruxit, nec illum a proposita 1 devotione suspendit vel tenacitas senum vel intuitus parvulorum, et tamen fuit morum factura quae taceret; [22] vir est namque, ni fallor, totius popularitatis ahenus; gratiam non captat omnium sed bonorum, non indiscreta familiaritate vilescent sed examinata sodalitate pretiosus et a 2 bono viratu aemulis suis magis prodesse cupiens quam placere, severis patribus comparandus, qui iuvenum filiorum non tam cogitant vota quam commoda; in adversis constans in dubiis fidus in prosperis modestus, in habitu simplex in sermone communis, in contubernio aequalis in consilio praecellens; amicitias probatas enixe expetit, constanter retinet, perenniter servat; inimicitias indictas honeste exercet, tarde credit, celeriter deponit; maxime ambiendus, quia minime ambitiosus, non studet suscipere sacerdotium, sed mereri. [23] dicit aliquis: 'unde tibi de illo tam cito tanta conperta sunt?' cui respondeo: prius Bituriges noveram quam Biturigas. multos in itinere multos [p. 356] in commilitio, multos in contractu multos in tractatu, multos in sua multos in nostra peregrinatione cognoscimus, plurima notitiae dantur et ex opinione compendia, quia non tam parvos terminos posuit famae natura quam patriae, quocirca si urbium status non tam murorum ambitu quam civium claritate taxandus est, non modo primum qui essetis, sed ubi essetis agnovi. [24] uxor illi de Palladiorum stirpe descendit, qui aut litterarum aut altarium cathedras cum sui ordinis laude tenuerunt, sane quia persona matronae verecundam succinctamque sui exigit mentionem, constanter adstruxerim respondere illam feminam sacerdotiis utriusque familiae, vel ubi educta crevit vel ubi electa migravit, filios ambo bene et prudenter instituunt, quibus comparatus pater inde felicius incipit esse, quia vincitur. [25] et quia sententiam parvitatatis meae in hac electione valituram esse iurastis, siquidem non est validius dicere sacramenta quam scribere, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti Simplicius est, quem provinciae nostrae metropolitanum, civitati [p. 358] vestrae summum sacerdotem fieri debere pronuntio. vos autem de viro, quo 1 loquimur, si novam sententiam meam sequimini, secundum vestram veterem consonate.

Sidonius Domino Papae Graeco salutem

Invideo felicitati consuetudinarii portitoris, a quo contigit 2 saepius vos videri, sed quid de Amantio loquar, cum ipsas quoque litteras meas aemuler, quae sacrosanctis reserabuntur digitis, inspicientur obtutibus? et ego istic inter semiustas muri fragilis clausus angustias belli terrore contigui desiderio de vobis meo nequaquam satisfacere permittor. atque utinam haec esset Arvernae forma vel causa regionis, ut minus excusabiles excusaremur.³ [2] sed, quod est durius, per iniustitiae nostrae merita conficitur, ut excusatio nobis iusta non desit, quocirca salutatione praefata, sicut mos poscit officii, magno opere deposco, ut interim remittatis occursionis debitum [p. 360] vel verba solventi. nam si commeandi libertas pace revocetur, illud magis verebor, ne adsiduitas praesentiae meae sit potius futura fastidio, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

Sidonius Domino Papae Auspicio salutem

Si ratio temporum regionumque pateretur, non per sola officia verborum amicitias semel initas excolere curarem, sed quoniam fraternae quietis voto satis obstreperit conflictantium procella regnorum, saltim inter discretos separatosque litteram consuetudo sermonis iure retinebitur, quae iam pridem caritatis obtentu merito inducta veteribus annuit 1 exemplis, superest, ut sollicito veneratori culpam rarae occursionis indulgeas, qui 2 quo minus assidue conspectus tui sacrosancta contemplatione potiatur, nunc periculum de vicinis timet, nunc invidiam de [p. 362] patronis, sed de his ista: haec etiam 1 multa sunt. [2] interim Petrum, tribunicium virum, portitorem nostri sermonis, insinuo, qui id ipsum sedulo exposcit, quique quid negotii ferat praesentaneo compendiosius potest intimare memoratu, cui, precor, quod in vobis opis est, intuitu paginae praesentis accedat, manente respectu nihilominus aequitatis, contra quam nec magis fami Uarium causas commendare consuevi. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

Sidonius Ferreolo suo salutem

Si amicitiae nostrae potius affinitatisque quam personae tuae tempus ordinem statum cogitaremus, iure vobis in hoc opere, quantulumcumque. est, primae titulorum rubricae, prima sermonum officia [p. 364] dedicarentur. isset per avitas tibi stilus noster curules, patricias nihilominus infulas enumeraturus; non tacuisset triplices praefecturas et Syagrio tuo pro totiens mutatis praeconibus praeconia non negasset; patrem inde patruosque minime silendos percucurrisset. [2] et quamlibet posset triumphalibus adoreis familiae tuae defetigari, non tamen eatenus explicandis antiquorum stemmatibus exinaniretur, ut ob hoc ad narrandam gloriam tuam fieret obtusior; qui, si etiam in scribendis maiorum tuorum virtutibus fuisset hebetatus, tuis denuo meritis cacuminaretur. 1 sed salutationem tibi publicam destinaturus non quid fuisses, sed quid nunc potius esses consideravit. [3] praetermisit Gallias tibi administratas tunc, cum maxime incolumes erant, praetermisit Attilam Rheni hostem, Thorismodum Rhodani hospitem, [p. 366] Aetium Ligeris liberatorem sola te dispositionum salubritate tolerasse, propterque prudentiam tantam providentiamque currum tuum provinciales cum plausuum maximo accentu spontaneis subisse cervicibus, quia sic habenas Galliarum moderarere, ut possessor exhaustus tributario iugo relevaretur. praetermisit regem Gothiae ferocissimum innexum aifatu tuo melleo gravi, arguto inusitato, et 1 ab Arelatensium portis quem Aetius non potuisset proelio te prandio removisse. [4] haec omnia praetermisit, sperans congruentius tuum salve pontificum quam senatorum iam nominibus adiungi; censuitque iustius fieri, si inter perfectos Christi quam si inter praefectos Valentiniani constituerere. neque te sacerdotibus potius admixtum vitio vertat malignus interpretes; nam grandis ordinum ignorantia tenet hinc aliquid derogaturos, quia, sicuti cum epulum festivitas publica facit, prior est in prima mensa conviva postremus ei, qui primus fuerit in secunda, sic absque conflictatione praestantior secundum bonorum sententiam computatur honorato maximo 2 minimus 3 religiosus, ora pro nobis. [p. 368]

Sidonius Sulpicio suo salutem

Himerius antistes, filius tuus, notus mihi hactenus parum vultu, satis opinione, quae quidem in bonam partem porrigebatur, Lugdunum nuper a Tricassibus venit, quo loci mihi raptim ac breviter inspectus sanctum episcopum Lupum, facile principem pontificum Gallicanorum, suae tam professionis magistrum quam dignitatis auctorem, morum nobis imitatione restituit. [2] deus bone, quae viro censura cum venustate, si quid vel 1 deliberet forte vel suadeat! abundat animi sale, cum consulitur, melle, cum consulit, summa homini cura de litteris, sed maxime religiosis, in quibus eum magis occupat medulla sensuum quam spuma verborum, tota illi [p. 370] actionum suarum intentio celeritas mora Christus est. quodque mirere vel laudes, nihil otiosum facit, cum nihil faciat non quietum. [3] ieiuniis delectatur, edulibus 1 adquiescit; illis adhaeret propter consuetudinem crucis, istis flectitur propter gratiam caritatis: summo utrumque moderamine, quia comprimit, quotiens prandere statuit, gulam, quotiens abstinere, iactantiam, officia multiplicat propria, vitat aliena; cumque ipsi vicissim deceat occurri, gratius habet, si sibi mutuus honos debeatur mage quam rependatur. [4] in convivio itinere consessu inferioribus cedit; quo fit, ut se illi voluptuosius turba postponat superiorum, sermonem maximo temperamento cum conloquente dispensat, in quo non patitur ullam aut verecundiam externus aut familiaris iniuriam, aut credulus invidiam aut curiosus repulsam aut suspiciosus nequitiam, aut peritus calumniam aut imperitus infamiam, simplicitatem columbae in ecclesia servat, in foro serpentis astutiam; bonis prudens, malis cautus, neutris callidus iudicatur. [5] quid plura? totum te nobis ille iam reddidit; totam tuam temperantiam religionem, libertatem verecundiam et illam delicatae [p. 372] mentis pudicissimam teneritudinem iucunda similitudine exscripsit. quapropter quantum volueris deinceps frui secreto, indulgere secessui, licebit indulgeas; quandoquidem nos in fratre meo Himerio avum nomine, patrem facie, utrumque prudentia iam tenemus. vale.

Sidonius Philagrio suo salutem

Proxime inter summates viros (erat et frequens ordo) vestri mentio fuit. omnes de te boni in commune senserunt omnia bona, cum tamen singuli quique varia virtutum genera dixissent, sane cum sibi quipiam de praesentia tua, quasi te magis nossent, praeter aequum gloriarentur, incandui, quippe cum dici non aequanimiter admitterem virum omnium litterarum vicinantibus rusticis quam institutis fieri remotioribus notio-rem. [2] processit in ulteriora contentio; et cum aliqui super hoc errore pervicaciter controversarentur (idiotarum siquidem est, sicut facile convinci, ita difficile compesci), con- [p. 374] stanter asserui, si eloquentibus amicis numquam agnitio contemplativa proveniat, esse asperum utcumque, tolerabile tamen, quia praevaleant ingenia sua, coram quibus imperitia civica peregrinatur, ad remotarum desideria provinciarum stilo adminiculante porrigere; per quem saepenumero absentum dumtaxat institutorum tantus colligitur affectus, quantus nec praesentanea sedulitate conficitur. igitur, si ita est, desistant calumniari communis absentiae necessitatem vultuum mage quam morum praedicatores. [3] equidem si humana substantia rectius mole quam mente censenda est, plurimum ignoro, quid secundum corpulentiam per spatia quamvis porrecta finalem in homine miremur, quo nihil aeque miserum destitutumque nascendi condicio produxit, quippe cum praebat tamquam ab adverso bovi pilus, apro saeta, volucris pluma vestitum (quibus insuper, ut vim vel inferant vel repellant, [p. 376] cornu dens unguis arma genuina sunt), membra vero nostra in hunc mundum sola censeas eiecta, non edita; cumque gignendis 1 artubus animalium ceterorum multifario natura praesidio quasi quaedam sinu patente mater occurrat, humana tantum corpora effudit, quorum inbecillitati quodammodo nover-caretur. [4] nam 2 illud, sicuti ego censeo, qui animum tuum membris duco potio-rem, non habet aequalitatem, quod statum nostrum supra pecudes veri falsique nescias ratiocinatio animae intellectualis evexit; cuius si tantisper summoveant dignitatem isti, qui amicos ludificabundi non tam iudicialiter quam oculariter intuentur, dicant velim in hominis forma quid satis praestans, quid spectabile putent. [5] proceritatemne? quasi non haec saepe congruentius trabibus aptetur. an fortitudinem? quae valentior in leoninae cervicis toris regnat, an decorem liniamentorum? quem crebro melius infigit 3 et argilla simulacris et cera picturis. an velocitatem? quae competentius canibus adscribitur. an vigilantiam? cui certat et noctua. an vocem? cui non cesserit asinus claritate, an industriam? [p. 378] cui pro suo modulo comparari nec formica formidat. [6] sed forsitan praeferunt vim videndi: tamquam non sit eminentior visus aquilarum, praeferunt audiendi efficaciam: tamquam sus hispidus non antistet auditu, praeferunt odorandi subtilitatem: tamquam non praecedat vultur olfactu. praeferunt gustandi discretionem: tamquam non plurimum hinc nos 1 cedamus 2 et simio. quid de tactu loquar, quinto sensu corporis nostri? quem sibi indifferenter tam philosophus quam vermiculus

usurpant. taceo hic de appetitibus inlecebrosis, quos in coitu motui beluino carnis humanae voluptas inclinata communicat. [7] ecce quam miseriam praeferunt excoluntque qui mihi, quod eis solo sis obtutu notior, turgidi insultant. ast ego illum semper Philagrium video, cuius si tacentis viderem faciem, Philagrium non viderem, unde illud simile vulgatum est, quod ait quidam in causa dispari sententia pari: 'filium Marci Ciceronis populus Romanus nonagnoscebat loquentem.' conclamata sunt namque 3 iudicio universali scientiae dignitas virtus praerogativa, cuius ad maximum culmen meritorum gradibus ascenditur. [8] primum etiam bestiale corpus, si iam [p. 380] forte formatum est, dignitate transcendit materiam informem; deinde formato praepositum corpus anima-tum; tertio praecedit animam pecudis animus humanus, quia, sicut inferior est caro vitae, sic vita rationi, cuius assequendae substantiam nostram compotem deus artifex, ferinam vero impotem fecit; ita tamen, quod in statu mentis humanae pollet bipertita condicio, nam sicut animae humanitus licet ratiocinantes, hebetes tamen pigrioresque prudentum acutarumque calcantur ingenio, ita si quae sunt, quae sola naturali sapientia vigent, hae peritarum se meritis super-veniri facile concedunt. [9] quorum ego graduum differentiam observans illum Philagrium cordis oculo semper inspicio, cui me animus potentialiter notum morum similitudine facit, nam licet bonis omnibus placeas, nemo te plus valuit intrinsecus intueri quam qui forinsecus affectat imitari, sane qualiter studiorum tuorum consecutaneus fiam, consequamur paginae parte reserabitur. [10] amas, ut comperi, quietos; ego et ignavos, barbaros vitas, quia mali putentur; ego, etiamsi boni. lectioni adhibes diligentiam; ego quoque in illa parum mihi patior nocere desidiam, complex ipse 1 personam religiosi; ego vel imaginem, aliena non appetis; ego etiam refero ad quaestum, si propria non perdam, delectaris contuberniis erudi- [p. 382] torum; ego turbam quamlibet magnam litterariae artis expertem maxumam solitudinem appello. [11] diceris esse laetissimus; ego quoque lacrimas omnes perire definio, quas quisque profuderit, nisi quotiens deo supplicat. humanissimus esse narrans; nostram quoque mensulam nullus, ut specum Polyphemi, hospes exhorruit, summa clementia tibi in famulos esse perhibetur; nec ego torqueor, si mei, quotiens peccaverint, non totiens torqueantur. [12] ieiunandum alternis putas? non piget sequi, prandendum? non pudet praevenire, de cetero, si vos a me videri Christi munere datur, ita gaudeam tamquam cui de te nec minora subtracta sint. porro autem quae sint in te maiora iam satis novi. propter quae fieri facilius potest, ut et si quandoque faciem tuam coram positus inspexero, aliqua de te recens mihi laetitia potius quam sententia accedat, vale.

Sidonius Salonio suo salutem

Quotiens Viennam venio, emptum maximo velim, ut te fratremque communem colonum civitatis [p. 384] habitatio plus haberet, qui mihi non amore solum verum etiam professione sociamini. sed et ille imputationem meam praetextu frequentatae sub-urbanitatis eludit, per quam efficitur, ut nobis nec praesens ipse nec reus sit, et tu habes quo te interim excuses, quod te diu possidet vix recepta possessio. 2 quicquid illud est, iam venite, hac deinceps condicione discessum impetraturi, ut aut vicissim redeatis aut † serius. 1 nam quamlibet ruri positi strenuos impleatis agricolas, tum vere propriam terram fecundabitis, si ecclesiam, quam plurimum colitis, plus colatis, vale. [p. 386]

Sidonius Chariobaudo 1 Abbati salutem

Facis, unice in Christo patrone, rem tui pariter et amoris et moris, quod peregrini curas amici litteris mitigas consolatoriis. atque utinam mei semper sic recorderis, ut sollicitudines ipsas angore 2 succiduo concatenatas, qui exhortator attenuas, intercessor incidas! [2] de cetero, liberos tuos causis quas iniunxeras expeditis reverti puto, quos ita strenue constat rem peregissee, ut nec eguerint adiuvari. per quos nocturnalem cucullum, quo membra confecta ieiuniis inter orandum cubandumque dignanter tegare, transmisi, quamquam non opportune species villosa mittatur hieme finita iamque temporibus aestatis appropinquantibus. vale. [p. 388]

Sidonius Volusiano Fratri salutem

Iubes me, domine frater, lege amicitiae, quam nefas laedi, iam diu desides digitos incudibus officinae veteris imponere et sancto Abrahae diem functo neniam sepulchralem luctuosis carminibus inscribere. celeriter iniunctis obsecundabo, cum tua tractus auctoritate, tum principaliter amplissimi viri Victorii comitis devotione praeventus, quem iure saeculari patronum, iure ecclesiastico filium excolo ut cliens, ut pater diligo; qui satis docuit, quae sibi aut qualis erga famulos Christi cura ferberet, cum torum circa decumbentis antistitis, non dignitatem minus quam membra curvatus ac supra vultum propinqua morte pallentem dolore concolor factus, quid viro vellet lacrimis indicibus ostenderet. [2] et quia sibi maximas humandi funeris partes ipse praecepit, totum apparatus 1 supercurrentis impendii [p. 390] quod funerando sacerdoti competeret impertiens, saltem ad obsequium quae remanserunt verba conferimus, nihil aliud exaraturi stili scalpentis impressu quam testimonium mutuae dilectionis, ceterum viri mores gesta virtutes indignissime meorum vilitate dictorum ponderabuntur.

Abraham sanctis merito sociande patronis,
quos tibi collegas dicere non trepidem:
nam sic praecedunt, ut mox tamen ipse sequare;
dat partem regni portio martyrii:

[5] natus ad Euphraten, pro Christo ergastula passus

et quinquennali vincula laxa fame,
elapsus regi truculento Susidis orae
occiduum properas solus ad usque solum,
sed confessorem virtutum signa sequuntur

[10] spiritibusque malis fers, fugitive, fugam.
quaque venis, Lemurum se clamat cedere turba:
daemonas ire iubes exul in exilium.

expeteris cunctis, nec te capit ambitus ullus;
est tibi delatus plus onerosus honor.

[15] Romuleos refugis Byzantinosque fragores
atque sagittifero moenia fracta Tito. [p. 392]
murus Alexandri te non tenet Antiochique;
spernis Elisae Byrsica tecta domus,
rura paludicolae temnis populosa Ravennae

[20] et quae lanigero de sue nomen habent.
angulus iste placet paupertinusque recessus
et casa, cui culmo culmina pressa forent,
aedificas hic ipse deo venerabile templum,
ipse dei templum corpore facte prius,

[25] finiti cursus istic vitaeque viaeque:

sudori superest dupla corona tuo.
iam te circumstant paradisi milia sacri;
Abraham iam te conperegrinus habet;
iam patriam ingrederis, sed de qua decidit Adam;
[30] iam potes ad fontem numinis ire tui.

[3] Ecce, ut iniunxeras, quae restant sepulto iusta persolvimus; sed, si vicissim caritatis imperiis fratres amicos commilitones obsequi decet, ad vicem, quaeso, tu quoque quibus emines institutis discipulos eius aggredere solari fluctuantemque regulam [p. 394] fratrum destitutorum secundum statuta Lirinensium patrum vel Grinincensium festinus informa; cuius disciplinae si qui rebelles, ipse castiga; si qui sequaces, ipse conlauda. [4] praepositus illis quidem videtur sanctus Auxanius, qui vir, ut nosti, plusculum iusto et corpore infirmus et verecundus ingenio eoque parendi quam imperandi promptior exigit te rogari, ut tuo ipse sub magisterio monasterii magister accedat et, si quis illum de iunioribus spreverit tamquam imperitum vel pusillanimem, per te unum sentiat utrumque non impune contemni, quid multa? vis ut paucis quid velim agnoscas? quaeso, ut abbas sit frater Auxanius supra congregationem, tu vero et supra abbatem. vale.

Sidonius Constantio suo salutem

A te principium, tibi desinet, nam petĭtum misimus opus raptim electis 1 exemplaribus, quae [p. 396] ob hoc in manus pauca venerunt, quia mihi nil de libelli huiusce conscriptione meditantĭ hactenus incustodita nequeunt inveniri, sane ista pauca, quae quidem et levĭa sunt, celeriter absolvi, quamquam incitatus semel animus necdum scripturire desineret, servans hoc sedulo genus temperamenti, ut epistularum [non]1 produceretur textus, si numerus breviaretur. [2] pariter et censui librum, quem lector delicatissimus desiderares, et satis habilem nec parum excusabilem fore, si, quoniam te sensuum structurarumque levitas poterat offendere, membranarum certe fascibus minus onerare. commendo igitur varios iudicio tuo nostri pectoris motus, minime ignarus, quod ita mens pateat in libro velut vultus in speculo, dictavi enim quae-piam hortando, laudando plurima et aliqua suadendo, maerendo pauca iocandoque nonnulla. [3] et si me uspiam lectitavisti in aliquos concitatioem, scias volo Christi dextera opitulante numquam me [p. 398] toleraturum animi servitutem, compertissimum tenens bipertitam super his moribus hominum esse censuram, nam ut timidi me temerarium, ita constantes liberum appellant, inter quae ipse decerno satis illius iacere personam, cuius necesse est latere sententiam. [4] ad propositum redeo, interea tu, si quid a lectionis sacrae continuatione respiras, his licebit neniis avocere. nec faciet materia ut immensa fastidium, quia cum singulae causae singulis ferme epistulis finiantur, cito cognitis in quae oculum intendens ante legere cessabis quam lecturire desistas. vale.

BOOK VIII.

SIDONIVS PETRONIO SVO SALVTEM

Tu quidem pulchre (mos hic tuus, et per-severa), vir omnium bonorum, qui uspiam degunt, laude dignissime, quod amicorum gloriae, sicubi locus, lenocinaris. hinc est quod etiam scrinia Arverna petis eventilari, cui sufficere suspicabamur, [p. 400] si quid superiore vulgatu protulissemus. itaque morem geremus iniunctis, actionem tamen stili eatenus prorogaturi, ut epistularum seriem nimirum a primordio voluminis inchoatarum in extimo fine parvi adhuc numeri summa protendat, opus videlicet explicitum quodam quasi marginis sui limbo coronatura.

sed plus cavendum est, ne sera propter iam propalati augmenta voluminis in aliquos forsitan incidamus vituperones, quorum fugere linguas cote livoris naturalitus acuminatas ne Demosthenis quidem Ciceronisque sententiae artifices et eloquia fabra potuere, quorum anterior orator 1 Demaden, citerior Antonium toleravere derogatores; qui lividi 2 cum fuerint malitiae clarae, dictionis obscurae, tamen ad notitiam posterorum per odia virtutum decucurrerunt.

sed quia hortaris, repetitis laxemus vela turbinibus et qui veluti maria transmisimus, hoc quasi stagnum pernavigemus. nam satis habeo deliberatum, sicut adhibendam in [p. 402] conscriptione diligentiam, ita tenendam in editione constantiam, demum vero medium nihil est: namque aut minimum ex hisce metuendum est aut per omnia omnino conticescendum. vale.

SIDONIVS IOHANNI SVO SALVTEM

Credidi me, vir peritissime, nefas in studia committere, si distulissem prosequi laudibus quod aboleri tu litteras distulisti, quarum quodammodo iam sepultarum suscitator fautor assertor concelebraris, teque per Gallias uno magistro sub hac tempestate bellorum Latina tenuerunt ora portum, cum pertulerint arma naufragium.

debent igitur vel aequaevi vel posterius nostri universatim ferventibus votis alterum te ut Demosthenem, alterum ut Tullium nunc statuis, si liceat, consecrare, nunc imaginibus, qui te docente formati institutique iam sinu in medio sic gentis invictae, quod tamen alienae, natalium 1 vetustorum signa retinebunt: nam iam [p. 404] remotis gradibus dignitatum, per quas solebat ultimo a quoque summus quisque discerni, solum erit posthac nobilitatis indicium litteras nosse.

nos vero ceteros supra doctrinae tuae beneficia constringunt, quibus aliquid scribere assuetis quodque venturi legere possint elaborantibus saltim de tua schola seu magisterio competens lectorum turba proveniet. vale.

SIDONIUS LEONI SVO SALVTEM

Apollonii Pythagorici vitam, non ut Nicomachus senior e Philostrati sed ut Tascius Victorianus e Nicomachi schedio exscripsit, quia ius- [p. 406] seras, misi; quam, dum parere 1 festino, celeriter eiecit in tumultuarium exemplar turbida et praeceps et Opica translatio. neque mihi rem credito diuturnius elaboratam vitio vertas: nam dum me tenuit inclusum mora moenium Livianorum, cuius incommodi finem post opem Christi tibi debeo, non valebat curis animus aeger saltem saltuatim tradenda percurrere, nunc per nocturna suspiria, nunc per diurna officia distractus. 2

ad hoc, et cum me defetigatum ab excubiis ad devorsorium crepusculascens hora revocaverat, vix dabatur luminibus inflexis parvula quies; nam fragor ilico, quem movebant vicinantes impluvio cubiculi mei duae quaequam Getides anus, quibus nil umquam litigiosius bibacius vomacius erit. sane, cum primum reduci aliquid otii fuit, inpolitum hunc semicrudum-que et, ut aiunt, tamquam musteum librum plus desiderii tui quam officii mei memor obtuli.

quocirca seponere tantisper Pythicas lauros Hippocrenenque et illos carminum modos tibi uni tantum penitissime familiares, qui tamen doctis, ut es ipse, [p. 408] personis non tam fonte quam fronte sudantur. suspende perorandi illud quoque celeberrimum flumen, quod non solum gentilicium sed domesticum tibi quodque in tuum pectus per succiduas aetates ab atavo Frontone transfunditur. seponere pauxillulum conclamatissimas declamationes, quas oris regii vice conficis, quibus ipse rex inclitus modo corda terrificat gentium transmarinarum, modo de superiore cum barbaris ad Vachalin trementibus [p. 410] foedus victor innodat, modo per promotae limitem sortis 1 ut populos sub armis, sic frenat arma sub legibus.

exuere utcumque continuatissimis curis et otium tuum molibus aulicis motibusque furare. historiam flagitam tunc recognoscas opportune competenterque, si cum Tyaneo nostro nunc ad Caucasum Indumque, nunc ad Aethiopum gymnosophistas Indorumque bracmanas totus lectioni vacans et ipse quodammodo peregrinare.

lege virum fidei catholicae pace praefata in plurimis similem tui, id est a divitibus ambitum nec divitias ambientem; cupidum scientiae continentem pecuniae; inter epulas abstemium, inter purpuratos linteatum, inter alabastra censorium; concretum hispidum hirsutum in medio nationum delibutarum atque inter satrapas regum tiaratorum murrhatos pumicatos malobathratos venerabili squalore pretiosum; cumque proprio nihil esui aut indutui de pecude conferret, regnis ob hoc, quae pererravit, non tam suspicioni, quam [fuisse] 2 suspectui; et a fortuna regum sibi in omnibus obsecundante illa tantum beneficia poscentem, quae mage sit suetus oblata praestare quam sumere.

quid multis? si vera metimur aestimamusque, fors fuit an philosophi vitae

scriptor aequalis maiorum temporibus [p. 412] accesserit, certe par saeculo
meo per te lector obvenit. vale.

SIDONIVS CONSENTIO SVO SALVTEM

Umquamne nos dei nutu, domine maior, una videbit ille ager tuus Octavianus, nec tuus tantum quantum amicorum? qui civitati fluvio mari proximus hospites epulis, te pascit hospitibus, praeter haec oculis intuentum situ decorus, primore loco, quod domicilium parietibus attollitur ad concinentiam scilicet architectonicam fabre locatis; tum sacrario porticibus ac thermis conspicabilibus late coruscans; ad hoc agris aquisque, vinetis atque olivetis, vestibulo campo colle amoenissimus; iam super penum vel supellectilem copiosam thesauris bibliothecalibus large refertus, ubi ipse dum non minus stilo quam vomeri incumbis, difficile discernitur domini plusne sit cultum rus an ingenium.

igitur hic tu, quantum recorder, citos iambos, elegos acutos ac rotundatos hendecasyllabos et [p. 414] cetera carmina musicos flores thymumque redolentia, nunc 1 Narbonensibus cantitanda, nunc Biterrensibus, ambigendum celerius an pulchrius elucubrasti, apud aquae vos gratiam tuam, famam apud posteros ampliaturus; certe mihi, quotiens tui versus a meditationis incude tamquam adhuc calidi deferebantur, sic videbatur, qui, etsi non bene scribo, bene iudico.

sed, quod fatendum est, talibus studiis anterior aetas iuste vacabat seu, quod est verius, occupabatur; modo tempus est seria legi, seria scribi deque perpetua vita potius quam memoria cogitari nimiumque meminisse nostra post mortem non opuscula sed opera pensanda, 4, quae quidem ad praesens non ita loquor, quasi tu non utraque laudanda conficias aut, si adhuc durat in sermone laetitia, non custodiatur in actione censura, sed ut qui Christo favente clam sanctus es, iam palam religiosa 2 venerandus 3 iugo salubri colla pariter et [p. 416] corda subdare invigiletque caelestibus lingua praecones, anima sententiis, dextra donariis: praecipue tamen dextra donariis, quia quicquid ecclesiis spargis, tibi colligis; ad cuius exercitia virtutis illud vel principaliter 1 te poterit accendere, quod inter opes quaslibet positi quae bona stultis falso vocantur, si quid largimur 2 nostrum, si quid habemus, alienum est. vale.

SIDONIVS FORTVNALI SVO SALVTEM

Ibis et tu in paginas nostras, amicitiae columen, Fortunalis, Hibericarum decus inlustre regionum; neque enim tibi familiaritas tam parva cum litteris, ut per has ipsas de te aliquid post te superesse non deceat, vivet ilicet, vivet in posterum nominis tui gloria.

nam si qua nostris qualitercumque gratia reverentia fides chartulis inest, sciat aetas volo postuma nihil tua fide firmitus forma pulchrius, [p. 418] sententia iustius patientia tolerantius, consilio gravius convivio laetius colloquio iucundius, illud quoque supra cetera agnoscet, praeconia laudibus tuis ex votorum contrarietate venisse, nam prope est, ut eminentius censeatur quod probaverunt te adversa constantem, quam si celarent secunda felicem, vale.

SIDONIUS NAMATIO SVO SALVTEM

Gaium Caesarem dictatorem, quo ferunt nullum rem militarem ducaliter administrasse, studia certatim dictandi lectitandique sibi mutuo vindicare. et licet in persona unius eiusdemque tempore suo principis viri castrensium oratoriaeque scientiae cura certaverit ferre gloria aequipari, idem tamen numquam se satis duxit in utriusque artis arce compositum, priusquam vestri Arpinatis testimonio ceteris mortalibus anteferreretur.

quod mihi quoque, si parva magnis componere licet, secundum modulum meum quamquam dissimillimo similiter [p. 420] accessit, quae super cunctos te quam primum decuit agnoscere, quia tibi est tam gloria mea quam verecundia plurimum curae. Flavius Nicetius, vir ortu clarissimus, privilegio spectabilis, merito illustris et hominum patriae nostrae prudentia peritiaque iuxta maxumus, praeconio, quantum comperi, immenso praesentis opusculi volumina extollit, insuper praedicans, quod plurimos iuvenum nec senum paucos vario genere dictandi militandique, quippe adhuc aevo viridis, ipse similis supergressus.

equidem, in quantum fieri praeter iactantiam potest, gaudeo de praestantissimi viri auctoritate, si certus est, amore, si fallitur: licet quis provocatus nunc ad facta maiorum non inertissimus, quis quoque ad verba non infantissimus erit? namque virtutes artium istarum saeculis potius priscis saeculorum rector ingenuit, quae per aetatem mundi iam senescentis lassatis veluti seminibus emedullatae parum aliquid hoc tempore in quibuscumque, atque id in paucis, mirandum ac memorabile ostendant.

huius tamen ego, etsi studiorum omnium caput est litterarumque, quia personam semper excolui, vereor sententiam supra quam veritas habet affectu ponderatiore prolatam. neque ob hoc infitias ierim me saepe luculentis eius actionibus adstitisse, quarum me, etsi reddere mutuum videor, vel ex [p. 422] parte cursimque fieri memorem fas est.

audivi eum adulescens atque adhuc nuper ex puero, cum pater meus praefectus praetorio Gallicanis tribunalibus praesideret, sub cuius videlicet magistratu consul Asturius 1 anni sui fores votivum trabeatus aperuerat. adhaerebam sellae curuli, etsi non latens per ordinem, certe non sedens per aetatem, mixtusque turmae censualium paenulorum consuli proximis proximus 2 eram. itaque, ut primum brevi peracta, nec brevis, sportula datique fasti, acclamatum est ab omni Galliae coetu primoribus advocatorum, ut festivitate praeventa 3 horas antelucanas, qui 4 diem serum cum silentio praestolarentur, congrua emeritorum fascium laude honestarent.

Nicetium protinus circumspexere conspecti 5 qui non sensim singulatimque, sed tumultuatim petitus [p. 424] et cunctim cum quodam prologo pudoris vultum modeste demissus inrubit. atque ob hoc illi maximum sophos non eloquentia prius quam verecundia dedit, dixit disposite graviter ardens, magna acrimonia maiore facundia maxima disciplina, et

illam Sarranis ebriam sucis inter crepitantia segmenta palmatam plus picta oratione, plus aurea convenustavit.

per ipsum fere tempus, ut de-cemviraliter loquar, lex de praescriptione tricennii fuerat proquiritata, cuius percmptoriis abolita rubri-cis lis omnis in sextum tracta quinquennium ter-minabatur. hanc intra Gallias ante nescitam primus, quem loquimur, orator indidit prosecutionibus edidit tribunalibus, prodidit partibus addidit titulis, frequente conventu raro sedente, paucis sententiis multis laudibus.

praeter ista per alias vices doctrinam illius, quo more citius homo discitur, inobservatus inspexi tunc, cum quae regit provincias fascibus Nicetiano regeretur praefectura consilio, quid multa? nil quod non meum vellem, nil quod non admirarer audivi.

propter quae omnia bona [p. 426] in viro sita laetor ad puncta censoris omnium voce concelebrati. granditer enim sua in utramvis de me opinionem sententia valet; quae, si vera comperimus, tantum mihi est favens securitati, quantum fieret adversata formidini. de cetero fixum apud me stat constitutumque, prout rem ex asse cognovero, vel silentio lora 1 laxare vel stringere frena garritui. namque si supradicti confirmor assensu, Athenis loquacior, si minus, Amyclis ipsis taciturnior ero.

sed de sodali deque me satis dictum, tu nunc inter ista quid rerum? quas mihi ad vicem nosse non minus cordi, venaris, aedificas, rusticarisne? an horum aliquid unum? an singula vicissim? an pariter cuncta? 2 sed de Vitruvio sive Columella, seu alterutrum ambosve sectere, decentissime facis, potes enim utrumque more quo qui optimo, id est ut cultor aliquis e primis architectus-que.

ceterum, ut tibi de venatoris officio quam minimum blandiaris, maxume iniungo. namque apros frustra in venabula vocas, quos canibus misericordissimis, quibus abundas, et quidem solus,3 movere potius quam commovere consuesti. Esto, [p. 428] sit indulgentia dignum, quod reformidant catuli tui bestiis appropinquare terribilibus corpulentisque: illud ignoro quomodo excuses, quod capreas, pecus simum, pariter et dammas in fugam pronos iacentibus animis pectoribus erectis, passibus raris crebris latratibus prosequuntur.

quapropter de reliquo fructuosius retibus cassibusque scrupeas rupes atque opacandis habilia lustris plosor statarius nemora circumvenis ac, pudor si quis, temperas cursibus apertis 1 quaterre campos et insidiari lepusculis Olarionensibus; quos nec est tanti, raro te insectante superandos, copulis palam ductis inquietari, nisi forsitan, dum tibi ac patri noster Apollinaris intervenit, rectius fiet ut exerceantur.

exceptis iocis fac sciam tandem, quid te, quid domum circa. sed ecce dum iam epistulam, quae diu garrit, claudere optarem, subitus a Santonis nuntius; cum quo dum tui obtentu aliquid horarum sermocinanter extrahimus, constanter asseveravit nuper vos classicum in classe cecinisse atque inter officia nunc nautae, modo militis litoribus Oceani curvis inerrare contra

Saxonum pandos myoparones, quorum quot remiges [p. 430] videris, totidem te cernere putes archipiratas: ita simul omnes imperant parent, docent discunt latrocinari. unde nunc etiam ut quam plurimum caveas, causa successit maxuma monendi.

hostis est omni hoste truculentior, inprovisus aggreditur prae-visus elabitur; spernit obiectos sternit incautos; si sequatur, intercipit, si fugiat, evadit, ad hoc exercent illos naufragia, non terrent, est eis quaedam cum discriminibus pelagi non notitia solum, sed familiaritas, nam quoniam ipsa si qua tempestas est huc 1 securos efficit occupandos, huc 1 prospici vetat occupaturos, in medio fluctuum scopulorumque confragosorum spe superventus laeti periclitantur.

praeterea, priusquam de continenti in patriam vela laxantes hostico mordaces anchoras vado vellant, mos est remeaturis decimum quemque captorum per aquales et cruciarias poenas plus ob hoc tristi quod superstitioso ritu necare superque collectam turbam periturorum mortis iniquitatem sortis aequitate dispergere. talibus se ligant 2 votis, victimis solvunt; et per huiusmodi non tam sacrificia purgati quam sacrilegia polluti religiosum putant caedis infaustae perpetratores de [p. 432] capite captivo magis exigere tormenta quam pretia.

qua de re metuo multa, suspicor varia, quamquam me e contrario ingentia hortentur: primum quod victoris populi signa comitaris; dein quod in sapientes viros, quos inter iure censeris, minus annuo licere fortuitis; tertio, quod pro sodalibus fide iunctis, sede discretis frequenter incutiunt et tuta maerorem, quia promptius de actionibus longinquis ambigendisque sinistra quaeque metus augurat.

sed dicas non esse tantum forte curanda quae perhorresco. id quidem verum est; sed nec hoc falsum, quod his, quos amplius diligimus, plus timemus, unde nihilominus, precor, obortum tui causa sensibus nostris quam primum prospero relatu exime angorem. neque enim ex integro flecti umquam ad hoc possum, ut de peregrinantibus amicis, quippe quos bellicum 1 militarisque tessera terit, donec secunda cognosco, non adversa formidem.

Varronem logistoricum, sicut poposceras, et Eusebium chronographum misi, quorum si ad te lima pervenerit, si quid inter excubiales curas, utpote in castris, saltim sortito vacabis, poteris, postquam arma deteriseris, ori quoque tuo loquendi robiginem summovere. vale. [p. 434]

SIDONIIS AVDACI SVO SALVTEM

Ubinam se nunc, velim dicas, gentium abscondunt qui saepe sibi de molibus facultatum congregatarum deque congestis iam nigrescentis argenti struibus blandiebantur? ubi etiam illorum praerogativa, qui contra indolem iuniorum sola occasione praecedentis aetatis intumescebant? ubi sunt illi, quorum affinitas nullo indicio maiore cognoscitur quam similitate?

nempe, cum primum bonis actibus locus et ad trutinam iudicii principalis appensa tandem non nummorum libra sed morum, remansere illi, qui superbissime opinabantur solo se censu esse censendos quique sic vitiis ut divitiis incubantes volunt vanitatis videri alienam surrexisse personam, cum nolint cupiditatis notari suam crevisse substantiam, in qua tamen detrahendi palaestra exercitati tamquam per oleum sic per infusa aemulationum venena macerantur.

Tu vero inter haec macte, qui praefecturae titulis ampliatus, licet hactenus e prosapia inlustri 1 computarere, pecu- [p. 436] liariter nihilo segnius elaborasti, ut a te gloriosius posterit tui numerarentur. nil enim est illo per sententiam boni cuiusque generosius, quisquis ingenii corporis opum iunctam in hoc constans operam exercet, ut maioribus suis anteponatur.

quod superest, deum posco, ut te filii consequantur aut, quod [te] 1 plus decet velle, transcendant et qui- i cumque non sustinet 2 diligere provectum, medullitus aestuantes a semet ipso livoris proprii semper exigit | poenas, cumque nullas in te habuerit umquam, misericordiae causas, habeat invidiae; siquidem; iuste sub iusto principe iacet qui, per se minimus et; tantum per sua maxumus, animo exiguus vivit et -patrimonio plurimus, vale.

SIDONIVS SYAGRIO SVO SALVTEM

Dic, Gallicanae flos iuventutis, quousque tandem ruralium operum negotiosus urbana fastidis? quamdiu attritas tesserarum quondam iactibus manus contra ius fasque sibi vindicant instrumenta cerealia? quousque tua te Taionnacus patriciae stir- [p. 438] pis lassabit agricolam? quousque prati comantis exuvias hibernis novalibus non ut eques sed ut bubulcus abscondis? quousque pondus ligonis obtusi nec perfossis antibus ponis?

quid Serranorum aemulus et Camillorum cum regas stivam, dissimulas optare palmatam? parce tantum in nobilitatis invidiam rusticari. agrum si mediocriter colas, possides; si nimium, possideris. redde te patri, redde te patriae, redde te etiam fidelibus amicis, qui iure ponuntur inter affectus. aut si te tantum Cincinnati dictatoris vita delectat, duc ante Raciliam, 1 quae boves iungat.

neque dixerim sapienti viro rem domesticam non esse curandam, sed eo temperamento, quo 2 non solum quid habere sed quid debeat esse consideret, nam, si ceteris nobilium studiorum artibus repudiatis sola te propagandae rei familiaris urtica sollicitat, licet tu deductum nomen a trabeis atque eboratas curules et [p. 440] gestatorias bratteatas et fastos recolas purpurissatps, is profecto inveniere, quem debeat sic industrium quod latentem non tam honorare censor quam censeor 1 onerare, vale.

SIDONIVS LAMPRIDIO SVO SALVTEM

Cum primum Burdigalam veni, litteras mihi tabellarius tuus obtulit plenas nectaris florum margaritarum, quibus silentium meum culpas et aliquos versuum meorum versibus poscis, qui tibi solent per musicum palati concavum tinnientes voce variata quasi tibiis multiforatilibus effundi, sed hoc tu munificentia regia satis abutens iam securus post munera facis, quia forsitan satiricum illud de satirico non recordaris: Satur est cum dicit Horatius 'euhoe.'

quid multis? merito 2 me cantare ex otio iubes, quia te iam saltare delectat, quicquid illud est, pareo tamen, idque non modo non coactus verum etiam spontaliter facio; tantum tu utcumque moderere Catonianum superciliosae frontis arbi- [p. 442] trium, nosti enim probe laetitiam poetarum, quorum sic ingenia maeroribus ut pisciculi retibus amiciuntur; et si quid asperum aut triste, non statim sese poetica teneritudo a vinculo incursi angoris elaqueat. necdum enim quicquam de hereditate socruali vel in usum tertiae sub pretio medie-tatis obtinui.

interim tu videris, quam tibi sit epigrammatis flagitati lemma placiturum; me tamen nequaquam sollicitudo permittit aliud nunc habere in actione, aliud in carmine, illud sane praeter iustitiam feceris, si in praesentiarum vicissim scripta quasi compares, ago laboriosum, agis ipse felicem; ago adhuc exulem, agis ipse iam civem: et ob hoc inaequalia cano, quia similia posco et paria non impetro.

quod si quopiam casu ineptias istas, quas inter animi supplicia conscripsimus, nutu indulgentiore suscepis, persuadebis mihi, quia cantuum similes fuerint olorinorum, quorum est modulatur clangor in poenis: similes etiam chordae lyricae violentius tensae, quae quo plus torta, plus musica est. ceterum si probari nequeunt versus [p. 444] otii aut hilaritatis expertes, tu quoque in pagina, quam supter attexui, nil quod placeat invenies.

his adhuc adde, quod materiam, cui non auditor potius sed lector obtigerit, nihil absentis auctoris pronuntiatio iuvat, neque enim post opus missum superest quod poeta vel vocalissimus agat, quem distantia loci nec hoc facere permittit, quod solent chori pantomimorum, qui bono cantu male dictata commendant.

Quid Cirrham vel Hyantias Camenas,
quid doctos Heliconidum liquores,
scalptos alitis hinnientis ictu,
nunc in carmina commovere temptas,
[5] nostrae o l Lampridius decus Thaliae,
et me scribere sic subinde cogis,
ac si Delphica Delio tulissem
instrumenta tuo novusque Apollo
cortinam tripodas, chelyn pharetras,

[10] arcus grypas agam duplaeque frondis 2
hinc bacas quatiā vel hinc corymbos? [p. 446]
tu iam, Tityre, rura post recepta
myrtos et platanona pervagatus
pulsas barbiton atque concinentes 1
[15] ora et plectra tibi modos resultant,
chorda voce metro stupende psaltes:
nos istic positos semelque visos
bis iam menstrua luna conspicatur,
nec multum domino vacat vel ipsi,
[20] dum responsa petit subactus orbis.
istic Saxona caerulum videmus
assuetum ante salo solum timere;
cuius verticis extimas per oras
non contenta suos tenere morsus
[25] artat 1 lammina marginem comarum,
et sic crinibus ad cutem recisis
decrescit caput additurque vultus,
hic tonso occipiti, senex Sygamber,
postquam victus es, elicis retrorsum
[30] cervicem ad veterem novos capillos.
hic glaucis Herulus genis vagatur,
imos Oceani colens recessus
algor prope concolor profundo. [p. 448]
hic Burgundio septipes frequenter
[35] flexo poplite supplicat quietem.
istis Ostrogothus viget patronis
vicinosque premens subinde Chunos,
his quod subditur, hinc superbit illis.
hinc, Romane, tibi petis salutem,
[40] et contra Scythicae plagae catervas,
si quos Parrhasis ursa fert tumultus,
Eorice, tuae manus rogantur,
ut Martem validus per inquilinum
defendat tenuem Garumna Thybrim.
[45] ipse hic Parthicus Arsaces precatur,
aulae Susidis ut tenere culmen
possit foedere sub stipendiali.
nam quod partibus arma Bosphoranis
grandi hinc surgere sentit apparatu,
[50] maestam Persida iam sonum ad duelli [p. 450]
ripa Euphratide vix putat tuendam;
qui cognata licet sibi astra fingens
Phoebea tumeat propinquitate,

mortalem hic tamen implet obsecrando.
[55] haec inter terimus moras inanes;
sed tu, Tityre, parce provocare;
nam non invideo magisque miror, qui,
dum nil mereor precesque frustra
impendo, Meliboeus esse coepi.

En carmen, quod recenseas otiabundus nostrumque sudorem ac pulverem
spectans veluti iam coronatus auriga de podio. de reliquo non est quod
suspiceris par me officii genus repetiturum, etiamsi delectere praesenti, nisi
prius ipse destiterim vaticinari magis damna quam carmina, vale.

SIDONIVS RVRICIO SVO SALVTEM

Esse tibi usui pariter et cordi litteras granditer gaudeo, nam stilum vestrum quanta comitetur vel flamma sensuum vel unda sermonum, liberius assere-rem, nisi, dum me laudare non parum studes, laudari plurimum te vetares. et quamquam in epistula tua servet caritas dulcedinem, natura facundiam, peritia disciplinam, in sola materiae tamen electione pec- [p. 452] casti, licet id ipsum praedicari possit in voto, quod videris errasse in iudicio, ingentes praeconiorum titulos moribus meis applicas; sed si pudoris nostri fecisses utcumque rationem, Symmachianum illud te cogitare par fuerat: 2 ut vera laus ornat, ita falsa castigat.

quo loci tamen si animum vestrum bene metior, super affectum, quem maximum ostendis, hoc tu et arte fecisti, nam moris est eloquentibus viris ingeniorum facultatem negotiorum probare difficultatibus et illic stilum peritum quasi quendam fecundi pectoris vomerem figere, ubi materiae sterilis argumentum velut arida caespitis macri glaeba ieunat. scaturrit mundus similibus exemplis: medicus in desperatione, gubernator in tempestate cognoscitur; horum omnium famam praecedentia pericula extollunt, quae profecto delitescit, nisi ubi probetur invenerit.

sic et magnus orator si negotium aggrediatur angustum, tunc amplum plausibilius manifestat ingenium. Marcus Tullius in actionibus ceteris ceteros, pro [p. 454]

Aulo Cluentio ipse se vicit. Marcus Fronto cum reliquis orationibus emineret, in Pelopem se sibi praetulit. Gaius Plinius pro Attia Viriola plus gloriae de centumviri suggestu domum rettulit, quam cum Marco Ulpio incomparabili principi comparabilem panegyricum dixit.

sic et ipse fecisti, qui, dum vis exercere scientiam tuam, non veritus es fore tibi impedimento etiam conscientiam meam. quin potius supplicando meis medere languoribus neque per decipulum 1 male blandientis eloquii aegrotantis adhuc animae fragilitatem gloriae falsae pondere premas. sane cum tibi sermone pulchro vita sit pulchrior, plus mihi indulges, si mei causa orare potius velis quam perorare. vale.

SIDONIVS LVPO SVO SALVTEM

Quid agunt Nitiobroges, quid Vesunnici tui, quibus de te sibi altrinsecus vindicando nascitur semper sancta contentio? unus te patrimonio populus, alter etiam matrimonio tenet; cumque hic [p. 456] origine, iste coniugio, melius illud, quod uterque iudicio, te tamen munere dei inter ista felicem, de quo diutius occupando possidendoque operae pretium est votiva populorum studia conflare!

tu vero utrisque praesentiam tuam disposite vicissimque partitus nunc Drepanium illis, modo istis restituis Anthedum. et si a te instructio rhetorica poscatur, hi Paulinum, illi Alcimum non requirunt, unde te magis miror, quem cotidie tam multiplicis bybliothecae ventilata lassat egeries, aliquid a me veterum flagitare cantilenarum. pareo quidem, licet intempestiva videatur recordatio iocorum tempore dolendi.

Lampridius orator modo primum mihi occisus agnoscitur, cuius interitus amorem meum summis conficeret angoribus, etiamsi non eum rebus humanis vis impacta rapuisset. hic me quondam, ut inter amicos ioca, Phoebum vocabat ipse a nobis vatis Odrysii nomine accepto. 1 quod eo congruit ante narrari, ne vocabula figurata subditum carmen obscurant. huic quodam tempore Burdigalam invisens metatoriam paginam quasi cum [p. 458]

Musa praevia misi. puto hanc liberius offerri, quam si aliquid super decedentis occasu lugubre componens, qui non placebam per eloquentiam, per materiam displicerem.

Dilectae nimis et peculiari
Phoebus commonitorium Thaliae.
paulum depositis, alumna, plectris
sparsam stringe comam virente vitta,

[5] et rugas tibi syrmatidis profundi
succingant hederæ expeditiores.
soccus ferre cave nec, ut solebat,
laxo pes natet altus in coturno;
sed tales crepidas ligare cura,

[10] quales Harpalyce vel illa vinxit,
quæ victos gladio 1 procos cecidit.
perges sic melius volante saltu,
si vestigia fasceata nudi

per summum digiti regant citatis
[15] firmi ingressibus atque vinculorum
concurrentibus ansulis reflexa [p. 460]
ad crus per cameram catena surgat.
hoc pernix habitu meum memento
Orpheum visere, qui cotidiana 1

[20] saxa et robora corneasque fibras
mollit dulciloqua canorus arte;
Arpinas modo quem 2 tonante lingua
ditat, nunc stilus aut Maronianus
aut quo tu Latium beas, 3 Horati,
[25] Alcaco melior Iyristes 4 ipso,
et nunc inflat epos tragoediarum, 5
nunc comoedia temperat iocosa,
nunc flammant satirae et tyrannicarum
declamatio controversiarum.
[30] dic: ‘Phoebus venit atque post veraedos 6
remis velivolum quatit Garumnam;
occurras iubet, ante sed parato
actutum hospitio.’ Leontioque,
prisco Livia quem dat e senatu,
[35] dic: ‘iam nunc aderit.’ satisfacetum et
solo nomine Rusticum videto.
sed si tecta negant ut occupata, [p. 462]
perge ad limina mox episcoporum,
sancti et Gallicini manu osculata
[40] tecti posce brevis vacationem,
ne, si destituor domo negata,
maerens ad madidas eam tabernas
et claudens geminas subinde nares!
propter fumificas gemam culinas,
[45] qua serpylliferis olet catinis 1
bacas per geminas ruber botellus
ollarum aut nebulae vapore iuncto
fumant cum crepitantibus 2 patellis.
hic cum festa dies ciere ravos
[50] cantus coeperit et voluptuosam
scurrarum querimoniam crepare,
tunc, tunc carmina digniora vobis
vinosi hospitis excitus Camena
plus illis ego barbarus susurrem.

O necessitas abiecta nascendi, vivendi misera, dura moriendi! ecce quo rerum volubilitatis humanae rota ducitur, amavi, fateor, satis hominem, licet quibusdam, tamen veniabilibus, erratis implicaretur atque virtutibus minora misceret. namque crebro levibus ex causis, sed leviter, excitabatur, quod nilominus ego studebam sententiae ceterorum [p. 464] naturam potius persuadere quam vitium; adstruebamque meliora, quatenus in pectore viri iracundia materialiter regnans, quia naevo crudelitatis fuerat infecta, praetextu saltim severitatis emacularetur. praeterea etsi consilio fragilis, fide firmissimus

erat; incautissimus, quia credulus; securissimus, quia non nocens, nullus illi ita inimicus, qui posset eius extorquere maledictum; et tamen nullus sic amicus, qui posset effugere convicium, difficilis aditu, cum facilis inspectu, et portandus quidem, sed porta-bilis.

de reliquo, si orationes illius metiaris, acer rotundus, compositus excussus; si poemata, tener multimeter, argutus artifex erat. faciebat siquidem versus oppido exactos tam pedum mira quam figurarum varietate; hendecasyllabos lubricos et enodes; hexametros crepantes et cothurnatos; elegos vero nunc echoicos, nunc recurrentes, nunc per anadiplosin fine principiisque conexos.

huc, 1 ut arreptum suaserat opus, ethicam dictionem pro personae temporis loci qualitate variabat, idque non verbis qualibuscumque, sed grandibus pulchris elucubratis. in materia controversiali fortis et lacertosus; in satirica sollicitus et mordax; in [p. 466] tragica saevus et flebilis; in comica urbanus multi-formisque: in fescennina vernans verbis, aestuans votis; in bucolica vigilax parvus carminabundus; in georgica sic rusticans multum, quod nihil rusticus.

praeterea quod ad epigrammata spectat, non copia sed acumine placens, quae nec brevius disticho neque longius tetrasticho finiebantur, eademque cum non pauca piperata, mellea multa conspiceres, omnia tamen salsa cernebas. in lyricis autem Flaccum secutus nunc ferebatur in iambico citus, nunc in choriambico gravis, nunc in alcaico flexuosus, nunc in sapphico inflatus, quid plura? subtilis aptus instructus quaque mens stilum ferret eloquentissimus, prorsus ut eum iure censere post Horatianos et Pindaricos cygnos gloriae pennis evolaturum.

aleae aut 1 sphaerae non iuxta deditus; nam cum tesseris ad laborem occuparetur, pila tantum ad voluptatem, fatigabat libenter, quodque plus dulce, libentius fatigabatur. scribebat assidue, quamquam frequentius scripturiret. legebat etiam incessanter auctores cum reverentia antiquos, sine invidia recentes, et, quod inter homines difficillimum est, nulli difficulter ingenii laude cedebat.

illud sane non solum culpabile in viro [p. 468] fuit, sed peremptorium, quod mathematicos quondam de vitae fine consuluit, urbium cives Africanarum, quorum, 1 ut est regio, sic animus ardentior; qui constellatione percentantis inspecta pariter annum mensem diemque dixerunt, quos, ut verbo matheseos utar, climactericos esset habiturus, utpote quibus themate oblato quasi sanguinariae geniturae schema patuisset, quia videlicet amici nascentis anno, quemcumque clementem planetarum siderum globum in diastemata zodiaca 2 prosper ortus erexerat, hunc in occasu eruditus ignibus inrubescentes seu super diametro Mercurius asyndetus seu super tetragono Saturnus retrogradus seu super centro Mars apocatastaticus exacerbassent.

sed de his, si qua vel 3 quoquo 4 modo sunt, quamquam sint maxime falsa ideoque fallentia, si quid plenius planiusque, rectius coram, licet et ipse arithmeticae studeas et, quae diligentia tua, Vertacum Thrasybulum Saturninum sollicitus evolvas, ut qui semper nil nisi arcanum celsumque

meditare. interim ad [p. 470] praesens nil coniecturaliter gestum, nil per ambages, quandoquidem hunc nostrum temerarium futurorum sciscitatorem et diu frustra tergiversantem tempus et qualitas praedictae mortis innexuit.

nam domi pressus strangulatusque servorum manibus obstructo anhelitu gutture obstructo, ne dicam Lentuli Iugurthae atque Seiani, certe Numantini Scipionis exitu periit, haec in hac caede tristitia minus, quod nefas ipsum cum auctore facti parricidalis diluculo inventum, nam quis ab hominum tam procul sensu, quis ita gemino obtutu eluminatus, qui exanimati cadavere inspecto non statim signa vitae colligeret extortae?

etenim protinus argumento fuere [p. 472] livida cutis, oculi protuberantes et in obruto vultu non minora irae vestigia quam doloris, inventa est quidem terra tabo madefacta deciduo, quia post facinus ipsi latrones ad pavimentum conversa defuncti ora pronaverant, tamquam sanguinis eum supraestuans fluxus exinanisset. 1 sed protinus capto qui fuerat ipsius factionis fomes incentor antesignanus ceterisque complicitibus oppressis seorsumque discussis criminis veritatem de pectoribus 2 invitis tormentorum terror extraxit.

atque utinam hunc finem, dum inconsulte fidens 3 vana consultat, non meruisset excipere! nam quisque praesumpserit interdicta secreta vetita rimari, vereor huius modi 4 catholicae fidei regulis exorbitaturum et effici dignum, in statum cuius respondeantur adversa, dum requiruntur inlicita, secuta quidem est ultio extinctum, sed magis prosunt ista victuris. nam quotiens homicida punitur, non est remedium sed solacium vindicari.

longiuscule me progredi amor impulit, cuius angorem silentio exhalare non valui. tu interim, si quid istic cognitu dignum, citus indica, saltem ob hoc scribens, ut animum meum tristitudine gravem lectio levet. namque confuso pectori maeror, et quidem iure, plurimus erat, cum paginis ista committerem sola. [p. 474] neque enim satis mihi aliud hoc tempore manu sermone consilio scribere loqui volvere libet. vale.

SIDONIVS TRYGETIO SVO SALVTEM

Tantumne te Vasatium civitas non caespiti imposita sed pulveri, tantum Syrticus ager ac vagum solum et volatiles ventis altercantibus harenae sibi possident, ut te magnis flagitatum precibus, parvis separatum spatiis, multis exspectatum diebus attrahere Burdigalam non potestates, non amicitiae, non opimata vivariis ostrea queant? an temporibus hibernis viarum te dubia suspendunt et, quia solet Bigerricus turbo mobilium aggerum indicia confundere, quoddam vereris in itinere terreno pedestre naufragium?

ubi, quaesumus, animo tam celeriter excessit vestigiis tuis nuper subacta Calpis? ubi fixa tentoria in occiduis finibus Gaditanorum? ubi ille Trygetio meo idem qui Herculi quondam terminus peregrinandi? tantumne a te ipso ipse tu discrepas, ut totus in desidia iura concesseris, quo peragrans secreta regionum fabulosarum prius defuit actio laboris quam fatigationis [p. 476] intentio?

et post haec portum Alingonis tam piger calcas, ac si tibi nunc esset ad limitem Danuvium contra incursaces Massagetas proficiscendum, vel si nunc etiam tuae navi 1 stagna Nilotidis aquae per indigenas formidata crocodillos transfretarentur. 2 et cum nec duodecim milium obiectu sic retarderis, quid, putamus, cum exercitu Marci Catonis in Leptitana Syrte fecisses?

sed quamlibet sola hiemalium mensium nomina tremas, tam clemens est facies caeli, tam tepida, tam suda et sic auras magis quam ventos habet, ut te non valeat enixius retinere tempus quam invitare temperies. sed si epistulam spernis evocatoriam, credo, vel versibus non re-luctaberis impulsoribus blandis et desiderii mei, quantum suspicor, strenuis executoribus, quorum in te castra post biduum commovebuntur.

ecce Leontius meus, facile primus Aquitanorum, ecce iam parum inferior parente Paulinus ad locum quem supra dixi per Garumnae fluentia refluentia non modo tibi cum classe verum etiam cum flumine [p. 478] occurrent, hic tuas laudes modificato celeumate simul inter transtra remiges, gubernatores inter aplustria canent. hic te aedificatus culcitis torus, hic tabula calculis strata bicoloribus, hic tessera frequens eboratis resultatura pyrgorum gradibus expectat; hic, ne tibi pendulum tinguat volubilis sentina vestigium, pandi carinarum ventres abiagnarum trabium textu pulpitabuntur; hic superflexa crate paradarum sereni brumalis infida vitabis.

quid delicatae pigritiae tuae plus poterit impendi, quam ut te pervenisse invenias, cum venire vix sentias? quid mussitas? quid moraris? ipsae mihi tuum videntur adventum reptiles cocleae cum domibus nativis antecessurae. est praeterea tibi copiosissima penus aggeratis opipare farta 1 dehinc, modo sit eventilando par animus impendio.

quid multa? veni ut aut pascaris aut pascas; immo, quod gratius, ut utrumque; veni cum mediterraneo instructu ad debellandos subiugandosque istos Medulicae supellectilis epulones. hic Aturricus piscis Garumnici

mulieribus insultet; hic ad copias [p. 480]

Lapurdensium lucustarum cedat vilium turba cancrorum.

tu tamen etsi ceteris eris in hoc genere pugnandi dimicaturus, si quid iudicio meo censes adquiescendum (neque enim iniustum est credere experto), senatorem nostrum, hospitem meum, conflictui huic facies exsortem; cuius si convivio tectoque succedas, dapes Cleopatricas et loca lautia putas. 1 nam quamvis super hoc studio tam ipse quam patria confligant, olim lata sententia est, quod ille transeat ceteros cives, licet et illa ceteras civitates, vale.

SIDONIVS DOMINO PAPAE NVNECHIO SALVTEM

Multa in te genera virtutum, papa beatissime, munere superno congesta gaudemus, siquidem agere narraris sine superbia nobilem sine invidia potentem, sine superstitione religiosum sine iactantia litteratum, sine ineptia gravem sine studio facetum, sine asperitate constantem sine popularitate communem.

praeterea his hoc praestantissimum [p. 482] bonis fama superaggerat, quod teasserit hasce tot gratias fastigatissimae caritatis arce 1 transcendere; fama, inquam, quae de laudibus tuis cum canat. multa, plus reticet. nam longius constitutis actionum tuarum propositum potest assignare, non numerum, quarum relatione succensus ultro primus, ut longe inferiorem decet, ad solvenda officia procuro nec vereor garrulitatis aliquando argui, qui potui taciturnitatis hucusque culpari.

commendo Promotum gerulum litterarum, vobis quidem ante iam cognitum, sed nostrum nuper effectum vestris orationibus contribulem; qui cum sit gente Iudaeus, fide tamen praelegit censeris Israelita quam sanguine, et municipatum caelestis illius civitatis affectans occidentemque litteram spiritu vivificante fastidians, pariter huc 2 iustis praemia proposita contemplans, huc,3 nisi faceret ad Christum de circumcisione transfugium, praevidens sese per aeterna saecula aequiterna supplicia passurum, patriam sibi maluit Ierusalem potius quam Hierusolymam computari.

quibus agnitis adventantem Abrahae nunc filium veriore matris ulnis spiritalis Sara 4 suscipiat, namque ad Agar ancillam pertinere tunc desiit, cum legalis observantiae servitutem gratiae libertate mutavit, de cetero, quae [p. 484] ipsi fuerit isto causa veniendi, praesentaneo conducibilius idem poterit explicare memoratu, nobis vero propter quae supra scripsi carissimus habetur; quod ideo significo, quia is efficacissime quemque commendat, qui meras causas iustae commendationis aperuerit, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

SIDONIVS DOMINO PAPAE PRINCIPIO SALVTEM

Iam diu nobis, papa venerabilis, etsi necdum vester vultus aspectus, tamen actus inspectus est. namque sanctorum laus diffusa meritorum stringi spatiis non est contenta finalibus. hinc est quod, quia bonae conscientiae modus non ponitur, nec bonae opinioni terminus invenitur.

quae loquor falsa censete, nisi professioni meae competens adstipulator accesserit, satis in illo quondam coenobio Lirinensi spectabile caput, Luporum concellita Maximorumque et parsimoniae saltibus consequi affectans Memphiticos et Palaestinos archimandritas. [p. 486] is est 1 episcopus Antiolus, 2 cuius relatu, qui pater vobis, quique qualesque vos fratres, quae morum praerogativa pontificatu maximo ambo fungamini, sollicitus cognoscere studui, gaudens cognovisse me memini.

cui patri quondam, videlicet vos habenti, vix domus Aaron pontificis antiqui merito compararetur: quem licet primum in medio plebis heremitidis sanctificationis oleo legiferi fratris dextra perdiderit, filios eius in similis officii munia vocans, tamen ipsius super Ithamare 3 et Eleazaro felicitatem Nadab et Abiu fulminibus afflati decoloravere; quorum quamlibet interemptorum credamus ab-solvendas animas, punitas tamen scimus esse personas.

vos vero tacturi paginam altaris nihil, ut audio, offertis ignis alieni, sed comitantibus victimis caritatis castitatisque fragrantissimum 4 incensum turibulis cordis adoletis. ad hoc quotiens iugum legis cervicibus superbientum per vincula praedicationis adstringitis, tunc deo tauros spiritaliter immolatis, quotiens conscientiae luxuriantis fetore pollutos ad suaveolentiam pudicitiae stimulis correctionis impellitis, hircorum vos obtulisse violentiam Christus sibi computat.

quotiens hortanti- [p. 488] bus vobis in quocumque conpuncto culpas suas anima poenaliter recordata suspirat, quis vos ambigat paria turturum aut binos pullos columbarum, qui duplicem substantiam utriusque hominis nostri tam numero quam gemitu assignant, mystico litasse sacrificio? quotiens vestro monitu obesum quicumque corpus aestuantemque turgidi ventris arvinam crebro ieiuniorum decoquendus igne torruerit, nulli dubium est vos tunc simulam 1 frictam 2 in quadam continentiae sartagine consecratos.

quotiens aliquem mentis perfidiae figmenta ponentem sanam respondere doctrinam fidem credere, viam tenere vitam sperare suadetis, quis vos dubitet in huius emendatione conversi, qui iam sit liber ab haeresi, liber ab hypocrisi, liber ab schismate, purgatissimum propositionis panem cum sinceritatis et veritatis azymis dedicaturos?

postremo quis nesciat, quicquid legis diebus figuraliter immolabatur in corporibus, quod totum id gratiae tempore manifeste vos offeratis in moribus? atque ideo gratias uberes deo refero, quod secundum vestrae paginae qualitatem facile agnosco antistitem suprafatum de vobis, cum magna dixerit,

maiora tacuisse, qua- [p. 490] propter nemo dubitaverit, qui bonus es, cum iudicans, et melior, cum legeris, esse te optimum, cum videris.

Megethius clericus, vestri gerulus eloquii, rebus ex sententia gestis, quia tuorum apicum detulit munera, meorum reportat obsequia; quem saltem iuvimus voto, quia re forsitan non valemus, per quem obsecro impense, ut sitim nostram frequenter litteris litteratis, ambo germani, tu frequentius, inrigetis. sed si difficultas itineris intersiti resultat optatis, vel aliquoties pro supplicibus supplicate, maius est autem, si nobis tribuere dignemini raris intercessionibus salutem quam si crebris affatibus dignitatem, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

SIDONIVS DOMINO PAPAE PROSPERO SALVTEM

Dum laudibus summis sanctum Annianum,¹ maximum consummatissimumque pontificem, Lupo parem Germanoque non imparem, vis celebrari fideliumque desideras pectoribus infigi viri talis ac [p. 492] tanti mores merita virtutes, cui etiam illud non absque iustitia gloriae datur, quod te successore decessit, exegeras mihi, ut promitterem tibi Attilae bellum stilo me posteris intimaturum, quo videlicet Aurelianensis urbis obsidio oppugnatione, inruptio nec direptio et illa vulgata exauditi caelitus sacerdotis vaticinatio continebatur.

coeperam scribere; sed operis arrepti fasce perspecto taeduit inchoasse; propter hoc nullis auribus credidi quod primum me censore damnaveram. dabitur, ut spero, precatui tuo et meritis antistitis summi, quatenus praeconio suo sub quacumque et quidem celeri occasione famulemur. ceterum tu creditor iustus laudabiliter hoc imprudentiae temerarii debitoris indulseris, ut quod mihi insolubile videtur tibi quoque videatur inrepositibile. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa. [p. 494]

SIDONIUS CONSTANTIO SVO SALVTEM

Sponponderam Petronio, inlustri viro, praesens opusculum paucis me epistulis expediturum; cuius auribus non peperci, dum tuis parco, malui namque, ut illum correctionis labor, te honor editionis aspiceret perveniretque in manus vestras volumen istud alieno periculo, obsequio meo. Peracta 1 promissio est; nam peritia tua si coactorum in membranas [p. 496] inspiciat signa titulorum, iam copiosum te, ni fallor, pulsat exemplar; iam venit ad margines umbilicorum, iam tempus est, ut satiricus ait, Orestem nostrum vel super terga finire.

non hic ego commenticiam Terpsichoren more studii veteris adscivi nec iuxta scaturiginem fontis Aganippici per roscidas ripas et pumices muscivos 1 stilum traxi. atque utinam hic nil molle, nil Auidum, nil de triviis compitalibus mutuatum reperiretur! siquidem maturo, ut es ipse, lectori non tantum dictio exossis tenera delumbis, quantum vetuscula torosa et quasi mascula placet, sed reserventur ista potioribus; mihi sufficit, si cito ignoscas, quod sumus tardi.

praeterea si vir inlustris aliquid insuper ampliuscule scribi depoposcisset, in moras grandes incidissemus. nam per armariola et zotfieculas nostras non remanserunt digna prolatu. unde cognosce, quod, etsi tacere necdum, coepimus certe taciturne, duplici ex causa: ut si placemus, pauca lecturis incitent voluptatem; si refutamur, non [p. 498] excitent multa fastidium, quippe in hoc stilo, cui non urbanus lepos inest, sed pagana simplicitas.

unde enim nobis illud loquendi tetricum genus ac perantiquum? unde illa verba saliarum vel Sibyllina vel Sabinis abusque Curibus accita, quae magistris plerumque reticentibus promptius fetialis aliquis aut flamen aut veteranos legalium quaestionum aenigmatista patefecerit? nos opuscula sermone condidimus 1 arido exili, certe maxima ex parte vulgato, cuius hinc honor rarus, quod frequens usus, hinc difficilis gratia, quod facilis inventio est.

sane profiteor audenter, sicut istic nil acre, nil eloquens, ita nihil inditum non absolutum, 2 non ab exemplo. sed quid haec pluribus? dictio mea, quod mihi sufficit, placet amicis, in quibus tamen utrumque complector, sive non fallunt examine seu caritate falluntur, deumque, quod restat, in posterum quaeso, ut secuturi aut fallantur similiter aut censeant. vale. [p. 500]

BOOK IX.

SIDONIUS FIRMINO SVO SALVTEM

Exigis, domine fili, ut epistularum priorum limite irrupto stilus noster in ulteriora procurrat, numeri supradicti privilegio non contentus includi. addis et causas, quibus hic liber nonus octo superiorum voluminibus accrescat: eo quod Gaius Secundus, cuius nos orbitas sequi hoc opere pro-nuntias, paribus titulis opus epistulare determinet.

quae iubes non sunt improbabilia; quamquam et hoc ipsum, quod pie iniungis, arduum existat ac laudi quantulaecumque iam semel partae non opportunum, primum, quod opusculo prius edito praesentis augmenti sera coniunctio est; deinde, quod arbitros ante quoscumque, nisi fallimur, indecentissimum est materiae unius simplex principium, triplices epilogos inveniri.

pariter et nescio, qualiter fieri veniabile queat, quod coerceri nostra garrulitas nec post denuntiatum terminum sustinet: nisi quia forsitan qui modus potest 1 paginis, non potest poni ipse amicitiiis, quapropter esse [p. 502] te in quadam tuendae opinionis meae quasi specula decet curiosisque facti huiusce rationem manifestare quidque 1 ad hoc sentiant optimi quique, re-scripto quam frequentissimo mihi pandere.

porro autem si me garrire compulso ipse reticere perseveraveris, te quoque silentii nostri talione ad vicem plecti non periniurium est. itaque tu primus, tu maxime ignosce negotio quod imponis ac ministerio, nos vero, si quod exemplar manibus occurrerit, libri marginibus octavi celeriter addemus.

etsi Apollinaris tuus cui studium 2 in ceteris rebus est in hac certe neglegentissimus, quippe qui perexiguum lectione teneatur vel coactus vel voluntarius, quan- [p. 504] tum tamen mihi videtur, qui patribus his iungi non recusaverim, quorum studio voto timori laudabile aliquid in filiis, licet difficile persuadeatur, difficilius sufficit, vale.

SIDONIVS DOMINO PAPAE EVPHRONIO SALVTEM

Albiso antistes Proculusque levites, ideo nobis morum magistri pronuntiandi, quia vestri merentur esse discipuli, litteras detulerunt, quarum me sacrosancto donastis affatu; 1 quae tamen litterae plurimum nobis honoris, plus oneris inponunt, unde et ipsarum sic benedictione laetor, quod iniunctione confundor, quippe qui ex asse turbatus vel ex parte non pareo, iubetis enim tam diversa quam nimia 2 explicarique decernitis opus, quod ab extremitate mea tam difficile completur quam imprudenter incipitur.

sed si amplitudinem in vobis pietatis expertae bene metior, plus laborastis, ut affectus vestri cordis quam nostri operis effectus publicaretur. neque 3 enim, cum Hieronymus interpres, dialecticus Augustinus, allegoricus Origenes gravidas tibi spiri- [p. 506] talium sensuum spicas doctrinae salubris messe parturiant nunc 1 scilicet tibi a partibus meis arida ieiunantis linguae stipula 2 crepitabit. 3 hoc more tu et olorinis cantibus anseres raves et modificatis lusciniarum querelis improborum passerum fringultientes susurros iure sociaveris.

quid quod sic 4 quoque arroganter fieret indecenterque, si negotii praecepti pondus aggrederer, novus clericus peccator antiquus, scientia levi gravi conscientia, videlicet ut, si scriptum quocumque misissem, persona mea nec tunc abesset risui iudicantum, cum defuisset obtutui? ne, quaeso, domine papa, nimis exigas verecundiam meam qualitercumque lactantem coepta operis huiusce temeritate devenustari, quia tantus est livor derogatorum, ut materia, quam mittis, velocius sortiatur inchoata probrum quam terminata suffragium, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa. [p. 508]

SIDONIUS DOMINO PAPAE FAVSTO SALVTEM

Servat consuetudinem suam tam facundia vestra quam pietas, atque ob hoc granditer, quod diserte scribitis, 1 eloquium suspicimus, 2 quod libenter, affectum, ceterum ad praesens petita venia prius impetrataque cautissimum reor ac saluberrimum per has maxime civitates, quae multum situ segreges agunt, dum sunt gentium motibus itinera suspecta, stilo frequentiori renuntiare dilataque i tantisper mutui sedulitate sermonis curam potius assumere conticescendi. quod inter obstrictas affectu mediante personas asperrium quamquam atque acerbissimum est, non tamen causis efficitur qualibuscumque, sed plurimis certis et necessariis quaeque diversis proficiscatur ex originibus.

quarum ista calculo primore numerabitur, quod custodias aggerum publicorum nequaquam tabellarius transit inrequisitus, qui etsi periculi nihil, utpote crimine vacans, plurimum sane perpeti solet difficultatis, dum secretum omne gerulorum pervigil [p. 510] explorator indagat. quorum si forte responsio quantulumcumque ad interrogata trepidaverit, quae non inveniuntur scripta mandata 1 creduntur; ac per hoc sustinet iniuriam plerumque qui mittitur, qui mittit invidiam, plusque in hoc tempore, quo aemulantum invicem sese pridem foedera statuta regnorum denuo per condiciones discordiosas ancipitia redduntur.

praeter hoc ipsa mens nostra domesticis hinc inde dispendiis saucia iacet; nam per officii imaginem vel, quod est verius, necessitatem solo patrio exactus, hoc relegatus 2 variis quaque-versum frangor angoribus quia 3 patior hic incommoda peregrini, illic damna proscripti. quocirca solvere modo litteras paulo politiores aut intempestive petor aut inpudenter aggredior, quas vel ioco lepidas vel stilo cultas alternare felicius est. porro autem quidam barbarismus est morum sermo iucundus et animus amictus.

quin potius animam male sibi consciam et per horas ad recordata poenalis vitae debita contremiscentem frequentissimis tuis [p. 512] illis et valentissimis orationum munere suffragiis, precum peritus insularum, quas de palaestra congregationis heremitidis et de senatu Lirinensium cellulanorum in urbem quoque, cuius ecclesiae sacra superinspicias, transtulisti, nil ab abbate mutatus per sacerdotem, quippe cum novae dignitatis obtentu' rigorem veteris disciplinae non relaxaveris. his igitur, ut supra dixi, precatibus efficacissimis obtine, ut portio nostra sit dominus atque ut ascripti turmis contribulium levitarum non remaneamus terreni, quibus terra non remanet inchoemusque ut a saeculi lucris, sic quoque a culpis peregrinari.

tertia est causa vel maxuma, exinde scribere tibi cur super-sederim, quod immane suspicio dictandi istud in vobis tropologicum genus ac figuratum limatisque plurifariam verbis eminentissimum, quod vestra quam sumpsimus epistula ostendit: licet olim 1 praedicationes tuas, nunc repentinas, nunc, ratio cum poposcisset, elucubratas, raucus plosor audierim, [p. 514] tunc praecipue,

cum in Lugdunensis ecclesiae dedicatae festis hebdomadalibus collegarum sacro-sanctorum rogatu exorareris, ut perorares. ubi te inter spiritales regulas vel forenses medioximum quiddam contionantem, quippe utrarumque doctissimum disciplinarum, pariter erectis sensibus auri-busque curvatis ambiebamus, hinc parum factitantem desiderio nostro, quia iudicio satisfeceras,

hisce de causis temperavi stilo temperaboque, breviter locutus, ut paream, longum taciturus, ut discam, sunt de cetero tuae partes, domine papa, doctrinae salutaris singularisque 1 victuris operibus incumbere [incumbere] 2 satis, neque enim, quisquis auscultat docentem te disputantemque, plus loqui discit quam facere laudanda. nunc vero, quod restat, donate venia paginam rusticantem 3 vobis obsecundantem, cui me quoque auctore, si vestris litteris comparetur, stilus infantissimus inest. 7, sed ista quorsum stolidus allego? nam nimis deprecari ineptias ipsas 4 est ineptissimum, in quibus tu [p. 516] merus arbiter, si rem ex asse discingas, ridebis plurima, plura culpabis. sed et illud amplector, si pro caritate qua polles non fueris usquequaque censendi continentissimus, id est, si sententia tua quippiam super his apicibus antiquet. tunc enim certius te probasse reliqua gaudebo, si liturasse aliqua cognovero, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

SIDONIVS DOMINO PAPAE GRAECO SALVTEM

Viator noster ac tabellarius terit orbitas itineris assueti spatium viae regionumque, quod oppida nostra discriminat, saepe relegendo. quocirca nos quoque decet semel propositae sedulitatis officia sectari, quae cum reliquis commeantibus tum praecipue Amantio intercurrente geminare cum quadam mentis intentione debemus, ne forte videatur ipse plus litteras ex more deprecere quam nos ex amore dictare, domine papa; ideoque vestrorum plus mementote, quos inter praesumimus computari, quique, sicut vestris erigimur secundis, ita deprimimur adversis.

nam quod nuper quorumpiam [p. 518] fratrum necessitate multos pertuleritis angores, flebili ad flentes relatione pervenit, sed tu, flos sacerdotum gemma pontificum, scientia fortis fortior conscientia, minas undasque mundialium sperne nimborum, quia frequenter ipse docuisti, quod ad promissa convivia patriarcharum vel ad nectar caelestium poculorum per amaritudinum terre-narum calices perveniretur.

velis nolis, quisque contempti mediatoris consequitur regnum, sequitur exemplum, quantumlibet nobis anxietatum pateras vitae praesentis propinet afflictio, parva toleramus, si recordamur, quid biberit ad patibulum qui invitat ad caelum, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

SIDONIVS DOMINO PAPAE IVLIANO SALVTEM

Etsi plusculum forte discreta, quam communis animus optabat, sede consistimus, non tamen medii itineris obiectu quantum ad solvendum spectat officium nostra sedulitas impediretur, nisi quod per regna divisi a commercio frequentiore sermonis diversarum sortium iure revocamur; quae nunc saltem post pacis initam pactionem quia fidelibus [p. 520] animis foederabuntur, apices nostri incipient commeare crebri, quoniam cessant esse suspecti, proinde, domine papa, cum sacrosanctis fratribus vestris pariter Christo supplicaturas iungite preces, ut dignatus prosperare quae gerimus nostrique domini 1 temperans lites arma compescens illos muneretur innocentia, nos quiete, totos securitate, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

SIDONIVS DOMINO PAPAE AMBROSIO SALVTEM

Viguit pro dilectissimo nostro (quid loquar nomen personam? tu recognosces cuncta) apud Christum tua sanctitas intercessionis effectus; de cuius facilitate iuvenali saepe nunc arbitris palam adscitis conquerebare, nunc tacitus ingemiscebas. igitur his proxime abrupto contubernio ancillae propudiosissimae, cui se totum consuetudine obscena vinctus 2 addixerat, patrimonio posteris famae subita sui correctione consuluit.

namque per rei familiaris damna vacuatus ut primum intellegere coepit et retractare, quantum de bonusculis avitis pater- [p. 522] nisque sumptuositas domesticae Charybdis abligurrisset, quamquam sero resipiscens, attamen tandem veluti frenos momordit excussitque cervices atque Ulixear, ut ferunt, ceras auribus figens fugit adversum vitia surdus meretricii blandimenta naufragii puellamque, prout decuit, intactam vir laudandus in matrimonium adsumpsit, tam moribus natali-busque summam quam facultatis principalem.

haec quidem gloria, si voluptates sic reliquisset, ut nec uxori coniugaretur; sed, etsi forte contingat ad bonos mores ab errore migrare, paucorum est incipere de maximis, et eos, 1 qui diu totum indulserint sibi, protinus totum et pariter incidere.

quocirca vestrum est copulatis obtinere quam primum prece sedula spem liberorum; consequens erit, ut filio uno alterove susceptis (et nimis dixi) abstineat de cetero licitis, qui illicita praesumpsit. namque et coniuges ipsi, quamquam nupti nuper, his moribus agunt, hac verecundia, vere ut agnoscas, si semel videris, plurimum esse quod differat ille [p. 524] honestissimus uxorius amor figmentis inlecebrisque concubinalibus. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa, 1

SIDONIVS DOMINO PAPAE REMIGIO SALVTEM

Quidam ab Arvernīs Belgicam petens (persona mihi cognita est, causa ignota; nec refert), postquam Remos advenerat, scribam tuum sive bybliopolam pretio fors fuat officione demeritum copiosissimo velis nolis declamationum tuarum schedio emunxit. qui redux nobis atque oppido gloriabundus, quippe perceptis tot voluminibus, quaecumque detulerat,² quamquam mercari paratis, quod tamen civis (nec erat iniustum), pro munere ingressit. curae mihi e vestigio fuit hisque qui student, cum merito lecturiremus, plurima tenere, cuncta transcribere.

omnium assensu pronuntiatum pauca nunc posse similia dictari. etenim rarus aut nullus est, cui meditaturō par affatim assistat dispositio per causas, positio per litteras, compositio per syllabas, [p. 526] ad hoc opportunitas in exemplis fides in testimoniis, proprietās in epithetis urbanitas in figuris, virtus in argumentis pondus in sensibus, flumen in verbis fulmen in clausulis.

structura vero fortis et firma coniunctionumque perfacetarum nexa caesuris insolubilibus sed nec hinc minus lubrica et levis ¹ ac modis omnibus erotundata quaeque lectoris linguam inoffensam decenter expediat, ne salebrosas passa iuncturas per cameram palati volutata balbutiat; tota denique liquida prorsus et ductilis, veluti cum crystallinas crustas aut oncyhitinas ² non impactō digitus ungue perlabitur, quippe si nihil eum rimosis obicibus exceptum tenax fractura remoretur.

quid plura? non extat ad praesens vivi hominis oratio, quam peritia tua non sine labore transgredi queat ac supervadere. unde et prope suspicor, domine papa, propter eloquium exundans atque ineffabile (venia sit dicto) te superbire, sed licet bono fulgeas ut conscientiae sic dictionis ordinatis-simae,³ nos tibi tamen minime sumus refugiendi, qui bene scripta laudamus, etsi laudanda non scribimus. [p. 528]

quocirca desine in posterum nostra declinare iudicia, quae nihil mordax nihil quoque minantur increpatorium. alioquin, si distuleris nostram sterilitatem facundis fecundare colloquiis, aucupabimur nundinas involantum et ultro scrinia tua coniventibus nobis ac subornantibus effractorum manus arguta populabitur inchoabisque tunc frustra moveri spoliatus furto, si nunc rogatus non moveris officio, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

SIDONIVS DOMINO PAPAE PRINCIPIO SALVTEM

Quamquam nobis non opinantibus, desiderantibus tamen litteras tuas reddidit gerulus antiquus, idoneus inventus, cui iure repetita credantur officia, quandoquidem prima sic detulit, igitur affatu secundo vel potius benedictione donatus ipse quoque rependo alterum salve, obsequia combinans numeris aequata, non meritis.

et quia, domine papa, modo vivimus animis 1 iunctis abiunctisque regionibus conspectibusque mutuis frui dissociatae situ habitationis inhibemur, orate, ut optabili religioso-que decessu vitae praesentis angoribus atque onere [p. 530] perfuncti, cum iudicii dies sanctus 1 offulserit cum resurrectione, agminibus vestris famulaturi vel sub Gabaoniticae servitutis occasione iungamur; quia secundum promissa caelestia, quae spoponderunt filios dei 2 de nationibus congregandos, si nos reos venia soletur, dum vos beatos gloria manet, etsi per actionum differentiam, non tamen per locorum distantiam dividemur. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

SIDONIVS DOMINO PAPAE FAVSTO SALVTEM

Longum tacere, vir sacratissime, nos in commune dequestus es; cognosco vestrae partis hinc studium, nostrae reatum non recognosco. namque iampridem iussus garrere non silui litteris istas ante-currentibus, quibus tamen 3 recensendis, cum Reios advenerant, qui tunc Aptae 4 fuistis, aptissime defuistis. idque votivum mihi granditer fuit ac per-optatum, ut epistula iniuncta nec negaretur scripta amicitiae nec subderetur lecta censurae.

ista [p. 532] omittamus. mitti paginam copiosam denuo iubes, parere properanti adsunt vota, causae absunt, nam salutatio, nisi negotium aliquod activa 1 de-portet materia, 2 succincta est; quam qui porrigit verbis non necessariis, a regula Sallustiani tramitis detortus exorbitat, qui Catilinam culpat habuisse satis eloquentiae sapientiae parum, unde ave dicto mox vale dicimus, orate pro nobis.

sed bene est, bene est, quia chartulam iam iamque 3 complicaturo res forte succurrit, 4 de qua exprobranda si diutius vel laetitia sese mea vel ira cohibuerit, ipse me accepta dignum contumelia iudicabo, venisti, magister, in manus meas (nec exulto tantum, verum insulto), venisti, et quidem talis, qualem abhinc longo iamdiu tempore desideria nostra praestolabantur. dubito sane utrum et invitus, at certe similis invito, quippe quo providente vel, si tamen hoc nimis abnuis, adquiescente sim tuis libris in-salutatus hisque, quod multo est iniuriosius, territorium Arvernum cum praeterirent, non solum moenia mea, verum etiam latera radentibus.

an verebare, ne tuis dictis invideremus? sed dei indultu vitio nulli minus addicimur; cui si ita ut ceteris a mea parte subiaceretur, sic quoque auferret [p. 534] congregiendi aemulationem desperatio consequendi. an supercilium tamquam difficilis ac rigidi plosoris extimescebas? et quanam 1 est cuiquam peritiae cervix tanta quive 2 hydrops, ut etiam tepida vestra non ferventissimis laudibus prosequatur?

an ideo me fastidiendum neglegendumque curasti, I quia contemneres iuniorem? quod parum credo, an quia indoctum? quod magis fero, ita tamen, ut qui dicere ignorem, non et audire; quia et qui circensibus ludis adfuerunt, sententiam de curribus non ferunt, an aliquo casu dissidebamus, ut putaremur his quos edidissetis libellis 3 derogaturi? atqui praesule deo tenues nobis esse amicitias nec inimici fingere queunt.

ista quorsum? inquis, ecce iam pando, vel quid indagasse me gaudeam vel quid te celasse succenseam. legi volumina tua, quae Riochatus antistes ac monachus atque istius mundi bis peregrinus Britannis tuis pro te reportat, [p. 536] illo iam in praesentiarum fausto potius, qui non senescit quique viventibus non defuturus post sepulturam fiet per ipsa quae scripsit sibi superstes, igitur hic ipse venerabilis apud oppidum nostrum cum moraretur, donec gentium concitatarum procella defremeret, cuius immanis 1 hinc et hinc turbo tunc inhorruerat, sic reliqua dona vestra detexit, ut perurbane quae

praestantiora portabat operuerit, spinas meas illustrare dissimulans tuis floribus.

sed post duos aut his amplius menses sic quoque a nobis cito profectum cum quipiam prodidissent de viatoribus mysticae gazae clausis involucris clam ferre thesauros, pernicipibus equis insecutus abeuntem, qui facile possent itineris pridiani spatia praevertere, osculo in fauces occupati latronis insiluihumano ioco, gestu ferino, veluti si excussura quemcumque catulorum Parthi colla raptoris pede volatili 2 tigris orbata superemicaret.

quid multa? capti hospitis genua complector iumenta sisto, frena ligo sarcinas solvo, quaesitum volumen invenio produco, lectito excerpto maxima ex magnis capita defrustans. tribuit et quoddam dictare celeranti scribarum sequacitas saltuosa 3 compendium, qui comprehendebant signis quod litteris non tenebant. [p. 538] quibus lacrimis sane maduerimus mutuo vicissim fletu rigati, tunc cum ab amplexu saepe repetito separaremur, longum est dixisse nec refert; quod triumphali sufficit gaudio, spoliis, onustum caritatis et spiritualis compotem praedae me domum rettuli.

quaeris nunc, quid de manubiis meis iudicem; nollem adhuc prodere, quo diuturnius expectatione penderes; plus me enim ulciscerer, si quod sensi tacerem, sed iam nec ipse frustra superbis, utpote intellegens tibi inesse virtutem sic perorandi, ut lectori tuo seu reluctanti seu voluntario vis voluptatis excudat praeconii necessitatem, proinde accipe, quid super scriptis tuis et iniuriam passi censeamus.

legimus opus operosissimum multiplex, acre sublime, digestum titulis exemplisque congestum, bipertitum sub dialogi schemate, sub causarum themate quadripartitum, scripseras autem plurima ardentem plura pompose; simpliciter ista nec rustice; argute illa nec callide; gravia mature profunda sollicitate, dubia constanter argumentosa disputatorie, quaedam severe quaequam blande, cuncta moraliter lecte, potenter eloquentissime.

itaque per tanta te genera narrandi toto latissimae dictationis campo secutus nil in facundia ceterorum, nil in ingeniis [p. 540] facile perspexi iuxta politum. quae me vera sentire satis approbas, cum nec offensus aliter iudico, denique absentis oratio, quantum opinamur, plus nequit crescere, nisi forsitan aliquid his addat coram loquentis auctoris vox manus, motus pudor, artifex (

) igitur 1 his animi litterarumque dotibus praeditus mulierem pulchram sed illam deuternomio astipulante nubentem, domine papa, tibi iugasti; quam tu adhuc iuvenis inter hostiles conspicatus catervas, atque illic in acie contrariae partis adamatam, nil per obstantes repulsus proeliatore, desiderii brachio vincente rapuisti, philosophiam scilicet, quae violenter e numero sacrilegarum artium exempta raso capillo superfluae religionis ac supercilio scientiae saecularis amputatisque pervetustarum vestium rugis, id est tristis dialecticae flexibus falsa morum et illicita velantibus, mystico amplexu iam defaecata tecum membra coniunxit.

haec ab annis vestra iamdudum pedisequa primoribus, haec tuo lateri comes in- [p. 542] separabilis, sive in palaestris exercens urbanis sive in

abstrusis macerare solitudinibus, haec Athenaei consors, haec monasterii, tecum mundanas abdicat, tecum supernas praedicat disciplinas. huic copulatum te matrimonio qui lacesiverit, sentiet ecclesiae ‘ Christi Platonis Academiam militare teque nobilius philosophari;

primum ineffabilem dei patris asserere cum sancti spiritus aeternitate sapientiam;’ tum praeterea non caesariem pascere neque pallio aut clava velut sophisticis insignibus gloriari aut affectare de vestium discretione superbiam, nitore pompam, squalore iactantiam neque te satis hoc aemulari, quod per gymnasia pingantur Areopagitica vel prytanea curva cervice Speusippus 1 Aratus panda, Zenon fronte contracta Epicurus cute distenta, Diogenes barba comante Socrates coma [p. 544] cadente, 1 Aristoteles brachio exerto 2 Xenocrates crure collecto, Heraclitus fletu oculis clausis Democritus risu labris apertis, Chrysippus digitis propter numerorum indicia constrictis, Euclides propter mensurarum spatia laxatis, Cleanthes propter utrumque corrosis.

quin potius experietur, quisque conflixerit, Stoicos Cynicos Peripateticos haeresiarchas propriis armis, propriis quoque concuti machinamentis. nam sectatores eorum, Christiano dogmati ac sensui si repugnaverint, mox te magistro ligati vernaculis implicaturis in retia sua praecipites implagabuntur, syllogismis tuae propositionis uncatis volubilem tergiversantum linguam inhamantibus, dum spiris categoricis lubricas quaestiones tu potius innodas acrium more medicorum, qui remedium contra venena, cum ratio compellit, et de serpente confidunt.

sed hoc temporibus istis sub tuae tantum vel contemplatione conscientiae vel virtute doctrinae, nam quis aequali vestigia tua gressu sequatur, cui datum est soli loqui melius quam didiceris, vivere melius quam loquaris? quo- [p. 546] circa merito te beatissimum boni omnes idque supra omnes tua tempestate concelebrabunt, cuius ita dictis vita factisque dupliciter inclaruit, ut, quando quidem tuos annos iam dextra numeraverit, saeculo praedicatus tuo, desiderandus alieno, utraque laudabilis actione, decedas te relicturus externis, tua proximis, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

SIDONIVS DOMINO PAPAE APRVNCVLO SALVTEM

Reddidit 1 tibi epistulas meas quem mihi tuas offerre par fuerat; nam frater noster Caelestius nuper ad te reversus de Biterrensi quoddam mihi super statu Iniuriosi nostri vinculum cessionis elicuit. quod quidem scripsi non minus tua verecundia fractus quam voluntate: namque nos ultro vestro [p. 548] pudori quasi quibusdam pedibus obsequii decuit occurrere.

quocirca me quoque volente posside indultum, sed liberaliter (nec enim, ut suspicor, plus aliquid hoc genere solacii vel ipse quaesisti), quem litteris istis non commendatoriis minus quam refutoriis iam placatus insinuo; sic tamen, ut tibi assistat, tibi pareat, te sequatur atque ut, si permanserit tecum, neutri nostrum iudicetur famulus, si forte discesserit, quaeratur utrique fugitivus, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

SIDONIVS DOMINO PAPAE LVPO I SALVTEM

Propter libellum, quem non ad vos magis quam per vos missum putastis, epistulam vestram non ad me magis quam in me scriptam recepi, ad exprobrata respondeo pro aequitate causae, non pro aequalitate facundiae, quamquam quis nunc ego aut quantus, qui agere praesumam, vobis im- [p. 550] putantibus innocentem? quocirca delicto huic, quantulumcumque est, inter principia confestim supplico ignosci, diffidentiae tantum, non et superbiae fassus errorem.

nam cum mihi rigor censurae tuae in litteris aequae ut 1 moribus sit ambifariam contremescendus, fateor tamen in voluminis 2 ipsius operisque reseratu illam mihi fuisse plus oneri 3 quam praetenditis caritatem, nec citra iustum ista conicio, quandoquidem mortalium mentibus vis haec naturalitus inest, ut, si quid perperam fiat, minus indulgeant plus amici.

scripseram librum, sicut pronuntiatis, plenum onustumque vario causarum temporum personarumque congestu: facturus rem videbar impudentissimam, si tantum mihi cuncta placuissent, ut nulla tibi displicitura confiderem; huc item, quisquis iudicii eventus foret, vidi partibus meis nequaquam pietatis ex solido constare rationem, si non saltem vobis esset antea allatum volumen, etsi non videretur oblatum; sub hoc scilicet temperamento, ut, si forte placuissem, non vos arrogancia praeterissem, si secus, non vos improbitas expetisse iudicaretur.

nec sane multo labore me credidi deprecaturum vitiatas causas [p. 552] erubescendi. pariter illud nosse vos noveram, quod auctores in operibus edendis pudor potius quam constantia decet quodque tetricis puncta censoribus tardius procacitas recitatoris quam trepidatio excudit. alioquin, si quis est ille qui cum fiduciae praerogativa ‘thematis ante inauditi operam 1 pervulgat, incipit expectationi publicae, quamvis solverit multa, plura redhibere. praeterea quicquid super huiusce rescripti tenore censueris, malui factum confiteri simpliciter quam trebaciter diffiteri.

didixisset alius: ‘neminem tibi praetuli, nullas ad ullum peculiare litteras dedi: quem praelatum suspicabare, unius epistulae forma contentus abscessit, atque ea quidem nihil super praesenti negotio deferente: tu, qui te querens omissum, tribus loquacissimis paginis fatigatus potius in nausiam concitaris, dum frequenter insulae lectionis verbis inanibus immoraris. adde, quia etiam in hoc, quod forsitan non notasti, reverentiae tuae meritorumque ratio servata est, quod sicut tu antistitem ceterorum cathedris, prior est tuus in libro titulus. [p. 554] illius nomen vix semel tantum et sibi adscripta pagina sonat; tuo praeter tibi deputatas frequenter illustrantur alienae.’

‘illud his iunge, quod, si quid ibi vel causaliter 1 placet, tu per consilium meum lectitas, ille quandoque per beneficium tuum, qui munusculi mei incassum pressus invidia necdum ad facultatem legendi, ut suspicor, venit, cum iamdiu ipse perveneris ad copiam transferendi. aio,2 tamquam non sit

autholographas 3 membranas arbitraturus, si tamen, quod 4 ante percurreras, 5 vel exemplar acceperit; neque enim in his, quae tractaveris, ulla culpabitur aut distinctionum raritas aut frequentia barbarismorum. nempe ad extremum palam videtur etiam tibi transmissa proprietas, cui usus absque temporis fixi praescriptione transmissus est quique supradicto tamdiu potes uti libello, ut eum non amplius zotheca tua quam [p. 556] memoria concludat.’

haec et his plura fors aliquis, ego vero cuncta praetereo et malo precari veniam quam reatum, si hoc esse creditur, deprecari. praesentum quoque negligentiam litterarum nunc’ nec excuso, primum quod, etsi cupiam, parum cultius scribere queo, dein quod libellari opere confecto animus tandem feriaturus iam quae propalare dissimulat excolere detractat.

at tamen, cum satis| tibi et quidem merito (quidnam enim simile?) in omnibus cedam, quippe qui in alio genere virtutum iam per quinquennia decem non aequaevis sacerdotibus tantum verum et antiquis, quotiens conatus, antelatus quoque 1 sis, noveris volo, quamvis astra questibus quatiis atque maiorum cineres favillasque in testimonium laesae caritatis implores, pedem me conflictui tuo, si mutuo super amore certandum est, non retracturum, quia cum in ceteris rebus tum foedissimum perquam est in dilectione superari, quae velis nolis certa professio conviciis tuis illis cuncta sane blandimentorum mella vincentibus non praeter aequum reponderatur.

ecce habes litteras tam garrulas ferme quam requirebas; quamquam sunt [p. 558] omnes, si quae uspiam tamen sunt, loquacissimae. namque in audentiam sermocinandi quem non ipse compellas? qui omnium (de me enim taceo) littera-torum, licet oculi affectent, sic ingenia producis, ut solet aquam terrae visceribus absconditam per atomos bibulas radius extrahere solaris? cuius lucis 1 aculeo non sola penetratur aut harena subtilis aut humus fossilis, sed si saxei montis oppressu fontium conditorum vena celetur, aperit j arcanum liquentis elementi secretorum caelestium natura violentior, ita si quos, vir sacrosancte, studiosorum senseris aut quietos aut verecundos aut in obscuro iacentis famae recessu delitescentes, hos eloquii tui claritas artifice confabulatu, dum compellit, 2 et publicat.

sed quorsum plusculum 3 quam moris est? redeamus ad causam, super cuius abundante blateratu, quia pareo, precor, ut errata confessum veniae elementis indultu placatus impertias, licet, quae laetitia tua sancta quaeque communio, copiosius hilarere, si meae culpa defensio potius tibi scripta feratur quam satisfactio. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa. [p. 560]

SIDONIUS ORESIO SVO SALVTEM

Venit in nostras a te profecta pagina manus, quae trahit multam similitudinem de sale Hispano in iugis caeso Tarraconensibus. nam recensenti lucida et salsa est, nec tamen propter hoc ipsum mellea minus, sed 1 sermo dulcis et 2 propositionibus acer: 3 sic enim oblectat eloquio quod turbat imperio, quippe qui parum metiens, quid ordinis agam, carmina a nobis nunc nova petat, primum ab exordio religiosae professionis huic principaliter exercitio renuntiavi, quia nimirum facilitati posset accommodari, si me occupasset levitas versuum, quem respicere coeperat gravitas actionum.

tum praeterea constat omnem operam, si longa intercapedine quiescat, aegre resumī. quisnam enim ignoret cunctis aut artificibus aut artibus maximum decus usu venire, cumque studia consueta non frequentantur, 4 brachia in corporibus, ingenia nigrescere in artibus? unde est et illud, quod sero correptus aut raro plus arcus manui, iugo bos, equus freno rebellat. insuper desidiaē nostrae verecundia [p. 562] comes ad hoc sententiam inclinat, ut me, postquam in silentio decurri tres olympiadas, tam pudeat novum poema conficere quam pigeat.

huc 1 item nefas etiam difficilia factu tibi negari, cuius affectum tanto minus decipi decet, quanto constantius nil repulsam veretur. tenebimus igitur quippiam medium et sicut epigraminata recentia modo nulla dictabo, ita litteras, si quae iacebunt versu refertae, scilicet ante praesentis officii necessitatem, mittam tibi, petens, ne tu sis eatenus iustitiae praevaricator, ut me opineris numquam ab huiusmodi conscriptione temperaturum. neque enim suffragio tuo minus augear, si forte digneris iam modestum potius quam facetum me 2 existimare, vale.

SIDONIUS TONANTIO SVO SALVTEM

Est quidem, fateor, versibus meis sententia tua tam plausibilis olim, tam favorabilis, ut poetarum me quibusque lectissimis comparandum putes, certe compluribus anteponendum. crederem tibi, si non, ut multum sapis, ita quoque multum me amares. hinc est, quod de laudibus meis caritas tua mentiri [p. 564] potest nec potest fallere.

praeter hoc poscis, ut Horatiana incude formatos Asclepiadeos tibi quospiam, quibus inter bibendum pronuntiandis exerceare, transmittam. pareo iniunctis, licet, si umquam, modo maxime prosario loquendi genere districtus occupatusque. denique probabis circa nos plurima ex parte metrorum studia refrigerescere; non enim promptum est unum eundemque probe facere aliquid et raro.

Iam dudum teretes hendecasyllabos
attrito calamis pollice lusimus,
quos cantare magis pro choriambicis
excusso poteras mobilius pede;
[5] sed tu per Calabri traminis aggerem
vis ut nostra dehinc cursitet orbita,
qua Flaccus lyricos Pindaricum ad melos
frenis flexit equos plectripotentibus,
dum metro quatitur chorda Glyconio,

[10] nec non Alcaico vel Pherecratio
iuncto Lesbiano sive anapaestico,
vernans per varii carminis eglogas
verborum violis multicoloribus.
istud, da veniam, fingere vatibus [p. 566]

[15] priscis difficile est, difficile et mihi,
ut diversa sonans os epigrammata
nil crebras titubet propter epistulas,
quas cantu ac modulis luxuriantibus
lascivire vetat mascula dictio.

[20] istud vix Leo, rex Castalii chori,
vix, hunc qui sequitur, Lampridius queat,
declamans gemini pondere sub stili
coram discipulis Burdigalensibus.

hoc me teque decet? parce, precor, iocis;

[25] quaeso, pollicitam servet ad extimum
oratoris opus cura modestiam,
quo nil deterius, si fuerit simul
in primis rigidus, mollis in ultimis.

Quin immo quotiens epulo mensae lautioris hilarabere, religiosis, quod magis approbo, narrationibus vaca; his proferendis confabulatio frequens, [p. 568] his rediscendis 1 sollicitus auditus inserviat. certe' si saluberrimis avocamentis, ut qui adhuc iuvenis, tepidius 2 inflecteris, a Platonico Madaurensi saltim formulas mutuare convivialium quaestionum, quoque reddaris instructor, has solve propositas, has propone solvendas hisque te studiis, et dum otiaris, exerce.

sed quia mentio conviviorum semel incidit tuque sic carmen nobis vel ad aliam causam ' personamque compositum sedulo exposcis, ut me eius edendi diutius habere non possis haesitatore, suscipe libens quod temporibus Augusti Maioriani, cum rogatu cuiusdam sodalis ad cenam convenire-mus, in Petri librum magistri epistularum subito prolatum subitus effudi, meis quoque contubernalibus, dum rex convivii circa ordinandum moras nectit oxygarum, Domnulo, Severiano atque Lampridio paria pangentibus (iactanter hoc dixi, immo [p. 570] meliora); quos undique urbium ascitos imperator, in unam civitatem, invitator in unam cenam forte contraxerat.

id morae tantum, dum, genera metrorum sorte partimur. placuit namque pro caritate collegii, licet omnibus eadem scribendi materia existeret, non uno tamen epigrammata singulorum genere proferri, ne quispiam nostrum, qui ceteris dixisset exilius, verecundia primum, post morderetur invidia, etenim citius agnoscitur in quocumque recitante, si quo ceteri metro canat, an eo quoque scribat ingenio, tu vero tunc opportunius subiecta laudabis, cum totus otio indulseris. non enim iustum est, ut censor incipias cum severitate discutere quod non potuit amicus cum sericte dictare.

Age, convocata pubes,
locus hora, mensa causa
iubet ut volumen istud,
quod et aure et ore discis,

[5] studiis in astra tollas.

Petrus est tibi legendus, [p. 572]

in utraque disciplina
satis institutus auctor,
celebremus ergo, fratres,

[10] pia festa litterarum.

peragat diem cadentem
dape, poculis, choreis
genialis apparatus.

Rutilum toreuma bysso

[15] rutilasque fert blattas,

recoquente quas aeno

Meliboea fucat unda,

opulentet ut meraco

bibulum colore vellus,

[20] peregrina det supellex
Ctesiphontis ac Niphatis
iuga texta beluasque
rapidas vacante panno,
acuit quibus furorem
[25] bene ficta plaga cocco
iaculoque ceu forante
cruor incruentus exit;
ubi torvus et per artem
resupina flexus ora
[30] it equo reditque telo
simulacra bestiarum
fugiens fugansque Parthus.
Nive pulchriora lina
gerat orbis atque lauris
[35] hederisque pampinisque
viridantibus tegatur,
cytisos, crocos, amellos,
casias, ligustra, calthas
calathi ferant capaces, [p. 574]
[40] redolentibusque sertis
abacum torosque pingant.
manus uncta suco amomi
domet hispidos capillos
Arabumque messe pinguis
[45] petat alta tecta fumus,
veniente nocte nec non
numerosus erigatur
laquearibus coruscis
camerae in superna lychnus:
[50] oleumque nescientes
adipesque glutinosos
utero tumente fundant
opobalsamum lucernae.
Geruli caput plicantes
[55] anaglyptico metallo
epulas superbiores
umeris ferant onustis.
paterae, scyphi, lebetes
socient Falerna nardo
[60] tripodasque cantharosque
rosa sutilis coronet,
iuvat ire per corollas
alabastra ventilantes;

iuvat et vago rotatu
[65] dare fracta membra ludo,
simulare vel trementes
pede, veste, voce Bacchas.
bimari remittat urbe
thymelen palenque doctas
[70] tepidas ad officinas
citharistrias Corinthus,
digiti quibus canentes [p. 576]
pariter sonante lingua
vice pectinis fatigent
[75] animata fila pulsu.
Date et aera fistulata,
Satyris amica nudis;
date ravulos choraulas,
quibus antra per palati
[80] crepulis reflanda buccis
gemit aura tibialis,
date carminata socco,
date dicta sub cothurno,
date quicquid advocati,
[85] date quicquid et poetae
vario strepunt in actu:
Petrus haec et illa transit,
opus editum tenemus,
bimetra quod arte texens
[90] iter asperum viasque
labyrinthicas cucurrit,
sed in omnibus laborans
et ab omnibus probatus
rapit hinc et inde palmam,
[95] per et ora docta fertur,
procul hinc et Hippocrenen
Aganippicosque fontes
et Apollinem canorum
comitantibus Camenis
[100] abigamus et Minervam
quasi praesulem canendi;
removete ficta fatu:
deus ista praestat unus.
Stupuit virum loquentem
[105] diadematis potestas, [p. 578]
toga, miles, ordo equester
populusque Romularis;

et adhuc sophos volutant
fora, templa, rura, castra,
[110] super haec fragorem alumno
Padus atque civitatum
dat amor Ligusticarum.
similis favor resultat
Rhodanitidas per urbes,
[115] imitabiturque Gallos c
feritas Hibericorum.
nec in hoc moratus
axe cito ad arva perget
euri aquilonibusque et austris
[120] zephyrisque perferetur.

Ecce, dum quaero quid cautes, ipse cantavi. tales enim nugas in imo scrinii fundo muribus per-foratas post annos circiter viginti profero in lucem, quales pari tempore abscontans, cum domum rediit, Ulixes invenire potuisset, proinde peto, ut praesentibus ludicris libenter ignoscas, illud vero nec verecunde nec impudenter iniungo, ut quod ipse de familiaris mei integro libro pronuntiavi, hoc tu quasi sollicitatus exempli necessitate de meo sentias. 1 vale. [p. 580]

SIDONIUS BVRGVNDIONI SVO SALVTEM

Dupliciter excrucior, quod nostrum uterque lecto tenetur, nihil enim est durius, quam 1 cum praesentes amici dividuntur communione languoris; quippe si accidat, ut nec intra unum conclave decumbant, nulla sunt verba, nulla solacia, nulla denique mutui oratus vicissitudo: ita singulis maeror ingens, isque plus de altero; nam parum possis quamquam et infirmus periclitante quem diligas tibi timere.

sed deus mihi, fili amantissime, pro te paventi validissimum scrupulum excussit, quia pristinas incipis vires recuperare. diceris enim iam velle consurgere, quodque plus opto, iam posse, me certe taliter consulis et sollicitudine prope praecoqua quaestiunculis litterarum iam quasi ex asse vegetus exeres, audire plus ambiens etsi adhuc aeger Socraten de moribus quam Hippocratem de corporibus disputantem; dignus omnino, quem plausibilibus Roma foveret ulnis, quoque recitante crepitantis Athenaei subsellia cuneata quaterentur.

quod procul dubio consequere, si pacis locique condicio permetteret, ut illic sena- [p. 582] toriae iuventutis contubernio mixtus erudirere. cuius te gloriae pariter ac famae capacem de orationis tuae qualitate coniecto, in qua te decentissime i nuper pronuntiante 1 quae quidem scripseras extemporaliter admirabantur benivoli, mirabantur 2 superbi, morabantur 3 periti, sed ne impudenter verecundiam tuam laudibus nimis ultro premamus, praeconia tua iustius de te quam tibi scribimus. hoc potius, unde est causa sermonis, intromittamus.

igitur interrogas per pugillatorem, quos recurrentes asseram versus, ut celer explicem, sed sub exemplo, hi nimirum sunt recurrentes, qui metro stante neque litteris loco motis ut ab exordio ad terminum, sic a fine releguntur ad summum, sic est illud antiquum:

Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor. 4 et 5 illud: sole medere pede, 6 ede perede melos.5 [p. 584]

nec non habentur pro recumbentibus, qui pedum lege servata etsi non per singulos apices, per singula tamen verba replicantur, ut est unum distichon meum (qualia reor equidem legi multa multorum), quod de rivulo lusi, qui repentino procellarum pastus illapsu publicumque aggerem confragoso diluvio supergressus subdita viae culta inundaverat, quamquam depositurus insanam mox abundantiam, quippe quam pluviis appendicibus intumescens nil superna venae perennis pondera inflarent.

igitur istic (nam viator adveneram), dum magis ripam quam vadum quaero, tali iocatus epigrammate per turbulenti terga torrentis his saltem pedibus inessi:

Praecipiti modo quod decurrit tramite flumen tempore consumptum iam cito deficiet.

Hoc si recurras, ita legitur:

Deficiet cito iam consumptum tempore flumen tramite decurrit quod modo praecipiti.¹

En habes versus, quorum syllabatim mirere ² rationem, ceterum pompam, quam non habent, non docebunt, sufficienter indicasse me suspicor [p. 586] quod tu inquirendum existimasti.

simile quiddam facis et ipse, si proposita restituas eque diverso quae repetens expedias, namque imminet ¹ tibi thematis celeberrimi votiva redhibitio, laus videlicet peroranda, quam meditaris,² Caesaris Iulii, quae materia tam grandis est, ut studentum si quis fuerit ille copiosissimus, nihil amplius in ipsa debeat cavere, quam ne quid minus dicat, nam si omittantur quae de titulis dictatoris invicti scripta Patavinis sunt voluminibus, quis opera Suetonii, quis Iuventii ³ Martialis historiam quisve ad extremum Balbi ephemeridem fando adaequaverit?

sed tuis ceris haec reservamus, officii magis est nostri auditoribus scamna componere, praeparare aures fragoribus intonaturis, ⁴ dumque virtutes tu dicis alienas, nos tuas dicere, neque vereare me quospiam iudices Catonianos advocaturum, qui modo invidiam, modo ignorantiam suam factae severitatis velamine tegant. [p. 588] quamquam imperitis venia debetur; ceterum quisquis ita malus est, ut intellegat bene scripta nec tamen laudet, hunc boni intellegunt nec tamen laudant.

proinde curas tuas hoc metu absolvo: faventes ¹ audient ² cuncti, cuncti fovescentes, gaudiisque, quae facies recreaturis, ³ una fruimur. nam plerique laudabunt facundiam tuam, plurimi ingenium, toti pudorem, non enim minus laudi ⁴ feretur adulescentem vel, quod est pulchrius, paene adhuc puerum de palaestra publici examinis tam morum referre suffragia quam litterarum, vale.

SIDONIVS GELASIO SVO SALVTEM

Probas (neque deprecor) me deliquisse; deliqui, quippe qui necdum nomine tuo ullas operi meo litteras iunxerim. sed tamen scribis tum quod erraverim veniabile fore, si quod et ipse decantes mittam ab exemplo, quia scilicet Tonantio meo ad parem causam futuras usui litteras bimetras miserim, praeter hoc quereris paginam meam, si resolvatur in lusum, solis hendecasyllabis frequentari. qua de re [p. 590] trochaica garrulitate suspensa senariolos aliquos plus requiris, servio iniunctis; tu modo placidus excipias, sive oden 1 hanc ipsam mavis vocare sive eglogam. nam metrum diu infrequentatum durius textitur.

Iubes, amice, nostra per volumina
modis resultet incitatoribus
ferox iambus, ut 2 trochaeus hactenus,
pigrasque bigas et quaterna tempora
[5] spondeus addat, ut moram volucripes
habeat parumper insitam 3 trimetria,
resonetque mixtus ille pes celerrimus,
bene nuncupatus quondam ab arte pyrricha,
loco locandus undecumque in ultimo;
[10] spondam 4 daturus et subinde versui,
modo in priore parte, nunc 5 in extima
anapaestus, ipse quamquam et absolutius
pronuntietur, cum secuta tertia
geminae brevique longa adhaeret syllaba. 6 [p. 592]
[15] Quae temperare vix valet gregarius
poeta, ut ipse cernis esse Sollium;
mihi pecten errat 1 nec per ora concava
vaga lingua flexum competenter explicat
epos, sed istud aptius paraverit
[20] Leo Leonis aut secutus orbitas
cantu in Latino, cum prior sit Attico
Consentiorum qui superstes est patri,
fide, voce, metris ad fluentia Pegasi
cecinisse dictus omniforme canticum,
[25] quotiensque verba Graia carminaverit,
tenuisse celsa iunctus astra Pindaro
montemque victor isse per biverticem
nullis 2 secundus inter antra 3 Delphica.
at uterque vatium si lyrae poeticae
[30] Latiare carmen aptet absque Dorico,
Venusina, Flacce, plectra ineptus exeras

Iapygisque verna cygnus Aufidi
Atacem tonare 4 cum suis oloribus
cana et canora colla victus ingemas. [p. 594]

[35] Nec ista sola sunt perita pectora,
licet et peritis haec peritiora sint:
Severianus ista rhetor altius,

Afer vaferque Domnulus politius,
scholasticusque sub rotundioribus

[40] Petrus Camenis dictitasset acrius,
epistularis usquequaque nec stilus
virum vetaret, ut stupenda pangeret.
potuisset ista semper efficacius
humo atque gente cretus in Ligustide

[45] Proculus melodis insonare pulsibus
limans faceta quaeque sic poemata,
Venetam lacessat ut favore Mantuam
Homericaeque par et ipse gloriae,
rotas Maronis arte sectans 1 compari.

[50] Ego corde et ore iure despicabilis
quid inter hosce te rogante garriam,
loquacitatis impudentiam probans 2
animique vota destituta 3 litteris?
sed quid negabo nec pudore territus?

[55] amor timere nescit: inde parui.

Ignosce desueta repetenti atque ob impleta quae iusseras nihil amplius
quam raritatis indulgentiam praestolatur. ceterum mihi si similia [p. 596]
post iusseris, 1 quo queam fieri magis obsequens, sic curabis 2 ad vicem
carminis aut dictare 3 quae cantem aut saltare 4 quae rideam. vale.

SIDONIVS FIRMINO SVO SALVTEM

Si recordaris, domine fili, hoc mihi iniunxeras, ut hic nonus libellus peculiariter tibi dicatus 5 ceteris octo copularetur, quos ad Constantium scripsi, virum singularis ingenii, consilii salutaris, certe in tractatibus publicis ceteros eloquentes, seu diversa sive paria decernat, praestantioris facundiae dotibus antecellentem. sponsio impleta est, non quidem exacte, sed vel instanter.

nam pera-gratis forte dioecesibus 6 cum domum veni, si quod [p. 598] schedium temere iacens chartulis putribus ac veternosis continebatur, raptim coactimque translator festinus exscripsi, tempore hiberno nil retardatus, quin actutum iussa complerem, licet antiquarium moraretur insiccabilis gelu pagina et calamo durior gutta, quam iudicasses impiimentibus digitis non fluere sed frangi, sic quoque tamen compotem officii prius agere curavi, quam duodecimum nostrum, quem Numae mensem vos nuncupatis, Favonius flatu teporo pluviisque natalibus maritaret.

restat, ut te arbitro non reposcamur res omnino discrepantissimas, maturitatem celeritatemque. nam quotiens liber quispiam scribi cito iubetur, non tantum honorem spectat auctor a merito quantum ab obsequio, de reliquo, quia tibi nuper ad Gelasium virum sat benignissimum missos iambicos 1 placuisse pronuntias, per hos te quoque Mytilenaei oppidi vernulas munerabor.

Iam per alternum pelagus loquendi
egit audacem mea cymba cursum
nec bipertito timuit fluento
flectere clavum. [p. 600]

[5] Solvit antemnas, legit alta vela,
palmulam ponit manus, atque transtris
litori iunctis petit osculandam
saltus harenam.

Mussitans quamquam chorus invidorum

[10] prodat hirritu rabiem canino,
nil palam sane loquitur pavetque
publica puncta.

Verberant puppim, quatiunt carinam,
ventilant spondas laterum rotundas,

[15] arborem circa volitant sinistrae
sibila linguae.

Nos tamen rectam comite arte proram,
nil tumescentes veriti procellas,
sistimus portu, geminae potiti

[20] fronde coronae,

Quam mihi indulsit populus Quirini,
blattifer vel quam tribuit senatus,
quam peritorum dedit ordo consors
iudiciorum,

[25] Cum meis poni statuam perennem
Nerva Traianus titulis videret,
inter auctores utriusque fixam
bybliothecae;

Quamque post, visus prope, post bilustre
[30] tempus accipi, capiens honorem, [p. 602]
qui patrum ac plebis simul unus olim
iura gubernat.

Praeter heroos ioca multa multis
texui pannis; elegos frequenter
[35] subditos senis pedibus rotavi
commate bino.

Nunc per undenas equitare suetus
syllabas lusi celer atque metro
Sapphico creber cecini, citato
[40] rarus iambo.

Nec recordari queo, quanta quondam
scripserim primo iuvenis calore;
unde pars maior utinam taceri
possit 1 et abdi!

[45] Nam senectutis propiore meta
quicquid extremis sociamur annis,
plus pudet, si quid leve lusit aetas,
nunc reminisci.

Quod perhorrescens ad epistularum
[50] transtuli cultum genus omne curae,
ne reus cantu petulantiore
sim reus actu;

Neu puter solvi per amoena dicta,
schema si chartis phalerasque iungam,
[55] clerici ne quid maculet rigorem
fama poetae. [p. 604]

Denique ad quodvis epigramma posthac
non ferar pronus, teneroque metro
vel gravi nullum cito cogar exhinc
[60] promere carmen:

Persecutorum nisi quaestiones
forsitan dicam meritosque caelum
martyras mortis pretio parasse
praemia vitae.

[65] E quibus primum mihi psallat hymnus
qui Tolosatem tenuit cathedram,
de gradu summo Capitoliorum
praecipitatum;
Quem negatorem Iovis ac Minervae
[70] et crucis Christi bona confitentem
vinxit ad tauri latus iniugati
plebs furibunda,
Vt per abruptum bove concitato
spargeret cursus lacerum cadaver
[75] cautibus tinctis calida soluti
pulte cerebri.
Post Saturninum volo plectra cantent,
quos patronorum reliquos probavi
anxio duos mihi per labores
[80] auxiliatos,
Singulos quos nunc pia nuncupatim
non valent versu cohibere verba;
quos tamen chordae nequeunt sonare,
corda sonabunt.

[p. 606]

Redeamus in fine 1 ad oratorium stilum materiam praesentem proposito
semel ordine termina-turi, ne, si epilogis musicis opus prosarium clausurimus,
secundum regulas Flacci, ubi amphora coepit institui, urceus potius exisse
videatur, vale.

The Dual Text



Clermont-Ferrand, a city in the Auvergne region of France — in 470 or 472, Sidonius was elected to succeed Eparchius in the bishopric of Auvergne at Clermont.

DUAL LATIN AND ENGLISH TEXT



Translated by O. M. Dalton

In this section, readers can view a section by section text of Sidonius' letters, alternating between the original Latin and Dalton's English translation.

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Sidonius Simplicio suo salutem
Sidonius Evodio suo salutem
Sidonius Industrio suo Salutem.
Sidonius Industrio suo Salutem.
Sidonius Petreio suo salutem
Sidonius Simplicio et Apollinari Suis salutem
Sidonius Vectio suo Salutem.
Sidonius Polemio suo salutem
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Sidonius Aruogasti suo Salutem.
Sidonius Lucontio suo Salutem.
Sidonius Florentino suo Salutem.
Sidonius Domnicio 1 suo salutem
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BOOK V

Sidonius Petronio suo salutem
Sidonius Nymphidio suo salutem
Sidonius Apollinari suo salutem

Sidonius Simplicio suo salutem
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Sidonius Apollinari suo Salutem.
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Sidonius Calminio suo salutem
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BOOK VI

Sidonius Domino Papae Lupo salutem
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Sidonius Domino Papae Mamerto salutem
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Sidonius Domino Papae Megethio salutem
Sidonius Domino Papae Fonteio salutem
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Sidonius Domino Papae Basilio salutem
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Sidonius Domino Papae Auspicio salutem
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BOOK VIII

Sidonius Petronio suo salutem.
Sidonius Iohanni suo salutem.
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Sidonius Firmino suo salutem.
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Sidonius domino papae Lupo salutem.
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Sidonius Tonantio suo salutem.
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BOOK I

Sidonius Constantio suo salutem

I.

To his friend Constantius c. A.D. 477

[1] Diu praecipis, domine maior, summa suadendi auctoritate, sicuti es in his quae deliberabuntur consiliosissimus, ut, si quae mihi litterae paulo politiores varia occasione fluxerint, prout eas causa persona tempus elicit, omnes retractatis exemplaribus enucleatisque uno volumine includam, Quinti Symmachi rotunditatem, Gaii Plinii disciplinam maturitatemque vestigiis praesumptuosis insecutus.

[1] WITH all the influence you derive from a genius for sound advice, you have long urged me to correct, revise, and bring together in one volume the more finished of those occasional letters which matters, men, and times have drawn from me: I am to set presumptuous foot where Symmachus of the ample manner, and Pliny of the perfected art have gone before.

[2] nam de Marco Tullio silere melius puto, quem in stilo epistulari nec Iulius Titianus sub nominibus inlustrium feminarum digna similitudine expressit; propter quod illum ceteri quique Frontoniarum utpote consectaneum aemulati, cur veteris dicendi genus imitaretur, oratorum simiam nuncupaverunt. quibus omnibus ego immane dictum est quantum semper iudicio meo cesserim quantumque servandam singulis pronuntiaverim temporum suorum meritorumque praerogativam.

[2] Of Cicero as letter-writer I had best be dumb; not Julius Titianus himself, in his *Letters of Famous Women*, could worthily reproduce that model; he tried to imitate a style which was not of his time,” and Fronto’s other pupils, in their jealousy, called him ‘ape of orators’ for his pains. I have always been horribly conscious how far I fall short of these great examples; I have consistently claimed for each the privilege of his own period and genius.

[3] sed scilicet tibi parui tuaeque examinationi has non recensendas (hoc enim parum est) sed defaecandas, ut aiunt, limandasque commisi, sciens te inmodicum esse fautorem non studiorum modo verum etiam studiosorum. quam ob rem nos nunc perquam haesitabundos in hoc deinceps famae pelagus impellis.

[3] But I have done your will; here you have the letters, not merely to revise, for that is nothing, but to polish and, as the phrase goes, clear of lees. Do I not know you devoted not to studies only, but to the studios too? Which devotion now makes you launch me, despite my fears, upon this deep main of ambition.

[4] porro autem super huiusmodi opusculo tutius conticueramus, contenti

versuum felicius quam peritius editorum opinione, de qua mihi iam pridem in portu iudicii publici post lividorum latratuum Scyllas enavigatas sufficientis gloriae ancora sedet, sed si et hisce deliramentis genuinum molarem invidia non fixerit, actutum tibi a nobis volumina numerosiora percopiosis scaturientia sermocinationibus multiplicabuntur, vale.

[4] I had been safer had I breathed no word about these trifles, content with the reception of my poems, which good luck surely helped to recognition rather than skill of mine. Such fame as I have should be to me an anchor cast in the haven of safe repute. I ought to be content with it after the envious snarls of all the Scyllas which my ship has passed. But if the tooth of jealousy spares these extravagances of mine, volume shall follow upon volume, all full-brimming with my most copious flow of correspondence. Farewell.

Sidonius Agricolae suo salutem

II.

To [*his brother-in-law*] Agricola* A.D. 454(?)

[1] Saepenumero postulavisti ut, quia Theudorici regis Gothorum commendat populis fama civilitatem, litteris tibi formae suae quantitas, vitae qualitas significaretur. pareo libens, in quantum epistularis pagina sinit, laudans in te tam delicatae sollicitudinis ingenuitatem. igitur vir est et illis dignus agnosci qui eum minus familiariter intuentur: ita personam suam deus arbiter et ratio naturae consummatae felicitatis dote sociata cumulaverunt; mores autem huiusmodi, ut laudibus eorum nihil ne regni quidem defrudet invidia.

[1] You have often begged a description of Theodoric the Gothic king, whose gentle breeding fame commends to every nation; you want him in his quantity and quality, in his person, and the manner of his existence. I gladly accede, as far as the limits of my page allow, and highly approve so fine and ingenuous a curiosity.

Well, he is a man worth knowing, even by those who cannot enjoy his close acquaintance, so happily have Providence and Nature joined to endow him with the perfect gifts of fortune; his way of life is such that not even the envy which lies in wait for kings can rob him of his proper praise.

[2] si forma quaeratur: corpore exacto, longissimis brevior, procerior eminentiorque mediocribus, capitis apex rotundus, in quo paululum a planitie frontis in verticem caesaries refuga crispatur. cervix non sedet enervis sed stat nervis. 1 geminos orbes hispidus superciliorum coronat arcus; si vero cilia Sectantur, ad malas medias palpebrarum margo prope pervenit, aurium legulae, sicut mos gentis est, crinium superiacentium flagellis operiuntur. nasus venustissime incurvus. labra subtilia nec dilatatis oris angulis ampliata. pilis infra narium antra fruticantibus cotidiana succisio. barba concavis hirta temporibus, quam in subdita vultus parte surgentem stirpitus tonsor assiduus genis ut adhuc vesticipibus evellit.

[2] And first as to his person. He is well set up, in height above the average man, but below the giant. His head is round, with curled hair retreating somewhat from brow to crown. His nervous neck is free from disfiguring knots. The eyebrows are bushy and arched; when the lids droop, the lashes reach almost half-way down the cheeks. The upper ears are buried under overlying locks, after the fashion of his race. The nose is finely aquiline; the lips are thin and not enlarged by undue distension of the mouth. Every day the hair springing from his nostrils is cut back; that on the face springs thick from the hollow of the temples, but the razor has not yet come upon his cheek, and his barber is assiduous in eradicating the rich growth on the lower part of the

face.

[3] menti, gutturi, colli, non obesi sed succulenti, lactea cutis, quae propius inspecta iuvenali rubore suffunditur; namque hunc illi crebro colorem non ira sed verecundia facit. teretes umeri, validi lacerti, dura brachia, patulae manus, recedente alvo pectus excedens. I aream dorsi humilior inter excrementa costarum spina discriminat. tuberosum est utrumque musculis prominentibus latus, in succinctis regnat vigor ilibus. corneum femur, internodia poplitum bene mascula, maximus in minime rugosis genibus honor; crura suris fulta turgentibus et, qui magna sustentat membra, pes modicus.

[3] Chin, throat, and neck are full, but not fat, and all of fair complexion; seen close, their colour is fresh as that of youth; they often flush, but from modesty, and not from anger. His shoulders are smooth, the upper- and forearms strong and hard; hands broad, breast prominent; waist receding. The spine dividing the broad expanse of back does not project, and you can see the springing of the ribs; the sides swell with salient muscle, the well-girt flanks are full of vigour. His thighs are like hard horn; the knee-joints firm and masculine; the knees themselves the comeliest and least wrinkled in the world. A full ankle supports the leg, and the foot is small to bear such mighty limbs.

[4] si actionem diurnam, quae est forinsecus exposita, perquiras: antelucanos sacerdotum suorum coetus minimo comitatu expetit, grandi sedulitate veneratur; quamquam, si sermo secretus, possis animo advertere quod servet istam pro consuetudine potius quam pro ratione reverentiam, reliquum mane regni administrandi cura sibi deputat. circumssistit sellam comes armiger; pellitorum turba satellitum ne absit, admittitur, ne obstrepat, eliminatur, sicque pro foribus immurmurat exclusa velis, inclusa cancellis. inter haec intro-missis gentium legationibus audit plurima, pauca respondet; si quid tractabitur, differt; si quid expeditur, accelerat. hora est secunda: surgit e solio aut thesauris inspiciendis vacaturus aut stabulis.

[4] Now for the routine of his public life. Before daybreak he goes with a very small suite to attend the service of his priests. He prays with assiduity, but, if I may speak in confidence, one may suspect more of habit than conviction in this piety. Administrative duties of the kingdom take up the rest of the morning. Armed nobles stand about the royal seat; the mass of guards in their garb of skins are admitted that they may be within call, but kept at the threshold for quiet's sake; only a murmur of them comes in from their post at the doors, between the curtain and the outer barrier. And now the foreign envoys are introduced. The king hears them out, and says little; if a thing needs more discussion he puts it off, but accelerates matters ripe for dispatch. The second hour arrives; he rises from the throne to inspect his treasure-chamber or stable.

[5] si venatione nuntiata procedit, arcum lateri innectere citra gravitatem

regiam iudicat; quem tamen, si comminus avem feramque aut venanti aut vianti fors obtulerit, manui post tergum reflexae puer inserit nervo lorove fluitantibus; quem sicut puerile computat gestare thecatum, ita muliebre accipere iam tensem. igitur acceptum modo sinuatis 1 e regione capitibus intendit, modo ad talum pendulum nodi parte conversa languentem chordae laqueum vagantis digito superlabente prosequitur; et mox spicula capit implet expellit; quidve cupias percuti prior admonet ut eligas 2; eligis quid feriat: quod elegeris ferit; et, si ab alterutro errandum est, rarius fallitur Agentis ictus quam destinantis obtutus.

[5] If the chase is the order of the day, he joins it, but never carries his bow at his side, considering this derogatory to royal state. When a bird or beast is marked for him, or happens to cross his path, he puts his hand behind his back and takes the bow from a page with the string all hanging loose; for as he deems it a boy's trick to bear it in a quiver, so he holds it effeminate to receive the weapon ready strung. When it is given him, he sometimes holds it in both hands and bends the extremities towards each other; at others he sets it, knot-end downward, against his lifted heel, and runs his finger up the slack and wavering string. After that, he takes his arrows, adjusts, and lets fly. He will ask you beforehand what you would like him to transfix; you choose, and he hits. If there is a miss through either's error, your vision will mostly be at fault, and not the archer's skill.

[6] si in convivium venit, quod quidem diebus profestis simile privato est, non ibi impolitam congeriem liventis argenti mensis cedentibus suspiriosus minister imponit; maximum tunc pondus in verbis est, quippe cum illic aut nulla narrentur aut seria, toreumatatum peripetasmatumque modo conchyliata profertur supellex, modo byssina, cibi arte, non pretio placent, fercula ni tore, non pondere, scyphorum paterarumque raras oblationes facilius est ut accuset sitis quam recuset ebrietas. quid multis? videas ibi elegantiam Graecam abundantiam Galli-canam celeritatem Italiam, publicam pompam privatam diligentiam regiam disciplinam, de luxu autem illo sabbatario narrationi meae supersedendum est, qui nec latentes potest latere personas.

[6] On ordinary days, his table resembles that of a private person. The board does not groan beneath a mass of dull and unpolished silver set on by panting servitors; the weight lies rather in the conversation than in the plate; there is either sensible talk or none. The hangings and draperies used on these occasions are sometimes of purple silk, sometimes only of linen; art, not costliness, commends the fare, as spotlessness rather than bulk the silver. Toasts are few, and you will oftener see a thirsty guest impatient, than a full one refusing cup or bowl. In short, you will find elegance of Greece, good cheer of Gaul, Italian nimbleness, the state of public banquets with the attentive service of a private table, and everywhere the discipline of a king's house. What need for me to describe the pomp of his feast days? No man is so

unknown as not to know of them. But to my theme again.

[7] ad coepta redeatur. dapibus expleto somnus meridianus saepe nullus, semper exiguus, quibus horis viro tabula cordi, tesseras colligit rapide, inspicit sollicite, volvit argute, mittit instanter, ioculanter compellat, patienter exspectat, in bonis iactibus tacet, in malis ridet, in neutris irascitur, in utrisque philosophatur. secundas fastidit vel timere vel facere, quarum opportunitates spernit oblatas, transit oppositas, sine motu evaditur, sine colludio evadit, putes illum et in calculis arma tractare: sola est illi cura vincendi.

[7] The siesta after dinner is always slight, and sometimes intermitted. When inclined for the board-game, he is quick to gather up the dice, examines them with care, shakes the box with expert hand, throws rapidly, humorously apostrophizes them, and patiently waits the issue. Silent at a good throw, he makes merry over a bad, annoyed by neither fortune, and always the philosopher. He is too proud to ask or to refuse a revenge; he disdains to avail himself of one if offered; and if it is opposed will quietly go on playing. You effect recovery of your men without obstruction on his side; he recovers his without collusion upon yours. You see the strategist when he moves the pieces; his one thought is victory.

[8] cum ludendum est, regiam sequestrat tantisper severitatem, hortatur ad ludum libertatem communionemque. dicam quod sentio: timet timeri, denique oblectatur commotione superati et tum demum credit sibi non cessisse collegam, cum fidem fecerit victoriae suae bilis athena. quodque mirare, saepe illa laetitia minimis occasionibus veniens ingentium negotiorum merita fortunat. tunc petitionibus diu ante per patrocinatorum naufragia iactatis absolutionis subitae portus aperitur; tunc etiam ego aliquid obsecraturus feliciter vincor, quando mihi ad hoc tabula perit, ut causa salvetur.

[8] Yet at play he puts off a little of his kingly rigour, inciting all to good fellowship and the freedom of the game: I think he is afraid of being feared. Vexation in the man whom he beats delights him; he will never believe that his opponents have not let him win unless their annoyance proves him really victor. You would be surprised how often the pleasure born of these little happenings may favour the march of great affairs. Petitions that some wrecked influence had left derelict come unexpectedly to port; I myself am gladly beaten by him when I have a favour to ask, since the loss of my game may mean the gaining of my cause.

[9] circa nonam recrudescit mos illa regnandi, redeunt pulsantes, redeunt summoventes; ubique litigiosus fremitus ambitus, qui tractus in vesperam cena regia interpellante rarefcit et per aulicos deinceps pro patronorum varietate dispergitur, usque ad tempus concubiae noctis excubaturus. sane intromittuntur, quamquam raro, inter cenandum mimici sales, ita ut nullus conviva mordacis linguae felle feriat; sic tamen quod illic nec organa

hydraulica sonant nec sub phonasco vocalium concentus meditatatum acroama simul intonat; nullus ibi lyristes choraules meso-chorus tympanistria psaltria canit, rege solum illis fidibus delenito, quibus non minus mulcet virtus animum quam cantus auditum.

[9] About the ninth hour, the burden of government begins again. Back come the importunates, back the ushers to remove them; on all sides buzz the voices of petitioners, a sound which lasts till evening, and does not diminish till interrupted by the royal repast; even then they only disperse to attend their various patrons among the courtiers, and are astir till bedtime. Sometimes, though this is rare, supper is enlivened by sallies of mimes, but no guest is ever exposed to the wound of a biting tongue. Withal there is no noise of hydraulic organ, or choir with its conductor intoning a set piece; you will hear no players of lyre or flute, no master of the music, no girls with cithara or tabor; the king cares for no strains but those which no less charm the mind with virtue than the ear with melody.

[10] cum surrexerit, inchoat nocturnas aulica gaza custodias; armati regiae domus aditibus assistunt, quibus horae primi soporis vigilabuntur. sed iam quid meas istud ad partes, qui tibi indicanda non multa de regno sed pauca de rege promisi? simul et stilo finem fieri decet, quia et tu cognoscere viri non amplius quam studia personamque voluisti et ego non historiam sed epistulam efficere curavi. vale.

[10] When he rises to withdraw, the treasury watch begins its vigil; armed sentries stand on guard during the first hours of slumber. But I am wandering from my subject. I never promised a whole chapter on the kingdom, but a few words about the king. I must stay my pen; you asked for nothing more than one or two facts about the person and the tastes of Theodoric; and my own aim was to write a letter, not a history. Farewell.

* Translated by Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, ii. 352. The king here described is Theodoric II, successor of Thorismund, predecessor of Euric.

Sidonius Philomathio suo salutem

III.

To his friend Filimathius A. D. 467

[1] I nunc et legibus me ambitus interrogatum senatu move, cur adipiscendae dignitati hereditariae curis pervigiliis incumbam; cui pater socer avus proavus praefecturis urbanis praetorianisque, magisteriis Palatinis militaribusque micuerunt.

[1] INDICT me now by the laws against intrigue, degrade me from the Senate for keeping patient eyes on the promotion to which, after all, birth gives me claim, since my own sire and my wife's, my grandsire and his sire too before him were urban and praetorian prefects, or held high rank in court and army.

[2] et ecce Gaudentius meus, hactenus tantum tribunicius, oscitantem nostrorum civium desidiam vicariano apice transcendit. mussitat quidem iuvenum nostrorum calcata generositas, sed qui transiit derogantes in hoc solum movetur, ut gaudeat, igitur venerantur hucusque contemptum ac subitae stupentes dona fortunae quem consessu despiciebant, sede suspiciunt. ille obiter stertentum oblatratorum aures rauci voce praeconis everberat, qui in eum licet stimulis inimicalibus excitentur, scamnis tamen amicalibus deputabuntur.

[2] If it comes to that, consider our friend Gaudentius, who but now of tribune's rank, towers in the dignity of the Vicariate above the unenterprising sloth of our good citizens. Of course our young nobles grumble at his passing over their heads; as for him, his one sentiment is satisfaction. And they now respect a man scorned till yesterday; amazed at such a sudden rise, they look up to one as magistrate on whom as neighbour they looked down. He for his part sets his crier to stun the ears of his drowsy detractors; though envy goads them to hostility they always find a friendly bench reserved for them in court.

[3] unde te etiam par fuerit privilegio consiliorum praefecturae, in quae participanda deposceris, antiquati honoris perneciter sarcire dispendium, ne, si extra praerogativam consiliarii in concilium veneris, solas vicariorum vices egisse videre, vale.

[3] You too had best make good the loss of your old office by the membership of the prefect's council now offered you; if you fail to do so, if you sit without the advantage which such a position confers, you will be set down as one only fit to represent a Vicarius. Farewell.

Sidonius Gaudentio suo salutem

IV.

To his friend Gaudentius A. D. 467

[1] Macte esto, vir amplissime, fascibus partis dote meritorum; quorum ut titulis apicibusque potiare non maternos redditus, non avitas largitiones, non uxorias gemmas, non paternas pecunias numeravisti, quia tibi e contrario apud principis domum inspecta sinceritas, spectata sedulitas, admissa sodalitas laudi fuere, o terque quaterque beatum te, de cuius culmine datur amicis laetitia, lividis poena, posteris gloria, tum praeterea vegetis et alacribus exemplum, desidibus et pigris incitamentum; et tamen, si qui sunt qui te, quocumque animo deinceps aemulabuntur, sibi forsitan, si te consequantur, debeant, tibi debebunt procul dubio quod sequuntur.

[1] CONGRATULATIONS, most honoured friend; the rods of office are yours by merit. To win your dignities you did not parade your mother's income, or the largess of your ancestors, your wife's jewels, or your paternal inheritance. In place of all this, it was your obvious sincerity, your proven zeal, your admitted social charm which won you favour in the imperial household. O thrice and four times happy man, whose rise means joy to friends, gall to enemies, and glory to your own posterity, to say nothing of the example given to the active and alert, and the spur applied to the listless and the slow. The man who tries to emulate you, be his spirit what it will, may haply owe the last success to his own exertions, but will certainly owe his start to your example.

[2] spectare mihi videor bonorum pace praefata illam in invidis ignaviam superbientem et illud militandi inertibus familiare fastidium, cum a desperatione crescendi inter bibendum philosophantes ferias inhonoratorum laudant, vitio desidiaie, non studio perfectionis . . . * * *

[2] I fancy I see among the envious, with all deference to better citizens be it said, the old miserable arrogance, the old scorn of service affected by men too slack to serve, men lost to all ambition, who crown their cups with sophistries about the charm of a free life out of office, their motive a base indolence, and not the love of the ideal which they pretend. . . .

[3] . . . appetitus, ne adhuc pueris usui foret, maiorum iudicio reiciebatur; sic adulescentum declamatiunculas pannis textilibus comparantes intellegebant eloquia iuvenum laboriosius brevia produci quam porrecta succidi, sed hinc quia istaec satis, quod subest, quaeso reminiscaris velle me tibi studii huiusce vicissitudinem reponderare, modo me actionibus iustis deus annuens et sospitem praestet et reducem, vale.

[3] [Such a] taste the wisdom of our fathers rejected, for fear that boys might take advantage of it; they likened school orations to a textile fabric, and perfectly understood that, in the case of youthful eloquence, it is harder to spin out the terse than cut the exuberant short. So much for this subject; for the rest, remember that if Providence approves my endeavours and brings me back safe and sound, I mean to repay your goodness with equal measure.

Sidonius Heronio1 suo salutem

V.

*To his friend Herenius * A. D. 467*

[1] Litteras tuas Romae positus accepi, quibus an secundum commune consilium sese peregrinationis meae coepta promoveant, sollicitus inquiris, viam etiam qualem qualiterque confecerim, quos aut fluvios viderim poetarum carminibus inlustres aut urbes moenium situ inclitas aut montes numinum opinione vulgatos aut campos proeliorum replicatione monstrabiles, quia voluptuosum censeas quae lectione compereris eorum qui inspexerint fideliores didicisse memoratu, quocirca gaudeo te quid agam cupere cognoscere; namque huiusmodi studium de adfectu interiore proficiscitur, ilicet, etsi secus quaequam, sub ope tamen dei ordiar a secundis, quibus primordii maiores nostri etiam sinisteritatum suarum relationes evolvere auspicabantur.

[1] YOUR letter finds me at Rome. You are solicitous to know whether the affairs which have brought me so far go forward as we hoped, what route I took, and how I fared on it, what rivers celebrated in song I saw, what towns famed for their fair sites, what mountains reputed as the haunt of gods, what glorious battlefields; for it is your delight to check the descriptions you have read by the more accurate relation of the eye-witness. I am rejoiced that you inquire about my doings, because I know that your interest springs from the heart. Well then, though little accidents there were, I will begin, under kind Providence, with things of good event; it was the wont of our ancestors, as you know, to develop even a tale of mishap from fortunate beginnings.

[2] egresso mihi Rhodanusiae nostrae moenibus publicus cursus usui fuit utpote sacris apicibus accito, et quidem per domicilia sodalium propinquorumque; ubi sane vianti moram non veredorum paucitas sed amicorum multitudo faciebat, quae mihi arto implicita complexu itum reditumque felicem certantibus votis conprecabatur. sic Alpium iugis appropinquatum; quarum mihi citus et facilis ascensus et inter utrimque terrentis latera praerupti cavatis in callem nivibus itinera mollita.

[2] As bearer of the imperial letter, I was able to avail myself of the public post on leaving our beloved Lyons +; my path lay amid the homes of kinsmen and acquaintances; and I lost less time from scarcity of horses than from multiplicity of friends, so closely did every one cling about me, shouting each against the other best wishes for a happy journey and safe return. In this way I drew near the Alps, which I ascended easily and without delay; formidable precipices rose on either side, but the snow was hollowed into a track, and the way thus smoothed before me.

[3] fluviorum quoque, si qui non navigabiles, vada commoda, vel certe pervii

pontes, quos antiquitas a fundamentis ad usque aggerem calcabili silice crustatum crypticis arcubus fornicavit. Ticini cursoriam (sic navigio nomen) escendi, qua in Eridanum brevi delatus cantatas saepe comissaliter nobis Phaethontidas et commenticias arborei metalli lacrimas risi.

[3] Such rivers, too, as could not be crossed in boats, had convenient fords or traversable bridges with covered arches, built by the art of old time from the foundations to the stoned road above. On the Ticino I boarded the packet known as the *cursoria*, which soon bore me to the Po; be sure I laughed over those convivial songs of ours about Phaethon's sisters and their unnatural tears of amber gum.

[4] ulvosum Lambrum caeruleum Adduam, velocem Athesim pigrum Mincium, qui Ligusticis Euganeisque montibus oriebantur, paulum per ostia adversa subvectus in suis etiam gurgitibus inspexi; quorum ripae torique passim quernis acernisque nemoribus vestiebantur. hic avium re-sonans dulce concentus, quibus nunc in concavis harundinibus, nunc quoque in iuncis pungentibus, nunc et in scirpis enodibus nidorum struis imposita nutabat; quae cuncta virgulta tumultuatim super amnicos margines soli bibuli suco fota fruticaverant.

[4] I passed the mouth of many a tributary from Ligurian or Euganean heights, sedgy Lambro, blue Adda, swift Adige, slow Mincio, borne upon their very eddies as I looked; their margins and high banks were clothed with groves of oak and maple. Everywhere sweetly resounded the harmony of birds, whose loose-piled nests swayed on the hollow canes, or amid the pointed rushes and smooth reed-grass luxuriantly flourishing in the moisture of this wet riverain soil.

[5] atque obiter Cremonam praevectus adveni, cuius est olim Tityro Mantuano largum suspirata proximitas. Brixillum dein oppidum, dum succedenti Aemiliano nautae decedit Venetus remex, tantum ut exiremus intravimus, Ravennam paulo post cursu dexteriore subeuntes; quo loci veterem civitatem novumque portum media via Caesaris ambigas utrum conectat an separet. insuper oppidum duplex pars interluit Padi, [certa]1 pars alluit; qui ab alveo principali molium publicarum discerptus obiectu et per easdem derivatis tramitibus exhaustus sic dividua fluentia partitur ut praebeant moenibus circumfusa praesidium, infusa commercium.

[5] The way led past Cremona, over whose proximity the Mantuan Tityrus so deeply sighed. We just touched at Brescello to take on Aemilian boatmen in place of our Venetian rowers, and, bearing to the right, soon reached Ravenna, where one would find it hard to say whether Caesar's road, passing between the two, separates or unites the old town and the new port. The Po divides above the city, part flowing through, part round the place. It is diverted from its main bed by the State dykes, and is thence led in diminished volume

through derivative channels, the two halves so disposed that one encompasses and moats the walls, the other penetrates them and brings them trade —

[6] hic cum peropportuna cuncta mercatui, tum praecipue quod esui competeret, deferebatur; nisi quod, cum sese hinc salsum portis pelagus impingeret, hinc cloacali pulte fossarum discursu linternum ventilata ipse lentati languidus lapsus umoris nauticis cuspidibus foraminato fundi glutino sordidaretur, in medio undarum sitiēbamus, quia nusquam vel aquaeductum liquor integer vel cisterna defaecabilis vel fons inriguus vel puteus inlimis.

[6] an admirable arrangement for commerce in general, and that of provisions in particular. But the drawback is that, with water all about us, we could not quench our thirst; there was neither pure-flowing aqueduct nor filterable cistern, nor trickling source, nor unclouded well. On the one side, the salt tides assail the gates; on the other, the movement of vessels stirs the filthy sediment in the canals, or the sluggish flow is fouled by the bargemen's poles, piercing the bottom slime.

[7] unde pro-gressis ad Rubiconem ventum, qui originem nomini de glarearum colore puniceo mutuabatur quique olim Gallis cisalpinis I talisque veteribus terminus erat, cum populis utrisque Hadriatici maris oppida divisui fuere, hinc Ariminum Fanumque perveni, illud Iuliana rebellione memorabile, hoc Hasdrubaliano funere infectum: siquidem illic Metaurus, cuius ita in longum felicitas uno die parta porrigitur, ac si etiam nunc Dalmatico salo cadavera sanguinolenta decoloratis gurgitibus inferret.

[7] From Ravenna we came to the Rubicon, which borrows its name from the red colour of its gravels, and formed the frontier between the old Italians and the Cisalpine Gauls, when the two peoples divided the Adriatic towns. Thence I journeyed to Rimini and Fano, the first famed for its association with Caesar's rebellion, the second tainted by the fate of Hasdrubal; for hard by flows Metaurus, more durably renowned through the fortune of a single day than if it had never ceased to run red to this hour, and roll down the dead on blood-stained waters to the Dalmatian Sea.

[8] hinc cetera Flaminiae oppida statim ut ingrediebar egressus laevo Picentes, dextro Vmbros latere transmissi; ubi mihi seu Calaber Atabulus seu pestilens regio Tuscorum spiritu aeris venenatis flatibus inebriato et modo calores alternante, modo frigora vaporatum corpus infecit, interea febris sitisque penitissimum cordis medullarumque secretum depopulabantur; quarum aviditati non solum amoena fontium aut abstrusa puteorum, quamquam haec quoque, sed tota illa vel vicina vel obvia fluentia, id est vitrea Velim* gelida Clitumni, Anienis caerulea Naris sulphurea, pura Fabaris turbida Tiberis, metu tamen desiderium fallente, pollicebamur.

[8] After this I just traversed the other towns of the Flaminian Way — in at one

gate, out at the other — leaving the Picenians on the left and the Umbrians on the right; and here my exhausted system succumbed either to Calabrian Atabulus or to air of the insalubrious Tuscan region, charged with poisonous exhalations, and blowing now hot, now cold. Fever and thirst ravaged the very marrow of my being; in vain I promised to their avidity draughts from pleasant fountain or hidden well, yes, and from every stream present or to come, water of Velino clear as glass, of Clitunno ice-cold, cerulean of Teverone, sulphureous of Nera, pellucid of Farfa, muddy of Tiber; I was mad to drink, but prudence stayed the craving.

[9] *inter haec patuit et Roma conspectui; cuius mihi non solum formas verum etiam naumachias videbar epotaturus. ubi priusquam vel pomoeria contingerem, triumphalibus apostolorum liminibus adfusus omnem protinus sensi membris male fortibus explosum esse languorem; post quae caelestis experimenta patrocinii conducti devorsorii parte susceptus atque etiam nunc istaec inter iacendum scriptitans quieti pauxillulum operam impendo.*

[9] Meanwhile, Rome herself spread wide before my view, but I felt like draining down her aqueducts, or even the water of her naval spectacles. Before I reached the city limits I fell prostrate at the triumphal threshold of the Apostles, and in a flash I felt the languor vanish from my enfeebled limbs. After which proof of celestial protection, I alighted at the inn of which I have engaged a part, and there I am trying to get a little rest, writing as I lie upon my couch.

[10] *neque adhuc principis aulicorumque tumultuosis foribus obversor. interveni etenim nuptiis patricii Ricimeris, cui filia perennis Augusti in spem publicae securitatis copulabatur. igitur nunc in ista non modo personarum sed etiam ordinum partiumque laetitia Transalpino tuo latere conducibilis visum, quippe cum hoc ipso tempore, quo haec mihi exarabantur, vix per omnia theatra macella, praetoria fora, templa gymnasia Thalassio Fescenninus explicaretur, atque etiam nunc e contrario studia sileant negotia quiescant iudicia conticescant, differantur legationes vacet ambitus et inter scurrilidades histrionicas totus actionum seriarum status peregrinetur.*

[10] As yet I have not presented myself at the bustling gates of Emperor or Court official. For my arrival coincided with the marriage of the patrician Ricimer, to whom the hand of the Emperor's daughter was being accorded in the hope of securer times for the State. Not individuals alone, but whole classes and parties are given up to rejoicing; you have the best of it on your side of the Alps. While I was writing these lines, scarce a theatre, provision-market, praetorium, forum, temple, or gymnasium but echoed to the passage of the cry *Thalassio!* and even at this hour the schools are closed, no business is doing, the Courts are voiceless, missions are postponed; there is a truce to intrigue, and all the serious business of life seems merged in the buffooneries of the stage.

[11] iam quidem virgo tradita est, iam coronam sponsus, iam palmatam consularis, iam cycladem pronuba, iam togam [senator]¹ honoratus, iam paenulam deponit inglorius, et nondum tamen cuncta thalamorum pompa defremuit, quia necdum ad mariti domum nova nupta migravit, qua festivitate decursa cetera tibi laborum meorum molimina reserabuntur, si tamen vel consummata sollemnitas aliquando terminaverit istam totius civitatis occupatissimam vacationem, vale.

[11] Though the bride has been given away, though the bridegroom has put off his wreath, the consular his palm-broidered robe, the brideswoman her wedding gown, the distinguished senator his toga, and the plain man his cloak, yet the noise of the great gathering has not died away in the palace chambers, because the bride still delays to start for her husband's house. When this merrymaking has run out its course, you shall hear what remains to tell of my proceedings, if indeed these crowded hours of idleness to which the whole State seems now surrendered are ever to end, even when the festivities are over. Farewell.

* Paraphrased by Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, ii. 454; For the occasion of Sidonius' visit to Rome, see Introduction, p. xxvii.

+ *Rhodanusiae nostrae*.

Sidonius Eutropio suo salutem

VI.

To his friend Eutropius A. D. 467*

[1] Olim quidem scribere tibi concupiscebam, sed nunc vel maxime impellor, id est cum mihi ducens in urbem Christo propitiante via carpitur, scribendi causa vel sola vel maxima, quo te scilicet a profundo domesticae quietis extractum ad capessenda militiae Palatinae munia vocem. . . .

[1] I HAVE long wished to write, but feel the impulse more than ever now, when by the Christ's preventing grace, I am actually on the way to Rome. My sole motive, or at least my chief one, is to drag you from the slough of your domestic ease by an appeal to you to enter the imperial service. . . .

[2] his additur quod munere dei tibi congruit aevi corporis animi vigor integer; dein quod equis, armis, veste sumptu famulicio instructus solum, nisi fallimur, incipere formidas et, cum sis alacer domi, in aggredienda peregrinatione trepidum te iners desperatio facit; si tamen senatorii seminis homo, qui cotidie trabeatis proavorum imaginibus ingeritur, iuste dicere potest semet peregrinatum, si semel et in iuventa viderit domicilium legum, gymnasium litterarum, curiam dignitatum, verticem mundi, patriam libertatis, in qua unica totius orbis civitate soli barbari et servi peregrinantur.

[2] Moreover, by the goodness of God, your age, your health of body and mind concur to fit you for the task; you have horses, arms, wardrobe, establishment, slaves in plenty; the one thing lacking, unless I greatly err, is the courage to begin. In your own home you are energetic enough; it is only at the idea of exile from it that a dull despondency intimidates you. How can it fairly be described as exile, for one with blood of senators in his veins and with the effigies of ancestors in the trabea daily forced upon his sight, to visit Rome once in his prime — Rome the abode of law, the training-school of letters, the fount of honours, the head of the world, the motherland of freedom, the city unique upon earth, where none but the barbarian and the slave is foreign?

[3] et nunc, pro pudor, si relinquere inter busequas rusticanos subulcosque ronchantes! quippe si et campum stiva tremante proscindas aut prati floreas opes panda curvus falce populeris aut vineam palmite gravem cernuus rastris fossor in-vertas, tunc tibi est summa votorum beatitudo. quin potius expergiscere et ad maiora se pingui otio marcidus et enervis animus attollat. non minus est tuorum natalium viro personam suam ex-colere quam villam.

[3] Shame on you now if you bury yourself among cow-keeping rustics, or grunting swineherds, as if it were the height of your felicity to feel the plough-handle tremble above the cleft furrow, or, bowed over your scythe, to spoil the

meadow of its flowery wealth, or hoe the luxuriant vines with a face bent earthwards. Have done! awake! sleek ease has unstrung the sinews of your mind; raise it to higher things. Is it a less duty in a man of your descent to cultivate himself than his estate?

[4] *ad extremum, quod tu tibi iuventutis exercitium appellas, hoc est otium veteranorum, in quorum manibus effetis enses robiginosi sero ligone mutantur, esto, multiplicatis tibi spumabunt musta vinetis, innumeros quoque cumulos frugibus rupta congestis horrea dabunt, densum pecus gravidis uberibus in mulctram per antra olida caulorum pinguis tibi pastor includet: quo spectat tam faeculento patrimonium promovisse compendio et non solum inter ista sed, quod est turpius, propter ista latuisse? non nequiter te concilii tempore post sedentes censentesque iuvenes inglorium rusticum, senem stantem latitabundum pauperis honorati sententia premat, cum eos quos esset indignum si vestigia nostra sequerentur videris dolens antecessisse?*

[4] In fine, what you are pleased to call a young man's exercise is really a relaxation only fit for broken soldiers, when their feeble hands exchange rusty sword for belated mattock. Suppose you achieve your end; suppose that vineyard upon vineyard foams with purple juice, while piled granaries collapse under endless mounds of grain; suppose plump neatherds drive the crowding cows with their swollen udders into the reeking yards to milk: what then? What use will it be to have enlarged your patrimony by sordid gains like these, to have lived recluse not only among such things, but, O deeper shame! for such things' sake? You will have only yourself to thank if one day you stand, you a nobleman born, obscure in your white hairs behind your juniors seated in debate, if you smart under the speech of some poor man risen to honour by office, and with anguish see yourself distanced by those in whom it would once have been presumption to follow in our train.

[5] *sed quid plura? si pateris hortantem, conatum tuorum socius adiutor, praevis particeps ero, sin autem inlecebrosis deliciarum cassibus involutus mavis, ut aiunt, Epicuri dogmatibus copulari, qui iactura virtutis admissa summum bonum sola corporis voluptate determinat, testor ecce maiores, testor posteros nostros huic me noxae non esse confinem. vale.*

[5] But why say more? 'Take my appeal as it is meant, and you shall find me at your side ready to anticipate and share your every effort. But if you let yourself be caught in the insidious nets of pleasure; if you choose to yoke yourself, as the saying is, with the tenets of Epicurus, who frankly sacrifices virtue, and defines the chief good as physical delight, then, be our posterity my witness, I wash my hands of the disgrace. Farewell.

* Partly translated by Chaix; p. 264. For the effect of the letter on Eutropius, see III. vi.

Sidonius Vincentio suo salutem

VII.

To his friend Vincentius A. D. 468

[1] Angit me casus Arvandi nec dissimulo quin angat. namque hic quoque cumulus accedit laudibus imperatoris, quod amari palam licet et capite damnatos, amicus homini fui supra quam morum eius facilitas varietasque patiebantur, testatur hoc propter ipsum nuper mihi invidia conflata, cuius me paulo incautiorem flamma detorruit.

[1] THE case of Arvandus distresses me, nor do I conceal my distress, for it is our emperor's crowning praise that a condemned prisoner may have friends who need not hide their friendship. I was more intimate with this man than it was safe to be with one so light and so unstable, witness the odium lately kindled against me on his account, the flame of which has scorched me for this lapse from prudence.

[2] sed quod in amicitia steti, mihi debui, porro autem in natura ille non habuit diligentiam perseverandi: libere queror, non insultatorie, quia fidelium consilia despiciens fortunae ludibrium per omnia fuit. denique non eum aliquando cecidisse sed tam diu stetisse plus miror, o quotiens saepe ipse se adversa perpressum gloriabatur, cum tamen nos ab adfectu profundiore ruituram eius quandoque temeritatem miseraremur, definientes non esse felicem qui hoc frequenter potius esse quam semper iudicaretur!

[2] But since I had given my friendship, honour bound me fast, though he on his side has no steadfastness at all; I say this because it is the truth and not to strike him when he is down. For he despised friendly advice and made himself throughout the sport of fortune; the marvel to me is, not that he fell at last, but that he ever stood so long. How often he would boast of weathering adversity, when we, with a less superficial sense of things, deplored the sure disaster of his rashness, unable to call happy any man who only sometimes and not always deserves the name.

[3] sed damnationis 1 suae ordinem exposcis. salva fidei reverentia, quae amico debetur etiam afflicto, rem breviter exponam, praefecturam primam gubernavit cum magna popularitate consequentemque cum maxima populatione, pariter onere depressus aeris alieni metu creditorum successuros sibi optimates aemulabatur. omnium colloquia ridere, consilia mirari, officia contemnere, pati de occurrentum raritate suspicionem, de adsiduitate fastidium, donec, odii publici mole vallatus et prius cinctus custodia quam potestate discinctus, captus destinatusque pervenit Romam, ilico tumens, quod prospero cursu procellosum Tusciae litus enavigasset, tamquam sibi bene conscio ipsa quodammodo elementa famularentur.

[3] But now for your question as to his government; I will tell you in few words, and with all the loyalty due to a friend however far brought low. During his first term as prefect his rule was very popular; the second was disastrous. Crushed by debt, and living in dread of creditors, he was jealous of the nobles from among whom his successor must needs be chosen. He would make fun of all his visitors, profess astonishment at advice, and spurn good offices; if people called on him too rarely, he showed suspicion; if too regularly, contempt. At last the general hate encompassed him like a rampart; before he was well divested of his authority, he was invested with guards, and a prisoner bound for Rome. Hardly had he set foot in the city when he was all exultation over his fair passage along the stormy Tuscan coast, as if convinced that the very elements were somehow at his bidding.

[4] in Capitolio custodiebatur ab hospite Flavio Asello, comite sacrarum largitionum, qui adhuc in eo semifumantem praefecturae nuper extortae dignitatem venerabatur. interea legati provinciae Galliae, Tonantius Ferreolus praefectorius, Afranii Syagrii consulis e filia nepos, Thaumastus quoque et Petronius, maxima rerum verborumque scientia praediti et inter principalia patriae nostrae decora ponendi, praevium Arvandum publico nomine accusaturi cum gestis decretalibus insequuntur.

[4] At the Capitol, the Count of the Imperial Largess, his friend Flavius Asellus, acted as his host and jailer, showing him deference for his prefectship, which seemed, as it were, yet warm, so newly was it stripped from him. Meanwhile, the three envoys from Gaul arrived upon his heels with the provincial decrees empowering them to impeach in the public name. They were Tonantius Ferreolus, the ex-prefect, and grandson, on the mother's side, of the Consul Afranius Syagrius, Thaumastus, and Petronius, all men practised in affairs and eloquent, all conspicuous ornaments of our country.

[5] qui inter cetera quae sibi provinciales agenda mandaverant interceptas litteras deferebant, quas Arvandi scriba correptus dominum dictasse profitebatur. haec ad regem Gothorum charta videbatur emitti, pacem cum Graeco imperatore dissuadens, Britannos supra Ligerim sitos impugnari oportere demonstrans, cum Burgundionibus iure gentium Gallias dividi debere confirmans, et in hunc ferme modum plurima insana, quae iram regi feroci, placido verecundiam inferrent. hanc epistulam laesae maiestatis crimine ardere iurisconsulti interpretabantur.

[5] They brought, with other matters entrusted to them by the province, an intercepted letter, which Arvandus' secretary, now also under arrest, declared to have been dictated by his master. It was evidently addressed to the King of the Goths,* whom it dissuaded from concluding peace with 'the Greek Emperor', + urging that instead he should attack the Bretons north of the Loire, and asserting that the law of nations called for a division of Gaul between Visigoth and Burgundian. There was more in the same mad vein,

calculated to inflame a choleric king, or shame a quiet one into action. Of course the lawyers found here a flagrant case of treason.

[6] me et Auxanium, praestantissimum virum, tractatus iste non latuit, qui Arvandi amicitias quoquo genere incursas inter ipsius adversa vitare perfidum barbarum ignavum computabamus. de-ferimus igitur nil tale metuenti totam perneciter 1 machinam, quam summo artificio acres et flammei viri occulere in tempus iudicii meditabantur, scilicet ut adversarium incautum et consiliis sodalium repudiatis soli sibi temere fidentem professione responsi praecipitis involverent. dicimus ergo quid nobis, quid amicis secretioribus tutum putaretur; suademus nil quasi leve fatendum, si quid ab inimicis etiam pro levissimo flagitaretur: ipsam illam dissimulationem tribulosissimam fore, quo facilius exitiosam suscitant illi persuasionem securitatis. 1

[6] These tactics did not escape the excellent Auxanius and myself; in whatever way we might have incurred the impeached man's friendship, we both felt that to evade the consequences at this crisis of his fate would be to brand us as traitors, barbarians, and poltroons. We at once exposed to the unsuspecting victim the whole scheme which a prosecution, no less astute than alert and ardent, intended to keep dark until the trial; their scheme was to noose in some unguarded reply an adversary rash enough to repudiate the advice of all his friends and rely wholly on his own unaided wits. We told him what to us and to more secret friends seemed the one safe course; we begged him not to give the slightest point away which they might try to extract from him on pretence of its insignificance; their dissimulation would be ruinous to him if it drew incautious admissions in answer to their questions.

[7] quibus agnitis proripit sese atque in convicia subita prorumpens: ' abite degeneres.' inquit, ' et praefectoriis patribus indigni, cum hac superforanea trepidatione; mihi, quia nihil intellegitis, hanc negotii partem sinite curandam; satis Arvando conscientia sua sufficit; vix illud dignabor admittere, ut advocati mihi in actionibus repetundarum patrocinentur.' discedimus tristes et non magis iniuria quam maerore confusi; quis enim medicorum iure moveatur quotiens desperatum furor arripiat?

[7] When he grasped our point, he was beside himself; he suddenly broke out into abuse, and cried: 'Begone, you and your nonsensical fears, degenerate sons of prefectorian fathers; leave this part of the affair to me; it is beyond an intelligence like yours. Arvandus trusts in a clear conscience; the employment of advocates to defend him on the charge of bribery shall be his one concession.' We came away in low spirits, disturbed less by the insult to ourselves than by a real concern; what right has the doctor to take offence when a man past cure gives way to passion?

[8] inter haec reus noster aream Capitolinam percurrere albus; modo subdolis salutationibus pasci, modo crepantes adulationum bullas ut recognoscens

libenter audire, modo serica et gemmas et pretiosa quaeque trapezitarum involucra rimari et quasi mercaturus inspicere prensare, depretiari 2 devolvere, et inter agendum multum de legibus, de temporibus, de senatu, de principe queri, quod se non prius quam discuterent ulciscerentur.

[8] Meanwhile, our defendant goes off to parade the Capitol square, and in white raiment too; he finds sustenance in the sly greetings which he receives; he listens with a gratified air as the bubbles of flattery burst about him. He casts curious eyes on the gems and silks and precious fabrics of the dealers, inspects, picks up, unrolls, beats down the prices as if he were a likely purchaser, moaning and groaning the whole time over the laws, the age, the senate, the emperor, and all because they would not right him then and there without investigation.

[9] pauci medii dies, et in tractatorio frequens senatus (sic post comperi; nam inter ista discesseram). procedit noster ad curiam paulo ante detonsus pumicatusque, cum accusatores semipullati atque concreti nuntios a decemviris opperirentur et ab industria squalidi praeeripuissent reo debitam miserationem sub invidia sordidatorum. citati intromittuntur: partes, ut moris est, e regione consistunt, offertur praefectorum ante propositionis exordium ius sedendi: Arvandus iam tunc infelici impudentia concito gradu mediis prope iudicum sinibus ingeritur; Ferreolus circumstantibus latera collegis verecunde ac leviter in imo subselliorum capite consedit, ita ut non minus legatum se quam senatorem reminisceretur, plus ob hoc postea laudatus honoratusque.

[9] A few days passed, and, as I learned afterwards (I had left Rome in the interim), there was a full house in the senate-hall. Arvandus proceeded thither freshly groomed and barbered, while the accusers waited the decemvirs' summons unkempt and in half-mourning, snatching from him thus the defendant's usual right, and securing the advantage of suggestion which the suppliant garb confers. The parties were admitted and, as the custom is, took up positions opposite each other. Before the proceedings began, all of prefectorian rank were allowed to sit; instantly Arvandus, with that unhappy impudence of his, rushed forward and forced himself almost into the very bosoms of the judges, while the ex-prefect* gained subsequent credit and respect by placing himself quietly and modestly amidst his colleagues at the lowest end of the benches, to show that his quality of envoy was his first thought, and not his rank as senator.

[10] dum haec, et qui procerum defuerant adfuerunt: consurgunt partes legatique proponunt. epistula post provinciale mandatum, cuius supra mentio facta, profertur; atque, cum sensim recitaretur, Arvandus necdum interrogatus se dictasse proclamat, re- spondere legati, quamquam valde nequiter, constaret quod ipse dictasset. at ubi se furens ille quantumque caderet ignarus bis terque repetita confessione transfodit, acclamatur ab accusatoribus,

conclamatur a iudicibus reum laesae maiestatis confitentem teneri, ad hoc et milibus formularum iuris id sancientum iugulabatur.

[10] While this was going on, absent members of the house came in; the parties stood up and the envoys set forth their charge. They first produced their mandate from the province, then the already-mentioned letter; this was being read sentence by sentence, when Arvandus admitted the authorship without even waiting to be asked. The envoys rejoined, rather cruelly, that the fact of his dictation was obvious. And when the madman, blind to the depth of his fall, dealt himself a deadly blow by repeating the avowal not once, but twice, the accusers raised a shout, and the judges cried as one man that he stood convicted of treason out of his own mouth. Scores of legal precedents were on record to achieve his ruin.

[11] tum demum laboriosus tarda paenitudine loquacitatis impalluisse perhibetur, sero cognoscens posse reum maiestatis pronuntiari etiam eum qui non adfectasset habitum purpuratorum. confestim privilegiis geminae praefecturae, quam per quinquennium repetitis fascibus rexerat, exauguratus et, plebeiae familiae non ut additus sed ut redditus, publico carceri adiudicatus est. illud sane aerumnosissimum, sicuti narravere qui viderant, quod, quia se sub atratis accusatoribus exornatum ille politumque iudicibus intulerat, paulo post, cum duceretur addictus, miser nec miserabilis erat. quis enim super statu eius nimis inflecteretur, quem videret accuratum delibutumque lautumiis aut ergastulo inferri?

[11] Only at this point, and then not at once, is the wretched man said to have turned white in tardy repentance of his loquacity, recognizing all too late that it is possible to be convicted of high treason for other offences than aspiring to the purple. He was stripped on the spot of all the privileges pertaining to his prefecture, an office which by re-election he had held five years, and consigned to the common jail as one not now first degraded to plebeian rank, but restored to it as his own. Eye-witnesses report, as the most pathetic feature of all, that as a result of his intrusion upon his judges in all that bravery and smartness while his accusers dressed in black, his pitiable plight won him no pity when he was led off to prison a little later. How, indeed, could any one be much moved at his fate, seeing him haled to the quarries or hard labour still all trimmed and pomaded like a fop?

[12] sed et iudicio vix per hebdomadam duplicem comperendinato capite multatus in insulam coniectus est serpentis Epidauri, ubi usque ad inimicorum dolorem devenustatus et a rebus humanis veluti vomitu fortunae nauseantis exsputus nunc ex vetere senatus consulto Tiberiano triginta dierum vitam post sententiam trahit, uncum et Gemonias et laqueum per horas turbulenti carnificis horrescens.

[12] Judgement was deferred a bare fortnight. He was then condemned to death,

and flung into the island of the Serpent of Epidaurus. There, an object of compassion even to his enemies, his elegance gone, spewed, as it were, by Fortune out of the land of the living, he now drags out by benefit of Tiberius' law his respite of thirty days after sentence, shuddering through the long hours at the thought of hook and Gemonian stairs, and the noose of the brutal executioner.

[13] nos quidem, prout valemus, absentes praesentesque vota facimus, preces supplicationesque geminamus, ut suspenso ictu iam iamque mucronis exserti pietas Augusta seminecem quamquam publicatis bonis vel exsilio numeretur, illo tamen, seu exspectat extrema quaeque seu sustinet, infelicius nihil est, si post tot notas inustas contumeliasque aliquid nunc amplius quam vivere timet, vale.

[13] We, of course, whether in Rome or out of it, are doing all we can; we make daily vows, we redouble prayers and supplications that the imperial clemency may suspend the stroke of the drawn sword, and rather visit a man already half dead with confiscation of property, and exile. But whether Arvandus has only to expect the worst, or must actually undergo it, he is surely the most miserable soul alive if, branded with such marks of shame, he has any other desire than to die. Farewell.

* Euric.

+ Anthemius.

* Tonantius Ferreolus.

Sidonius Candidiano suo salutem

VIII.

To his friend Candidianus A. D. 468*

[1] Morari me Romae congratularis; id tamen quasi facete et fatigationum salibus admixtis: ais enim gaudere te quod aliquando necessarius tuus videam solem, quem utique perraro bibitor Araricus inspexerim. nebulas enim mihi meorum Lugdunensium exprobras et diem quereris nobis matutina caligine obstructum vix meridiano fervore reserari.

[1] You congratulate me on my prolonged stay at Rome, though I note the touch of irony, and your wit at my expense. You say you are glad your old friend has at last seen the sun, since on the Saône his chances of a good look at it are few and far between. You abuse my misty Lyons, and deplore the days so cloaked by morning fog that the full heat of noon can scarcely unveil them.

[2] et tu istaec mihi Caesenatis fumi potius quam oppidi verna deblateras? de cuius natalis tibi soli vel iucunditate vel commodo quid etiam ipse sentires, dum migras iudicavisti; 1 ita tamen quod te Ravennae felicius exsultantem auribus Padano culice perfossis municipalium ranarum loquax turba circumscilicet. in qua palude indesinenter rerum omnium lege perversa muri cadunt aquae stant, turres fluunt naves sedent, aegri deambulant medici iacent, algent balnea domicilia conflagrant, sitiunt vivi natant sepulti, vigilant fures dormiunt potestates, faenerantur clerici Syri psallunt, negotiatores militant milites 1 negotiantur, student pilae senes aleae iuvenes, armis eunuchi litteris foederati.

[2] Now does this nonsense fitly come from a native of that oven of a town Cesena? You have shown your real opinion of your charming and convenient natal soil by leaving it. The midges of Po may pierce your ears; the city frogs may croak and swarm on every side, but you know very well that you are better off in exile at Ravenna than at home. In that marsh of yours the laws of everything are always the wrong way about; the waters stand and the walls fall, the towers float and the ships stick fast, the sick man walks and the doctor lies abed, the baths are chill and the houses blaze, the dead swim and the quick are dry, the powers are asleep and the thieves wide awake, the clergy live by usury and the Syrian chants the Psalms, business men turn soldiers and soldiers business men, old fellows play ball and young fellows hazard, eunuchs take to arms and rough allies to letters.

[3] tu vide qualis sit civitas ubi tibi lar familiaris incolitur, quae facilius territorium potuit habere quam terram, quocirca memento innoxiiis Transalpinis esse parcendum, quibus caeli sui dote contentis non grandis

gloria datur si deteriorum collatione clarescant. vale.

[3] And that is the kind of city you choose to settle in, a place that may boast a territory but little solid ground. Be kinder, therefore, to Transalpines who never provoked you; their climate wins too cheap a triumph if it shines only by comparison with such as yours. Farewell.

* Partly translated by Hodgkin, i. 860, and by Chaix, i. 273. Cf. Letter V.

Sidonius Heronio 2 suo salutem

IX.

To his friend Herenius A. D. 468

[1] Post nuptias patricii Ricimeris, id est post imperii utriusque opes eventilatas, tandem reditum est in publicam serietatem, quae rebus actitandis ianuam campumque patefecit, interea nos Pauli praefectorii tam doctrina quam sanctitate venerandis laribus excepti comiter blandae hospitalitatis officiis excolebamur. porro non isto quisquam viro est in omni artium genere praestantior, deus bone, quae ille propositionibus aenigmata, sententiis schemata, versibus commata, digitis mechanemata facit! illud tamen in eodem studiorum omnium culmen antevenit, quod habet huic eminenti scientiae conscientiam superiorem, igitur per hunc primum, si quis quoquo modo in aulam gratiae aditus, exploro; cum hoc confero, quinam potissimum procerum spebus valeret nostris opitulari.

[1] THE patrician Ricimer well married, and the wealth of both empires blown to the winds in the process, the community has at last resumed its sober senses and opened door and field again to business. Even before this happened I had already been made welcome to the home of the prefectorian Paul, and enjoyed the friendliest and most hospitable treatment in a house no less respectable for piety than learning. I do not know the man more eminent in every kind of accomplishment than my host. I am amazed when I think of the subtleties which he propounds, the figures of rhetoric adorning his judgements, the polish of his verses, the wonders which his fingers can perform. And over and above this encyclopaedic knowledge, he has a still better possession, a conscience superior even to all this science. Naturally, my first inquiries as to possible avenues to court-favour were addressed to him; with him I discuss the likeliest patrons for the advancement of our hopes.

[2] nec sane multa cunctatio, quia pauci de quorum eligendo patrocinio dubitaretur. erant quidem in senatu plerique opibus culti genere sublimes, aetate graves consilio utiles, dignitate elati dignatione communes, sed servata pace reliquorum duo fastigatissimi consulares, Gennadius Avienus et Caecina Basilius, prae ceteris conspiciebantur. hi in amplissimo ordine seposita praerogativa partis armatae facile post purpuratum principem principes erant, sed inter hos quoque quamquam stupendi tamen varii mores et genii potius quam ingenii similitudo. fabor namque super his aliqua succinctus.

[2] There is, however, little need to hesitate; the number of those whose influence merits our consideration is so small. There are, indeed, many senators of wealth and birth, ripe in experience, helpful in counsel, all of the highest rank, and equal in real consideration. But without disparagement to

others, we found two consulars, Gennadius Avienus and Caecina Basilius, in enjoyment of a peculiar eminence, and conspicuous above the rest; if you leave out of the account the great military officers, these two members of the exalted order easily come next to the emperor himself. We found them both deserving of the highest admiration; but their characters were very different; what resemblance there was rested rather on inborn than acquired qualities. Let me give you a short description of the pair.

[3] Avienus ad consulatum felicitate, Basilius virtute pervenerat, itaque dignitatum in Avieno iucunda velocitas, in Basilio sera numerositas praedicabatur. utrumque quidem, si fors laribus egrediebantur, artabat clientum praevia pedisequa circumfusa populositas; sed longe in paribus dispaes sodalium spes et spiritus erant. Avienus, si quid poterat, in filiis generis fratribus provehendis moliebatur; cumque semper domesticis candidatis distringeretur, erga expediendas forinsecus ambientum necessitates minus valenter efficax erat.

[3] Avienus reached the consulate by luck, Basilius by merit. It was observed that the former attained his dignities with enviable rapidity, but that although the latter was slower, he won the greater number of distinctions in the end. If either chanced to leave his house, a whole populace of clients was afoot to escort him, and pressed about him like a human tide. But though the two were in so far on a level, the spirits and expectations of their friends were very far from equal. Avienus would do all that in him lay for the advancement of his sons, or sons-in-law, or brothers, but was so absorbed in family candidates that his energy in the interest of outside aspirants was proportionately impaired.

[4] et in hoc Corvinorum familiae Deciana praeferebatur, quod qualia impetrabat cinctus Avienus suis, talia conferebat Basilius discinctus alienis. Avieni animus totis et cito, sed infructuosius, Basilius paucis et sero, sed commodius aperiebatur. neuter aditu difficili, neuter sumptuoso; sed si utrumque coluisses, facilius ab Avieno familiaritatem, facilius a Basilio beneficium consequere.

[4] There was a further reason for preferring the Decian to the Corvinian family. What Avienus could only obtain for his own connexions while in office, Basilius obtained for strangers while he was in a private station. Avienus opened his mind freely, and at once, but little came of it; Basilius rarely and not for some time, but to the petitioner's advantage. Neither of the two was inaccessible or costly of approach; but in the one case cultivation reaped mere affability, in the other, solid gain.

[5] quibus diu utrumque librat is tractatus mutuus temperavit, ut reservata senioris consularis reverentia, in domum cuius nec nimis raro ventitabamus, Basilianis potius frequentatoribus applicaremur. ilicet, dum per hunc

amplissimum virum aliquid de legationis Arvernae petitionibus elaboramus, ecce et Kalendae Ianuariae, quae Augusti consulis mox futuri repetendum fastis nomen opperiebantur.

[5] After long balancing of alternatives, we finally compromised in this sense; we would preserve all due respect for the older consular, whose house we were duly frequenting, but devote our real attention to the habitué's of Basilius' house. Now while, with the assistance of this right honourable friend, I was considering how best to advance the matter of our Arvernian petition, the Kalends of January came round, on which day the emperor's name was to be enrolled in the Fasti as consul for a second year.

[6] tunc patronus: 'heia,' inquit, 'Solii meus, quamquam suscepti officii onere pressaris, exseras volo in obsequium novi consulis veterem Musam votivum quippiam vel tumultuariis fidibus carminantem. praebebo admittendo aditum recitaturoque solacium recitantique suffragium, si quid experto credis, multa tibi seria hoc ludo pro-movebuntur.' parui ego praeceptis, favorem ille non subtraxit iniunctis et impositae devotionis adstipulator invictus egit cum consule meo, ut me praefectum faceret senatui suo.

[6] 'The very thing,' cried my patron. 'My dear Sollius, I well know that you are engaged in an exacting duty, but I do wish you would bring out your Muse again in honour of the new consul; let her sing something appropriate to the occasion, in whatever haste composed. I will obtain you an audience, be there to encourage you before you begin to recite, and guarantee you a good reception when you have done. I have some experience in these matters; trust me when I say that serious advantage may accrue from this little scheme.' I took the hint; he did not withdraw from the suggested plan, but gave me the support of an invincible ally in the act of homage imposed upon me, and managed so to influence my new consul, that I was incontinently named president of his senate.

[7] sed tu, ni fallor, epistulae perosus prolixitatem voluptuosius nunc opusculi ipsius relegendis versibus inmorabere. scio, atque ob hoc carmen ipsum loquax in consequentibus charta deportat, quae pro me interim, dum venio, diebus tibi pauculis sermocinetur. cui si exanimis tui quoque puncta tribuantur, aequè gratum mihi ac si me in comitio vel inter rostra contionante ad sophos meum non modo lati clavi sed tribulium quoque fragor concitaretur. sane moneo praeque de-nuntio quisquiliis ipsas 1 dius tuae hexametris minime exaeques. merito enim conlata vestris mea carmina non heroicorum phaleris sed epitaphistarum neniis comparabuntur.

[7] But I expect you are tired to death of this prolix letter, and would much rather peruse my little work itself at your leisure. Indeed, I am sure you would, so the eloquent pages bear you the verses herewith, and must do duty for me until I come to speak for myself a few days hence. If my lines win the

suffrage of your critical judgement, I shall be just as delighted as if a speech of mine in the assembly or from the rostra called forth the 'bravos' not of senators alone but of all the citizens. I warn you, nay, I insist with you, not to think of setting this slight piece of mine on the same plane as the hexameters of your own Muse, for by the side of yours my lines will suggest the triviality of epitaph-mongers rather than the grandeur of heroic verse.

[8] attamen gaude quod hic ipse panegyricus etsi non iudicium certe eventum boni operis accepit, quapropter, si tamen tetrica sunt amoenanda iocularibus, volo paginam glorioso, id est quasi Thrasoniano fine concludere Plautini Pyrgopolinici imitator. igitur cum ad praefecturam sub ope Christi stili occasione pervenerim, iuberis scilicet 2 pro potestate cinctuti undique omnium laudum convasatis acclamationibus ad astra portare, si placeo, eloquentiam, si displiceo, felicitatem. videre mihi videor ut rideas, quia perspicis nostram cum milite comico ferocisse iactantiam, vale.

[8] Rejoice, all the same, with the panegyrist; he cannot claim the credit of a fine performance, but at least he has the reward of one. And so, if gay may enliven grave, I will imitate the Pyrgopolinices of Plautus, and conclude in a robustious and Thrasonical vein. And since, by Christ's aid, I have got the prefecture by a lucky pen, I bid you treat me as my new state demands; pile up all conceivable felicitations and exalt to the stars my eloquence or my luck, according as I please, or fail to please, your judgement. I can imagine your smile when you see your friend carrying it off in this style with the braggart airs of the old stage-soldier. Farewell.

Sidonius Campaniano suo salutem

X.

To his friend Campanianus A. D. 468

[1] Accepi per praefectum annonae litteras tuas, quibus eum tibi sodalem veterem mihi insinuas iudici novo. gratias ago magnas illi, maximas tibi, quod statuistis de amicitia mea vel praesumere tuta vel inlaesa credere, ego vero notitiam viri familiaritatemque non solum volens sed et avidus amplector, quippe qui noverim nostram quoque gratiam hoc obsequio meo fore copulatiorem.

[1] THE Intendant of Supplies has personally presented the letter in which you commend him as your old friend to my new judgement. I am greatly indebted to him, but most of all to yourself for this evidence of your resolve to assume my friendship certain and proof against all suspicion. I welcome, I eagerly embrace this opportunity of acquaintance, and of intimacy, since my desire to oblige you cannot but draw closer the bonds which already unite us.

[2] sed et tu vigilantiae suae me, id est famae meae statum causamque commenda, vereor autem ne famem populi Romani theatralis caveae fragor insonet et infortunio meo publica deputetur esuries. sane hunc ipsum e vestigio ad portum mittere paro, quia comperi naves quinque Brundisio profectas cum speciebus tritici ac mellis ostia Tiberina tetigisse; quarum onera expectationi plebis, si quid strenue gerit, raptim faciet offerri, commendaturus se mihi, me populo, utrumque tibi. vale.

[2] But please commend me in my turn to his vigilant care, commend, that is, my cause and my repute. For I rather fear that there may be an uproar in the theatres if the supplies of grain run short, and that the hunger of all the Romans will be laid to my account. I am on the point of dispatching him immediately to the harbour in person, because news is to hand that five ships from Brindisi have put in at Ostia laden with wheat and honey. A stroke of energy on his part, and we should have these cargoes ready in no time for the expectant crowds; he would win my favour, I the people's, and he and I together yours. Farewell.

Sidonius Montio suo salutem

XI.

To his friend Montius About A. D. 461-7

[1] Petis tibi, vir disertissime, Sequanos tuos expetituro satiram nescio quam, si sit a nobis perscripta, transmitti. quod quidem te postulasse demiror; non enim sanctum est ut de moribus amici cito perperam sentias, huic eram themati scilicet incubaturus id iam agens otii idque habens aevi, quod iuvenem militantemque dictasse praesumptiosum fuisset, publicasse autem periculosum? cui namque grammaticum vel salutanti Calaber ille non dixit: ‘ si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, ius est iudiciumque ‘?

[1] ON the eve of your departure to visit your people of Franche-Comté, most eloquent of friends, you ask me for a copy of a certain satire, assuming it really of my composition. I must say the request surprises me; it is not nice to jump to a false conclusion about a friend’s conduct in this manner. It is so likely — is it not? — that at my then age and with my total lack of leisure, I should devote my energies to a kind of literature which it would have been presumptuous in a young man doing his service to compose, and assuredly perilous to publish. Why, a mere nodding acquaintance with a grammarian would suffice to recall the advice of the Calabrian:

‘Against the libellous poet, is there not remedy of law and sentence?’

[2] sed ne quid ultra tu de sodali simile credas, quid fuerit illud quod me sinistrae rumor ac fumes opinionis adflavit longius paulo sed ab origine exponam. temporibus Augusti Maioriani venit in medium charta comitatum, sed carens indice, versuum plena satiricorum mordacium, sane qui satis invectivaliter abusi nominum nuditate carpebant plurimum vitia, plus homines, inter haec fremere Arelatenses, quo loci res agebatur, et quaerere quem poetarum publici furoris merito pondus urgeret, his maxime auctoribus quos notis certis auctor incertus exacerbaverat.

[2] To prevent any more credulity of this sort as regards your old friend, I will set forth at some length, and from the beginning, the events which brought on my head the sound and smoke of public odium. In the reign of Majorian, an anonymous but very mordant satire in verse was circulated at court; gross in its invective, it took advantage of unprotected names, though it lashed vice, its attack was above all personal. The inhabitants of Aries (that city was the scene of these events) were much excited; they wanted to know on which of our poets the weight of public indignation was to fall; at their head were the men whom the invisible author had most visibly branded.

[3] accidit casu ut Catullinus inlustris tunc ab Arvernus illo veniret, cum semper

mihi tum praecipue commilitio recenti familiaris; saepe enim cives magis amicos peregrinatio facit, igitur insidias nescienti tam Paonius quam Bigerrus has tetenderunt, ut plurimis coram tamquam ab incauto sciscitarentur, hoc novum carmen an recognosceret. et ille: ‘ si dixeritis.’ cumque frustra diversa quasi per iocum effunderent, solvitur Catullinus in risum intempestivoque suffragio clamare coepit dignum poema quod perennandum apicibus auratis iuste tabula rostralis acciperet aut etiam Capitolina.

[3] It chanced that the illustrious Catullinus arrived at this juncture from Clermont; always a close friend of mine, he was then nearer to me than ever, as we had just served together; a common duty away from home brings (you know how) fellow citizens nearer. Well, Paonius and Bigerrus set a trap for the unsuspecting visitor: they took him off his guard, and asked him, before numerous witnesses, whether he was familiar with the new poem. ‘Let me hear some of it,’ said Catullinus. But when they went on jestingly to quote various passages from the satire, he burst out laughing, and asseverated, rather inopportunately, perhaps, that such verses deserved to be immortalized, and set up in letters of gold on the rostra or the Capitol.

[4] Paonius exarsit, cui satiricus ille morsum dentis igniti avidius impresserat, atque ad adstantes circulatorum: ‘ iniuriae communis,’ inquit, ‘ iam reum inveni, videtis ut Catullinus deperit risu: apparet ei nota memorari. nam quae causa festinam compulit praecipitare sententiam, nisi quod iam tenet totum, qui de parte sic iudicat? Atqui 1 Sidonius nunc in Arverno est; unde colligitur auctore illo, isto auditore rem textam.’ itur in furias inque convicia absentis nescientis innocentisque; conscientiae, fidei, quaestioni nil reservatur. sic levis turbae facilitatem qua voluit et traxit 2 persona popularis.

[4] At this Paonius flamed out, for he was the man whom the fiery tooth of the satirist had most sharply bitten. ‘Ha!’ he cried to the crowd attracted to the spot, ‘I have found out the author of this public outrage. Just look at Catullinus half dead with laughter there; obviously he knew all the points beforehand. How could he thus anticipate, and conclude from a mere part, unless he were already acquainted with the whole? We know that Sidonius is in Auvergne. It is easy to infer that he wrote the thing and that Catullinus was the first to hear it from his lips.’ Now I was not only absent, but ignorant and innocent as a babe; that did not prevent a tempest of fury and abuse against me; they cast to the winds loyalty, fair play, and fair inquiry;

[5] erat enim ipse Paonius populi totus, qui tribuniciiis flatibus crebro seditionum pelagus impelleret. ceterum si requisisses: ‘qui genus, unde domo?’ ‘ non eminentius quam municipaliter natus quemque inter initia cognosci claritas vitrici magis quam patris fecerit, identidem tamen per fas nefasque crescere adfectans pecuniaeque per avaritiam parens, per ambitum prodigus. namque ut familiae superiori per filiam saltem quamquam honestissimam

iungeretur, contra rigorem civici moris splendidam, ut ferunt, dotem Chremes noster Pamphilo suo dixerat.

[5] such power had this popular favourite to draw the fickle crowd whither he would. As you know, Paenionius was a demagogue well versed in the tribune's art of troubling the waters of faction. But if you asked 'whence his descent and where his home?' 'tis known he was nothing more than a plain citizen, whom the eminence of his stepfather more than any distinction of his own house first brought to public notice. He was bent on rising, and more than once let it be seen that he would stick at nothing to attain his end; though mean by nature he would spend freely for his own advancement. For example, when the engagement of his daughter (against whom I would not breathe a word) brought him the alliance of a family above his own, our Chremes, if rumour does not lie, announced to his Pamphilus a dower magnificently beyond the strict civic standard.

[6] cumque de capessendo diademate coniuratio Marcelliniana coqueretur, nobilium iuventuti signiferum sese in factione praebuerat, homo adhuc novus in senectute, donec aliquando propter experimenta felicitis audaciae natalium eius obscuritati dedit hiantis interregni rima fulgorem, nam vacante aula turbataque republica solus inventus est, qui ad Gallias administrandas fascibus prius quam codicillis ausus accingi mensibus multis tribunal inlustrium potestatum spectabilis praefectus escenderet, anno peracto militiae extremae terminum circa vix honoratus, numerariorum more seu potius advocatorum, quorum cum finiuntur actiones, tunc incipiunt dignitates.

[6] Again, when the Marcellian conspiracy to seize the diadem was brewing, what did our friend do? A *novus homo*, and in his grey hairs, he must needs constitute himself the leader of the young nobility until in the fullness of time the efforts of a lucky audacity were rewarded, for the interregnum, like a rift in clouds, threw a flash of splendour on the obscurity of his birth. The throne was vacant, the State in confusion; but he, and only he, had the face, without waiting for credentials, to assume the fasces as prefect in Gaul, and for months together climb, in the sight of gods and men, the tribunal distinguished by so many illustrious magistrates. Like a public accountant or advocate promoted to honours at the close of a professional career, he just managed to get recognition at the very end of his official term.

[7] igitur iste sic praefectorius, sic senator, cuius moribus quod praeconia competentia non ex asse persolvo, generi sui moribus debeo, multorum plus quam bonorum odia commovit adhuc ignoranti mihi, adhuc amico, tamquam saeculo meo canere solus versu valerem. venio Arelatem, nil adhuc (unde enim?) suspicans, quamquam putarer ab inimicis non adfuturus, ac principe post diem viso in forum ex more descendo, quod ubi visum est, ilico expavit, ut ait ille, nil fortiter ausa seditio, alii tamen mihi plus quam deceret ad genua provolvi; alii, ne salutarent, fugere post statuas, oculi post columnas; alii

tristes vultuosique iunctis mihi lateribus incedere.

[7] A prefect and senator in such wise that only my respect for the character of his son-in-law prevents me from exposing him as utterly as he deserves, behold him unashamed to fan the odium of good and bad alike against one still nominally his friend, as if I were the only man of my epoch competent to string a verse or two together. I came to Aries suspecting nothing — how should I? — though my enemies were good enough to believe I dared not venture. The next day I paid my duty to the emperor, and went down to the forum, as I always do. As soon as I appeared, the conspiracy was at once confounded, being of the sort which, as Lucan says, dares put nothing to the touch. Some fell cringing at my knees, abasing themselves beyond propriety; others hid behind statues or columns to avoid the necessity of salutation; others, again, with looks of affected sorrow, walked closely at my sides.

[8] hic ego quid sibi haec vellet in illis superbiae nimiae, nimiae in istis humilitatis forma mirari, nec ultro tamen causas interrogare, cum subornatus unus e turba factiosorum dat sese mihi consalutandum. tum procedente sermone: ‘cernis hos?’ inquit, et ego: ‘video,’ inquam, ‘gestusque eorum miror equidem nec admiror.’ ad haec noster interpret: ‘ut satirographum te,’ inquit, ‘aut exsecrantur aut reformidant.’ ‘unde? cur? quando?’ respondi; ‘quis crimen agnovit? quis detulit? quis probavit?’ ‘moxque subridens: ‘perge,’ inquam, ‘amice, nisi molestum est, et tumescentes nomine meo consulere dignare, utrumnam ille delator aut index, qui satiram me scripsisse confinxit, et perscripsisse confinxerit; unde forte sit tutius, si retractabunt, ut superbire desistant.’

[8] I was wondering all the time what might be the meaning of this excess, first in insolence and now in abasement, but was determined not to ask, when one of the gang, put up, no doubt, to play the part, came forward to exchange greeting. We talked, and incidentally he remarked: ‘You see these people?’ ‘I do indeed,’ I answered, ‘and I may say that their proceedings astonish me as much as they impress me little.’ To which my kind interpreter rejoined: ‘It is in your quality of satirist that they show this fear or detestation of you.’ ‘How so,’ I cried, ‘on what grounds? when did I give them the excuse? who detected the offence? who brought the charge and who the proof?’ Then, with a smile, I continued thus: ‘My dear sir, if you don’t mind, oblige me by asking these excited persons from me, whether it was a professed informer or spy who got up this imaginative story about my writing a satire. If they have to make the inevitable apology later, it will be better for them to give up this outrageous behaviour at once.’

[9] quod ubi nuntius rettulit, protinus cuncti non modeste neque singuli sed propere et catervatim oscula ac dexteras mihi dederunt, solus Curio meus, in transfugarum perfidiam invectus, cum advesperasceret, per cathedrarios servos vispillonibus taetrioires domum raptus ac reportatus est.

[9] No sooner had he conveyed the message, than they all came to offer their hands and salutations, not man by man, and with decorum, but the whole herd with a rush. Our Curio was left all alone to breathe imprecations on the base deserters, until at fall of evening he was hurried off home on the shoulders of bearers gloomier than mutes.

[10] *postridie iussit Augustus ut epulo suo circensibus ludis interessemus. primus iacebat cornu sinistro consul ordinarius Severinus, vir inter ingentes principum motus atque inaequalem reipublicae statum gratiae semper aequalis; iuxta eum Magnus, olim ex praefecto, nuper ex consule, par honoribus persona geminatis, recumbente post se Camillo, filio fratris, qui duabus dignitatibus et ipse decursis pariter ornaveratur proconsulatum patris, patris consulatum; Paeonius hinc propter atque hinc Athenius, homo litium temporumque varietatibus exercitatus, hunc sequebatur Gratianensis, omni ab infamia vir sequestrandus, qui Severinum sicut honore postibat, ita favore praecesserat, ultimus ego iacebam, qua purpurati latus laevum margine in dextro porrigebatur.*

[10] The next day the emperor commanded my presence at the banquet he was giving on the occasion of the Games. At the left end of the couch was Severinus, the consul of the year, who managed to trim his sails to a wind of even favour throughout our vast dynastic changes and all the uneven fortunes of the State. Next him was the ex-prefect Magnus, who had just laid down the consul's office, and by virtue of these two dignities was no unworthy neighbour. Beyond Magnus was his nephew Camillus, who had also held two offices, and by his conduct of them added equal lustre to his father's proconsular rank and his uncle's consulship. Next to him was Paeonius, and then Athenius, a man versed in every turn of controversy and vicissitude of the times. After them came Gratianensis, a character not to be mentioned in the same breath with evil; and though lower in rank than Severinus, above him in the imperial estimation. I was last, upon the left side of the emperor, who lay at the right extremity of the table.

[11] *edulium multa parte finita Caesaris ad consulem sermo dirigitur, isque succinctus; inde devolvitur ad consularem; cum quo saepe repetitus, quia de litteris factus, ad virum inlustrem Camillum ex occasione transfertur, in tantum ut diceret princeps: 'vere habes patrum, frater Camille, propter quem me familiae tuae consulatum unum gratuler contulisse.' tunc ille, qui simile aliquid optaret, tempore in vento: 'non unum,' inquit, 'domine Auguste, sed primum.' summo fragore, ut nec Augusti reverentia obsisteret, excepta sententia est.*

[11] When the dinner was well advanced, the prince addressed a few short remarks to the consul. He then turned to the ex-consul, with whom he talked several times, the subjects being literary. At an early opportunity he addressed himself to Camillus, with the remark: 'My dear Camillus, you have so

admirable an uncle that I pride myself on having conferred a consulship on your family.’ Camillus, who coveted a like promotion, saw his chance, and replied: ‘A consulship, Sire! you surely mean a *first*?’ Even the emperor’s presence did not check the loud applause which greeted this rejoinder.

[12] inde nescio quid Athenium interrogans superiectum Paeonium compellatio Augusta praeteriit, casu an industria ignoro, quod cum turpiter Paeonius aegre tulisset, quod fuit turpius, compellato tacente respondit, subrisit Augustus, ut erat auctoritate servata, cum se communioni dedisset, ioci plenus, per quem cachinnum non minus obtigit Athenio vindictae, quam contigisset iniuriae, colligit itaque sese trebacissimus senex et, ut semper intrinsecus aestu pudoris excoquebatur, cur sibi Paeonius anteferretur: ‘non miror,’ inquit, ‘Auguste, si mihi standi locum praeripere conetur, qui tibi invadere non erubescit loquendi.’

[12] By accident, or of set purpose, I cannot say which, the prince now passed over Paeonius, and addressed some question or other to Athenius. Paeonius had the bad manners to take the oversight ill, and made matters worse by answering before the other had time to speak. The emperor only laughed; it was his way to be very genial in society so long as his own dignity was observed. To Athenius the laugh came as compensation for the slight he had suffered. That craftiest of all the elders had been boiling with suppressed resentment all the time because Paeonius had been placed above him, but he calmed himself enough to say: ‘It no longer surprises me, Sire, that he should try to push himself into my place, when he has now pushed into your Majesty’s conversation.’

[13] et vir inlustris Gratianensis: ‘multus,’ inquit, ‘hoc iurgio satiricis campus aperitur.’ hic imperator ad me cervice conversa: ‘audio,’ ait, ‘comes Sidoni, quod satiram scribas.’ ‘et ego,’ inquam, ‘hoc audio, domine princeps.’ tunc ille, sed ridens: ‘parce vel nobis.’ ‘at ego,’ inquam, ‘quod ab illicitis tempero, mihi parco.’ post quae ille: ‘et quid faciemus his,’ inquit, ‘qui te lacessunt?’ ‘et ego: ‘quisquis est iste, domine imperator, publice accuset: si redarguimur, debita luamus supplicia convicti; ceterum obiecta si non inprobabiliter cassaverimus, oro ut indultu clementiae tuae praeter iuris iniuriam in accusatorem meum quae volo scribam.’

[13] The illustrious Gratianensis here remarked that the episode opened a wide field to a satirist. On this, the emperor turned round to me and said: ‘It is news to me, Count Sidonius, that you are a writer of satires.’ ‘Sire,’ I answered, ‘it is news to me too.’ ‘Anyhow,’ he replied with a laugh, ‘I beg you to be merciful to me.’ ‘I shall spare myself also,’ I rejoined, ‘by refraining from illegality.’ Thereupon the emperor said: ‘What shall we do, then, to the people who have provoked you?’ ‘This, Sire,’ I answered. ‘Whoever my accuser be, let him come out into the open. If I am proved guilty, let me abide the penalty. But if, as will probably be the case, I rebut the charge, I ask of your clemency

permission to write anything I choose about my assailant, provided I observe the law.'

[14] ad haec ipse Paeonium conspicatus nutu coepit consulere nutantem, placeretne condicio, sed cum ille confusus reticuisset princepsque consuleret erubescenti, ait: 'annuo postulatis, si hoc ipsum e vestigio versibus petas.' 'fiat,' inquam; retrorsumque conversus, tamquam aquam manibus poscerem, tantumque remoratus, quantum stibadii circulum celerantia ministeria percurrunt, cubitum toro reddidi, et imperator: 'spoponderas te licentiam scribendae satirae versibus subitis postulaturum.' et ego: 'scribere me satiram qui culpat, maxime princeps, hanc rogo decernas aut probet aut timeat.'

[14] The emperor looked at Paeonius, who was hesitating, and made a sign of inquiry whether he accepted the conditions. But he had not a word to answer, and the prince spared his embarrassment; at last, however, he managed to say: 'I agree to your conditions, if you can put them in verse on the spot.' 'Very well,' I said; and turning back, as if to call for water for my hands, I remained in that attitude the time occupied by a quick servant in going round the table. I then resumed my former position, and the emperor said: 'Your undertaking was to ask in an impromptu our sanction for writing satire.' I replied:

'O mightiest prince, I pray that this be thy decree: let him who calls me libeller or prove his charge, or fear.'

[15] secutus est fragor, nisi quod dico iactantia est, par Camillano, quem quidem non tam carminis dignitas quam temporis brevitās meruit, et princeps: 'deum testor et statum publicum me de cetero numquam prohibiturum quin quae velis scribas, quippe cum tibi crimen impactum probari nullo modo possit; simul et periniurium est sententiam purpurati tribuere privatis hoc simultatibus, ut innocens ac segura nobilitas propter odia certa crimine incerto periclitetur.' ad hanc ipse sententiam cum verecunde capite demisso gratias agerem, contionatoris mei coeperunt ora pallere, in quae paulo ante post iram tristitia successerat; nec satis defuit quin gelarent tamquam ad exsertum praebere cervices iussa mucronem.

[15] I do not want to seem conceited, but the applause which followed was equal to that which had greeted Camillus; though it was earned, of course, less by the merit of the verse than by the speed with which I had composed. Then the emperor cried: 'I call God and the common weal to witness that in future I give you licence to write what you please; the charge brought against you was not susceptible of proof. It would be most unjust if the imperial decision allowed such latitude to private quarrels that evident malice might imperil by obscure charges nobles whom conscious innocence puts wholly off their guard.' At this pronouncement I modestly bent my head and thanked him; the face of my opponent, which had previously shown successive signs of rage and vexation, now grew pale. Indeed, it was almost frozen with terror, as if he

had received the order to present his neck to the executioner's drawn sword.

[16] *vix post haec alia pauca: surreximus. paululum ab aspectu imperatoris processeramus atque etiamnunc chlamydibus induebamur, cum mihi consul ad pectus, praefectorii ad manus cadere, ipse ille reus amicus crebro et abiecte miserantibus cunctis humiliari, ita ut timerem ne mihi invidiam supplicando moveret, quam criminando non concitaverat. dixi ad extremum pressus oratu procerum conglobatorum, sciret conatibus suis versu nil reponendum, derogare actibus meis in posterum tamen si pepercisset; etenim sufficere debere, quod satirae obiectio famam mihi parasset, sed sibi infamiam.*

[16] Little more was said before we rose from the table. We had withdrawn a short distance from the imperial presence, and were in the act of putting on our mantles, when the consul fell upon my bosom, the ex-prefects seized my hands, and my guilty friend abased himself so often and so profoundly, that he aroused universal pity, and bade fair to place me in a more invidious position by his entreaties than he had ever done by his insinuations. Urged to speak by the throng of nobles round me, I closed the episode by telling him that he might set his mind at rest; I should write no satire on his base intrigue so long as he abstained henceforward from the misrepresentation of my actions. It should be punishment enough for him to know that his ascription of the lampoon to me had added to my credit and brought nothing but discredit on himself.

[17] *in summa perculi quidem, domine maior, non assertorem calumniae tantum quantum murmuratorem; sed cum mihi sic satisfactum est ut pectori meo pro reatu eius tot potestatum dignitatumque culmina et iura summitterentur, fateor exordium contumeliae talis tanti fuisse, cui finis gloria fuit. vale.*

[17] In fine, honoured lord, the man whom I thus confounded had not been loudest in calumny; he was a mere whisperer. But since, by his offence, I had the satisfaction of being so warmly greeted by so many men of the highest influence and position, I confess that it was almost worth while to have borne the scandal of the exordium for the sake of so triumphant a conclusion. Farewell.

BOOK II

Sidonius Ecdicio suo salutem

I.

To [his brother-in-law] Ecdicius* c. A.D. 470

[1] Duo nunc pariter mala sustinent Arverni tui. ‘quaenam?’ inquis, praesentiam Seronati et absentiam tuam. Seronati, inquam: de cuius ut primum etiam nomine loquar, sic mihi videtur quasi praescia futurorum luisse fortuna, sicuti ex adverso maiores nostri proelia, quibus nihil est foedius, bella dixerunt; quique etiam pari contrarietate fata, quia non parcerent, Parcas vocitavere. rediit ipse Catilina saeculi nostri nuper Aturribus, ut sanguinem fortunasque miserorum, quas ibi ex parte propinaverat, hic ex asse misceret.

[1] YOUR countrymen of Auvergne suffer equally from two evils. ‘What are those?’ you ask. Seronatus’ presence, and your own absence. Seronatus — his very name first calls for notice; I think that when he was so named, a prescient fortune must have played with contradictions, as our predecessors did, who by antiphrasis used the root of ‘beautiful’ in their word for war, the most hideous thing on earth; and, with no less perversity, the root of mercy in their name for Fate, because Fate never spares. This Catiline of our day is just returned from the region of the Adour to blend in whole confusion the fortune and the blood of unhappy victims which down there he had only pledged himself in part to shed.

[2] scitote in eo per dies spiritum diu dissimulati furoris aperiri: aperte invidet, abiecte fingit, serviliter superbit, indicit ut dominus, exigit ut tyrannus, addicit ut iudex, calumniatur ut barbarus; toto die a metu armatus, ab avaritia ieunus, a cupiditate terribilis, a vanitate crudelis non cessat simul furta vel punire vel facere; palam et ridentibus convocatis ructat inter cives pugnas, inter barbaros litteras; epistulas, ne primis quidem apicibus sufficienter initiatus, publice a iactantia dictat, ab impudentia emendat;

[2] You must know that his long-dissembled savagery comes daily further into the light. His spite affronts the day; his dissimulation was abject as his arrogance is servile. He commands like a despot; no tyrant more exacting than he, no judge more peremptory in sentence, no barbarian falsier in false witness. The livelong day he goes armed from cowardice, and starving from pure meanness. Greed makes him formidable, and vanity cruel; he continually commits himself the very thefts he punishes in others. To the universal amusement he will rant of war in a civilian company, and of literature among Goths. Though he barely knows the alphabet, he has the conceit to dictate letters in public and the impudence to revise them under the same conditions.

[3] totum quod concupiscit quasi comparat nec dat pretia contemnens nec

accipit instrumenta desperans; in concilio iubet in consilio tacet, in ecclesia iocatur in convivio praedicat, in cubiculo damnat in quaestione dormitat; implet cotidie silvas fugientibus villas hospitibus,¹ altaria reis carceres clericis; exsultans Gothis insultansque Romanis, inludens praefectis conludensque numerariis, leges Theodosianas calcans Theudoricianasque proponens veteres culpas, nova tributa perquirat.

[3] All property he covets he makes a show of buying; but he never thinks of paying, nor does he trouble to furnish himself with deeds, knowing it hopeless to prove a title. In the council-chamber he commands, but in counsel he is mute. He jests in church and preaches at table; snores on the bench, and breathes condemnation in his bedroom. His actions are filling the woods with dangerous fugitives from the estates, the churches with scoundrels, the prisons with holy men. He cries the Goths up and the Romans down; he prepares illusions for prefects and collusions with public accountants. He tramples under foot the Theodosian Code to set in its place the laws of a Theodoric, raking up old charges to justify new imposts.

[4] proinde moras tuas citus explica et quidquid illud est quod te retentat incide. te exspectat palpitantium civium extrema libertas, quidquid sperandum, quidquid desperandum est, fieri te medio, te praesule placet, si nullae a republica vires, nulla praesidia, si nullae, quantum rumor est, Anthemii principis opes, statuit te auctore nobilitas seu patriam dimittere seu capillos, vale.

[4] Be quick, then, to unravel the tangle of affairs that makes you linger; cut short whatever causes your delay. Our people are at the last gasp; freedom is almost dead. Whether there is any hope, or whether all is to be despair, they want you in their midst to lead them. If the State is powerless to succour, if, as rumour says, the Emperor Anthemius is without resource, our nobility is determined to follow your lead, and give up their country or the hair of their heads. Farewell.

* Partly translated by Fertig, Part i, p. 20.

Sidonius Domitio suo salutem

II.

To his friend Domitius A.D. 461-7(?)

[1] Ruri me esse causeris, cum mihi potius queri suppetat te nunc urbe retineri, iam ver decedit aestati et per lineas sol altatus extremas in axem Scythicum radio peregrinante porrigitur, hic quid de regionis nostrae climate loquar? cuius spatia divinum sic tetendit opificium ut magis vaporibus orbis occidui subiceremur. quid plura? mundus incanduit: glacies Alpina deletur et hiulcis arentium rimarum flexibus terra perscribitur; squallet glareas in vadis, limus in ripis, pulvis in campis; aqua ipsa quaecumque perpetuo labens tractu cunctante languescit; iam non solum calet unda sed coquitur.

[1] You attack me for staying in the country; I might with greater reason complain of you for lingering in town. Spring already gives place to summer; the sun has travelled his full range to the Tropic of Cancer and now advances on his journey towards the pole. Why should I waste words upon the climate which we here enjoy? The Creator has so placed us that we are exposed to the afternoon heats. Enough said; the whole world glows; the snow is melting on the Alps; the earth is seamed with gaping heat-cracks. The fords are nothing but dry gravel, the banks hard mud, the plains dust; the running streams languish and hardly drag themselves along; as for the water, hot is not the word; it boils.

[2] et nunc, dum in carbaso sudat unus, alter in bombyce, tu endromidatus exterius, intrinsecus fasceatus, insuper et concava municipis Amerini sede compressus discipulis non aestu minus quam timore pallentibus exponere oscitabundus ordiris: 'Samia mihi mater fuit.' quin tu mage, si quid tibi salubre cordi, raptim subduceris anhelantibus angustiis civitatis et contubernio nostro averter insertus fallis clementissimo recessu inclementiam canicularem?

[2] We are all perspiring in light silks or linens; but there you stay at Ameria all swathed up under your great gown, buried in a deep chair, and setting with many yawns 'My mother was a Samian' to pupils paler from the heat than from any fear of you. As you love your health, get away at once from your suffocating alleys, join our household as the most welcome of all guests, and in this most temperate of retreats evade the intemperate dog-star.

[3] sane si placitum, quis sit agri in quem vocans situs accipe. Avitaci sumus: nomen hoc praedio, quod, quia uxorium, patrio mihi dulcius: haec mihi cum meis praesule deo, nisi quid tu fascinum verere, concordia, mons ab occasu, quamquam terrenus, arduus tamen inferiores sibi colles tamquam gemino fomite effundit, quattuor a se circiter iugerum latitudine abductos. sed donec domicilio competens vestibuli campus aperitur, mediam vallem rectis

tractibus prosequuntur latera clivorum usque in marginem villae, quae in Borean Austrumque conversis frontibus tenditur.

[3] You may like to know the kind of place to which you are invited. We are at the estate known as Avitacum, a name of sweeter sound in my ears than my own patrimony because it came to me with my wife. Infer the harmony which established between me and mine; it is God's ordinance; but you might be pardoned for fearing it the work of some enchantment. On the west rises a big hill, pretty steep but not rocky, from which issue two lower spurs, like branches from a double trunk, extending over an area of about four jugera. But while the ground opens out enough to form a broad approach to the front door, the straight slopes on either side lead a valley right to the boundary of the villa, which faces north and south.

[4] balineum ab Africo radicibus nemorosae rupis adhaerescit, et si caedua per iugum silva truncetur, in ora fornacis lapsu velut spontaneo deciduis struibis impingitur. hinc aquarum surgit cella coctilium, quae consequenti unguentariae spatii parilitate conquadrat excepto solii capacis hemicyclio, ubi et vis undae ferventis per parietem foraminatum flexilis plumbi meatibus implicita singultat. intra conclave succensum solidus dies et haec abundantia lucis inclusae ut verecundos quosque compellat aliquid se plus putare quam nudos.

[4] On the south-west are the baths, which so closely adjoin a wooded eminence that if timber is cut on the hill above, the piles of logs slide down almost by their own weight, and are brought up against the very mouth of the furnace. At this point is the hot bath, which corresponds in size with the adjoining *unguentarium*, except that it has an apse with a semicircular basin; here the hot water pressing through the sinuous lead pipes that pierce the wall issues with a sobbing sound. The chamber itself is well heated from beneath; it is full of day, and so overflowing with light that very modest bathers seem to themselves something more than naked.

[5] hinc frigidaria dilatatur, quae piscinas publicis operibus exstructas non impudenter aemularetur. primum tecti apice in conum cacuminato, cum ab angulis quadrifariam concurrentia dorsa cristarum tegnlis interiacentibus imbricarentur (ipsa vero convenientibus mensuris exactissima spatiositate quadratur, ita ut ministeriorum sese non impediante famulatu tot possit recipere sellas quot solet sigma personas), fenestras e regione conditor binas confinio camerae pendentis admovit, ut suspicientum visui fabrefactum lacunar aperiret, interior parietum facies solo levigati caementi candore contenta est.

[5] Next come the spacious *frigidarium*, which may fairly challenge comparison with those in public baths. The roof is pyramidal, and the spaces between the converging ridges are covered with imbricated tiles; the architect

has inserted two opposite windows about the junction of walls and dome, so that if you look up, you see the fine coffering displayed to the best advantage. The interior walls are unpretentiously covered with plain white stucco, and the apartment is designed by the nicest calculation of space to contain the same number of persons as the semicircular bath holds bathers, while it yet allows the servants to move about without impeding one another.

[6] non hic per nudam pictorum corporum pulchritudinem turpis prostat historia, quae sicut ornat artem, sic devenustat artificem, absunt ridiculi vestitu et vultibus histriones pigmentis multi-coloribus Philistionis supellectilem mentientes, absunt lubrici tortuosique pugilatu et nexibus palaestritae, quorum etiam viventum luctas, si involvantur obscenius, casta confestim gymnasiarchorum virga dissolvit.

[6] No frescoed scene obtrudes its comely nudities, gracing the art to the disgrace of the artist. You will observe no painted actors in absurd masks, and costumes rivalling Philistio's gear with colours gaudy as the rainbow. You will find no pugilists or wrestlers intertwining their oiled limbs in those grips which, in real bouts, the gymnasiarch's chaste wand unlocks the moment the enlaced limbs look indecent.

[7] quid plura? nihil illis paginis impressum reperietur quod non vidisse sit sanctius, pauci tamen versiculi lectorem adventicium remorabuntur minime improbo temperamento, quia eos nec relegisse desiderio est nec perlegisse fastidio, iam si marmora inquiras, non illic quidem Paros Carystos Proconnesos, Phryges Numidae Spartiatae rupium variatarum posuere crustas, neque per scopulos Aethiopicos et abrupta purpurea genuino fucata conchylio sparsum mihi saxa furfurem mentiuntur. sed etsi nullo peregrinarum cautium rigore ditamur, habent tamen tuguria seu mapalia mea civicum frigus, quin potius quid habeamus quam quid non habeamus auscult.

[7] Enough you will see upon these walls none of those things which it is nicer not to look upon. A few verses there are, harmless lines enough, since no one either regrets perusal or cares to peruse again. If you want to know what marbles are employed, neither Paros nor Carystos, nor Proconnesos, nor Phrygia, nor Numidia, nor Sparta have contributed their diverse inlays. I had no use for stone that simulates a broken surface, with Ethiopic crags and purple precipices stained with genuine murex. Though enriched by no cold splendour of foreign marble, my poor huts and hovels do not lack the coolness to which a plain citizen may aspire. But now I had really better talk about the things I have, than the things I lack.

[8] huic basilicae appendix piscina forinsecus seu, si graecari mavis, baptisterium ab oriente conectitur, quod viginti circiter modiorum milia capit, huc elutis e calore venientibus triplex medii parietis aditus per arcuata intervalla reseratur. nec pilae sunt mediae sed columnae, quas architecti

peritiores aedificiorum purpuras nuncupavere. in hanc ergo piscinam fluvium de supercilio montis elicatum canalibusque circumactis per exteriora natatoria latera curvatum sex fistulae prominentes leonum simulatis capitibus effundunt, quae temere ingressis veras dentium crates, meros oculorum furores, certas cervicum iubas imaginabuntur.

[8] With this hall is connected on the eastern side an annexe, a piscina, or, if you prefer the Greek word, baptistery, with a capacity of about twenty thousand modii. Into this the bathers pass from the hot room by three arched entrances in the dividing wall. The supports are not piers but columns, which your experienced architect calls the glory of buildings. Into this piscina, then, a stream lured from the brow of the hill is conducted in channels curving round the outside of the swimming basin; it issues through six pipes terminating in lions' heads which, to one entering rapidly, seem to present real fangs, authentic fury of eyes, indubitable manes.

[9] hic si dominum seu domestica seu hospitalis turba circumstet, quia prae strepitu caduci fluminis mutuae vocum vices minus intelleguntur, in aurem sibi populus confabulatur; ita sonitu pressus alieno ridiculum adfectat publicus sermo secretum, hinc egressis frons triclinii matronalis offertur, cui continuatur vicinante textrino cella penaria discriminata tantum pariete castrensi.

[9] When the master of the house stands here with his household or his guests about him, people have to shout in each other's ears, or the noise of falling water makes their words inaudible; the interference of this alien sound forces conversations which are quite public to assume an amusing air of secrecy. On leaving this chamber you see in front of you the withdrawing-room; adjoining it is the storeroom, separated only by a movable partition from the place where the maids do our weaving.

[10] ab ortu lacum porticus intuetur, magis rotundatis fulta coluriis 1 quam columnis invidiosa monobilibus. a parte vestibuli longitudo tecta intrinsecus patet mediis non interpellata parietibus, quae, quia nihil ipsa prospectat, etsi non hypodromus, saltem cryptoporticus meo mihi iure vocitabitur. haec tamen aliquid spatio suo in extimo deambulacri capite defrudans efficit membrum bene frigidum, ubi publico lectisternio exstructo clientularum sive nutricum loquacissimus chorus receptui canit cum ego meique dormitorium cubiculum petierimus.

[10] On the east side a portico commands the lake, supported by simple wooden pillars instead of pretentious monumental columns. On the side of the front entrance is a long covered space unbroken by interior divisions; it may be incorrect to call this a hypodrome, but I may fairly award it the name of cryptoporticus. At the end it is curtailed by a section cut off to form a delightfully cool bay, and here when we keep open festival, the whole

chattering chorus of nurses and dependants sounds a halt when the family retires for the siesta.

[11] a cryptoporticu in hiemale triclinium venit, quod arcuatili camino saepe ignis animatus pulla fuligine infecit, sed quid haec tibi, quem nunc ad focum minime invito? quin potius ad te tempusque pertinentia loquar, ex hoc triclinio fit in diaetam sive cenatiunculam transitus, cui fere totus lacus quaeque tota Iacui patet, in hac stibadium et nitens abacus, in quorum aream sive suggestum a subiecta porticu sensim non1 breviatis angustatisque gradibus ascenditur. quo loci recumbens, si quid inter edendum vacas, prospiciendi voluptatibus occuparis.

[11] The winter dining-room is entered from this cryptoporticus; a roaring fire on an arched hearth often fills this apartment with smoke and smuts. But that detail I may spare you; a glowing hearth is the last thing I am inviting you to enjoy just now. I pass instead to things which suit the season and your present need. From here one enters a smaller chamber or dining-room, all open to the lake and with almost the whole expanse of lake in its view. This chamber is furnished with a dining-couch and gleaming sideboard upon a raised area or dais to which you mount gradually, and not by abrupt or narrow steps from the portico below. Reclining at this table you can give the idle moments between the courses to the enjoyment of the prospect.

[12] iam si tibi ex illo conclamatissimo fontium decocta referatur, videbis in calicibus repente perfusis nivalium maculas et frusta nebularum et illam lucem lubricam poculorum quadam quasi pinguedine subiti algoris hebetatam. tum respondentes poculis potiones, quarum rigentes cyathi siticuloso cuique, ne dicam tibi granditer abstemio, metuerentur. hinc iam spectabis ut promoveat alnum piscator in pelagus, ut stataria retia suberinis corticibus extendat aut signis per certa intervalla dispositis tractus fumum librentur hamati, scilicet ut nocturnis per lacum excursibus rapacissimi salares in consanguineas agantur insidias: quid enim hinc congruentius dixerim, cum piscis pisce decipitur?

[12] If water of our famous springs is served and quickly poured into the cups, one sees snowy spots and clouded patches form outside them; the sudden chill dulls the fugitive reflections of the surface almost as if it had been greased. Such cups restrict one's draughts; the thirstiest soul on earth, to say nothing of Your Abstemiousness, would set lip to the freezing brims with caution. From table you may watch the fisherman row his boat out to mid-lake, and spread his seine with cork floats, or suspend his lines at marked intervals to lure the greedy trout on their nightly excursions through the lake with bait of their own flesh and blood: what phrase more proper, since fish is literally caught by fish?

[13] edulibus terminatis excipiet te deversorium, quia minime aestuosum,

maxime aestivum; nam per hoc, quod in Aquilonem solum patescit, habet diem, non habet solem, interiecto consistorio perangusto, ubi somnulentiae cubiculariorum dormitandi potius quam dormiendi locus est.

[13] The meal over, we pass into a withdrawing-room, which its coolness makes a perfect place in summer. Facing north, it receives all the daylight but no direct sun: a very small intervening chamber accommodates the drowsy servants, large enough to allow them forty winks but not a regular sleep.

[14] hic iam quam volupe auribus insonare cicadas meridie concrepantes, ranas crepusculo incumbente blaterantes, cygnos atque anseres concubia nocte clangentes, intempesta gallos gallinacios concinentes, oscines corvos voce triplicata puniceam surgentis Aurorae facem consalutantes, diluculo autem Philomelam inter frutices sibilantem, Progenem inter asseres minurrientem! cui concentui licebit adiungas fistulae septiforis armentalem Camenam, quam saepe nocturnis carminum certaminibus insomnes nostrorum montium Tityri exercent, inter greges tinnibulatos per depasta buceta reboantes. quae tamen varia vocum cantuumque modulamina profundius confovendo sopori tuo lenocinabuntur.

[14] It is delightful to sit here and listen to the shrill cicala at noon, the croak of frogs in the gloaming, the clangour of swans and geese in the earlier night or the crow of cocks in the dead of it, the ominous voice of rooks saluting the rosy face of Dawn in chorus, or, in the half-light, nightingales fluting in the bushes and swallows twittering under the eaves. To this concert you may add the seven-stopped pipe of the pastoral Muse, on which the very wakeful Tityri of our hills will often vie one with another, while the herds about them low to the cow-bells as they graze along the pastures. All these tuneful songs and sounds will but charm you into deeper slumbers.

[15] porticibus egresso, si portum litoris petas, in area virenti vulgare iubar, I quamquam non procul nemus: ingentes tiliae duae conexis frondibus, fomitibus abiunctis unam umbram non una radice confidunt, in cuius opacitate, cum me meus Ecdicius inlustrat, pilae vacamus, sed hoc eo usque, donec arborum imago contractior intra spatium ramorum recussa cohibeatur atque illic aleatorium lassis consumpto sphaeristerio faciat.

[15] If you leave the colonnade and go down to the little lakeside harbour, you come to a greensward, and, hard by, to a grove of trees where every one is allowed to go. There stand two great limes, with roots and trunks apart, but the boughs interwoven in one continuous canopy. In their dense shade we play at ball when my Ecdicius honours me with his company; but the moment the shadow of the trees shrinks to the area covered by the branches we stop for want of ground, and repose our tired limbs at dice.

[16] sed quia tibi, sicut aedificium solvi, sic lacum debeo, quod restat agnosce.

lacus in Eurum defluus meat, eiusque harenis fundamenta impressa domicilii ventis motantibus aestuans umectat alluvio. is quidem sane circa principia sui solo palustri voraginosus et vestigio inspectoris inadibilis: ita limi bibuli pinguedo coalescit ambientibus sese fontibus algidis, litoribus algosis. attamen pelagi mobilis campus cumbulis late secatur pervagabilibus, si flabra posuere; si turbo austrinus insorduit, immane turgescit, ita ut arborum comis quae margini insistent superiectae asperginis fragor impluat.

[16] I have described the house; I now owe you a description of the lake. It extends in a devious course towards the east, and when violent winds lash it to fury, drenches the lower part of the house with spray. At its head the ground is marshy and full of bog-holes, impassable to the explorer; a slimy and saturated mud has formed there, and cold springs rise on all sides; the edges are fringed with weed. When the wind drops, small boats cleave its changeful surface in all directions. But if dirty weather comes up from the south the whole lake is swollen into monstrous waves and a rain of spray comes crashing over the tree-tops upon the banks.

[17] ipse autem secundum mensuras quas ferunt nauticas in decem et septem stadia procedit, fluvio intratus, qui salebratim saxorum obicibus adfractus spumoso canescit impulsu et nec longum scopulis praecipitibus exemptus lacu conditur; quem fors fuat an incurrat an faciat, praeterit certe, coactus per cola subterranea deliquari, non ut fluctibus, sed ut piscibus pauperetur; 1 qui repulsi in gurgitem pigriorem carnes rubras albis abdominibus extendunt: ita illis nec redire valentibus nec exire permissis quendam vivum et circumlaticium carcerem corpulentia facit.

[17] By nautical measure, it is seventeen stadia in length. Where the river comes in, the broken water foams white against the rocky barriers; but the stream soon wins clear of the overhanging crags, and is lost in the smooth expanse. Whether the river itself makes the lake, or is only an affluent, I know not; certain it is that it reaches the other end, and flows away through subterranean channels which only deprive it of its fish, and leave it intact in volume. The fish, driven into more sluggish waters, increase in size, red bodied and white under the belly. They cannot either return or escape; they fatten, and go self-contained as it were in portable jails of their own composition.

[18] lacus ipse, qua dexter, incisus flexuosus nemorosusque, qua laevus, patens herbosus aequalis, aequor ab Africo viride per litus, quia in undam fronde porrecta ut glareas aqua, sic aquas umbra perfundit, huiusmodi colorem ab oriente par silvarum corona continuat. per Arctoum latus ut pelago natura, sic species, a Zephyro plebeius et tumultuarius frutex frequenterque lemborum superlabentum ponderibus inflexus; hunc circa lubrici scirporum cirri plicantur simulque pingues ulvarum paginae natant salicumque glaucarum fota semper dulcibus aquis amaritudo.

[18] On the right, a wooded shore curves with an indented line; on the left, it opens to a level sweep of grass. On the southwest the shallows along the banks look green; overarching boughs lend the water their own hue, and the water transmits it to the pebbles at the bottom; on the east, a similar fringe of foliage produces a like tint. On the north, the water preserves its natural colour; on the west, the shore is covered with a tangle of common growths crushed in many places where boats have rowed over them; close by, tufts of smooth reeds bend to the wind, and pulpy flat leaves of aquatic plants float upon the surface; the sweet waters nourish the bitter sap of the grey-green willows growing near.

[19] in medio profundi brevis insula, ubi supra molares naturaliter aggeratos per impactorum puncta remorum navalibus trita gyris meta protuberat, ad quam se iucunda ludentium naufragia collidunt. nam moris istic fuit senioribus nostris agonem Drepanitanum Troianae superstitionis imitari, iam vero ager ipse, quamquam hoc supra debitum, diffusus in silvis pictus in pratis, pecorosus in pascuis in pastoribus peculiosus.

[19] In the deep middle of the lake is an islet, at one end of which projects a turning post upon boulders naturally piled, worn by contact with oar-blades during our aquatic sports; at this point competitors often collide and come to cheerful grief. Our fathers used to hold boat-races here in imitation of the Trojan ceremonial games at Drepanum.

It is not in my bond to describe the estate itself; suffice it to say that it has spreading woods and flowery meadows, pastures rich in cattle and a wealth of hardy shepherds.

[20] sed non amplius moror, ne, si longior stilo terminus, relegendem te autumnus inveniatur, proinde mihi tribue veniendi celeritatem (nam redeundi moram tibi ipse praestabis), daturus hinc veniam, quod brevitatem sibi debitam paulo scrupulosior epistula excessit, dum totum ruris situm sollicita rimatur; quae tamen summovendi fastidii studio nec cuncta perstrinxit. quapropter bonus arbiter et artifex lector non paginam, quae spatia describit, sed villam, quae spatiosa describitur, grandem pronuntiabunt. vale.

[20] Here I must conclude. Were my pen to run on much further the autumn would overtake you before you reached the end. Accord me, then, the grace of coming quickly; your return shall be as slow as ever you choose. And forgive me if, in my fear of overlooking anything about our situation here, I have given you facts in excess and beyond the fair limits of a letter. As it is, there are points which I have left untouched for fear of being tedious. But a reader of your judgement and imagination will not exaggerate the size of the descriptive page, but rather that of the house so spaciouly depicted. Farewell.

Sidonius Felici suo salutem

III.

To [his friend Magnus] Felix c. A.D. 472

[1] Gaudeo te, domine maior, amplissimae dignitatis infulas consecutum, sed id mihi ob hoc solum destinato tabellario nuntiatum non minus gaudeo; nam licet in praesentiarum sis potissimus magistratus et in lares Philagrianos patricius apex tantis post saeculis tua tantum felicitate remeaverit, invenis tamen, vir amicitiarum servantissime, qualiter honorum tuorum crescat communione fastigium, raroque genere exempli altitudinem tuam humilitate sublimas.

[1] I REJOICE, honoured lord, to see you win the distinction of this most exalted title; and all the more because the news is announced to me by special messenger. For though you are now high among the powers, and after all these years the patrician dignity comes back to the Philagrian house by your felicity, you will discover, most loyal of friends, how much your honours grow by being shared, and how far so rare a modesty as yours exalts a lofty station.

[2] sic quondam Quintum Fabium magistrum equitum dictatorio rigori et Papirianae superbiae favor publicus praetulit; sic et Gnaeum Pompeium super aemulos extulit numquam fastidita popularitas; sic invidiam Tiberianam pressit universitatis amore Germanicus, quocirca nolo sibi de successibus tuis principalia beneficia plurimum blandiantur, quae nihil tibi amplius conferre potuerunt quam ut, si id noluissemus, transiremur inviti. illud peculiare tuum est, illud gratiae singularis, quod tam qui te aemulentur non habes quam non invenis qui sequantur, vale.

[2] It was for these qualities that the Roman people once preferred Quintus Fabius the Master of the Horse to Cursor with his dictatorial rigour and his Papirian pride; for these that Pompey surpassed all rivals in a popularity which he was too wise to scorn. By these Germanicus won the whole world's favour and forced Tiberius to repress his envy. For these reasons I will not concede all the credit for your promotion to the imperial pleasure. It has only one advantage over ours; were we to oppose your claims, it has the power to override us. Your peculiar privilege, your unique advantage is this: you have neither actual rival nor visible successor. Farewell.

Sidonius Sagittario suo salutem

IV.

To his friend Sagittarius A.D. 461-7*

[1] Vir clarissimus Proiectus, domi nobilis et patre patruoque spectabilibus, avo etiam praestantissimo sacerdote conspicuus, amicitiarum tuarum, nisi respuis, avidissime sinibus infertur, et cum illi familiae splendor probitas morum, patrimonii facultas iuventutis alacritas in omne decus pari lance conquadrent, ita demum sibi tamen videbitur ad arcem fastigatissimae felicitatis e vectus, si gratiae tuae sodalitate potiatur.

[1] THE honourable § Projectus is ardently bent upon your friendship; I trust that you will not repel his advances. He is of noble lineage; the reputation of his father and his uncle, and his grandfather's eminence in the Church unite to lend a lustre to his name; he has indeed all that conduces to distinction; family, wealth, probity, energetic youth; but not till he is assured of your good graces, will he consider himself to have attained the culminating point of his career.

[2] Optantii clarissimi viri nuper vita functi filiam, quod deo prosperante succedat, licet a matre pupillae in coniugium petierit obtinueritque, parum tamen votorum suorum promotum censet effectum, nisi assensum tuum super his omnibus seu sedulitate sua seu precatu nostrae intercessionis adipiscatur. namque ipse, quantum ad institutionem spectat puellae, in locum mortui patris curarum participatione succedis, conferendo virgini parentis adfectum, patroni auctoritatem, tutoris officium.

[2] Although he has already asked and obtained from the widow of the late honourable Optantius her daughter's hand — may God speed his hopes — he fears that little will have been gained by all his vows, unless his own solicitude, or my intercession gains him your support as well. For you have taken the place of the girl's dead father; you have succeeded to his share in the responsibility for her upbringing; it is to you that she looks for a father's love, a patron's guidance, a guardian's bounden care.

[3] quocirca, quia dignus es ut domus tuae celeberrimam disciplinam etiam procul positorum petat ambitus, sicut decet bonarum partium viros, benignitate responsi proci supplicis verecundiam munere et, qui ita expetitus deberes illi expetere pollicendam, securus permittit 1 promissam, quia sic te condicioni huic meritorum ratio praefecit, ut nec superstiti Optantio in liberos suos decuerit plus licere, vale.

[3] And since it is but natural that your admirable government of your household should attract men of the right stamp even from distant places,

reward the modesty of this suppliant wooer by a kindly response. In the usual course of events it would have fallen to you to obtain him the mother's consent; as it is, he saves you this trouble, and you have only to sanction a troth already approved. Your reputation gives you in effect a parental authority in regard to this match; the father himself, if he had lived, could not have claimed a greater. Farewell.

* Or to Syagrius, as C.

§ *Clarissimus*.

Sidonius Petronio suo salutem

V.

To his friend Petronius A.D. 461-7

[1] Iohannes familiaris meus inextricabilem labyrinthum negotii multiplicis incurrit et donec suarum merita chartarum vel vestra scientia vel si qua est vestrae (si tamen est ulla) similis inspexerit, quid respuat, quid optet ignorat. ita se quodammodo bipertitae litis forma confundit, ut propositio sua quem actionis ordinem propugnatura, quem sit impugnatura, non noverit.

[1] JOHN, my friend, is caught inextricably in the labyrinth of a complex business, and is at a loss what to hope and what abandon until your experienced eye, or another as good (if such there be), has looked into his titles to determine their validity. The case is confusing in that it has more than one side, and he does not see whether his statement should maintain one line of action or impugn another.

[2] pro quo precem sedulam fundo, ut perspectus chartulis suis si quid iure competit instruatis, quae qualiterve sint obicienda. quae refellenda monstrantes. non enim verebimur quod causae istius cursus, si de vestri manaverit fonte consilii, ulla contrastantum derivatione tenuetur. vale. THE LETTERS OF SIDONIUS

[2] I most earnestly beg you, therefore, to examine his documents and tell him what his rights are, what he ought to allege or refute, and what his procedure should be. Let but the stream of this affair flow from the springs of your advice, and I have no fear that the other side will manage to reduce its volume by any unfair diversion. Farewell.

Sidonius Pegasio suo salutem

VI.

To his friend Pegasius A.D. 461-7

[1] Proverbialiter celebre est saepe moram esse meliorem, sicuti et nunc experti sumus. Menstruanus amicus tuus longo istic tempore inspectus meruit inter personas nobis quoque caras devinctasque censi, opportunus elegans, verecundus sobrius, parvus religiosus et his morum dotibus praeditus ut, quotiens in boni cuiusque adscitur amicitias, non amplius consequatur beneficii ipse quam tribuat.

[1] THERE is a proverb that delay is often best; I have just had proof that it is true. We have had your friend Menstruanus long enough among us, to find him worthy of a place among our dearest and most intimate friends. He is agreeable, and of refined manners, moderate, sensible, religious, and no spendthrift; his is a personality which confers as much as it obtains when admitted to the most approved of friendships.

[2] haec tibi non ut ignoranti, sed ut iudicio meo satisfacerem, scripsi, quam ob rem triplex causa laetandi: tibi prima, cui amicos sic aut instituere aut eligere contingit; Arvernensis secunda, quibus hoc in eo placuisse confirmo, quod te probasse non ambigo; illi tertia, de quo boni quique bona quaeque iudicaverunt, vale.

[2] I tell you this for my own satisfaction, and not to inform you of what you already know. As a result, content will now reign in three separate quarters. You will be pleased at this seal set on your judgement in the choice and adoption of your friends; the Arvernians will be pleased, since to my certain knowledge they liked him for the very qualities which, I am sure, commended him to you; lastly Menstruanus himself will be gratified at receiving the good opinion of honourable men. Farewell.

Sidonius Explicio suo salutem

VII.

To his friend Explicius A.D. 461-7

[1] Quia iustitia vestra iure fit universitati per complura recti experimenta venerabilis, idcirco singulas quasque personas id ipsum efflagitantes in examen vestrum libens et avidus emitto, quam primum ambiens me discussionis, illos simultatis onere laxari; quod demum ita sequetur, si non ex solido querimonias partium verecundus censor excludas; quamquam et hoc ipsum, quod copiam tui iurgantibus difficile concedis, indicium sit bene iudicaturi: quis enim se non ambiat arbitrum legi aut pretio aliquid indulturus aut gratiae?

[1] You have given so many proofs of your impartiality that you have won universal respect, and for that reason I am always more than eager to send all seekers after justice to your judgement-seat; by so doing I ease the disputants from their burden, and myself from all necessity of argument. These ends I shall attain in the present case, unless your diffidence should prompt you to refuse the parties audience; but your very inaccessibility is the best proof of your impartiality. For almost every one else intrigues to be chosen as an arbitrator, expecting to gain something in influence or advantage.

[2] igitur ignosce ad tam sanctae conscientiae praerogativam raptim perneciterque properantibus, quandoquidem sententiam tuam nec victus ut stolidus accusat nec victor ut argutus inridet, veritatisque respectu dependunt tibi addicti reverentiam, gratiam liberati, proinde impense obsecro ut inter Alethium et Paulum quae veniunt in disceptationem, mox ut utrimque fuerint opposita, discingas. namque, ni fallor, supra decemvires pontificalesque sententias aegritudini huius prope interminabilis iurgii sola morum tuorum temperantia solita iudicandi salubritate medicabitur. vale.

[2] Be indulgent, therefore, to men who press on each other's heels to enjoy the privilege of pleading before so fair a judge; your repute is such that the loser can never be so stupid as to impugn your verdict, or the winner so over-subtle as to deride it. Both sides respect the truth; those against whom the verdict goes respect you; those whom it favours show their gratitude. Therefore I implore your early decision on the matter in dispute between Alethius and Paulus. I believe your sound sense and healthy judgement can alone heal the malady of this interminable quarrel, and that they will be far more effective than any decrees of decemvirs or of pontiffs. Farewell.

Sidonius Desiderato suo salutem

VIII.

To his friend Desideratus A.D. 461-7

[1] Maestissimus haec tibi nuntio, decessit nudius tertius non absque iustitio matrona Philomathia. morigera coniunx domina clemens, utilis mater pia filia, cui debuerit domi forisque persona minor obsequium, maior officium, aequalis adfectum, haec cum esset unica iam diu matris amissae, facile diversis blandimentorum generibus effecerat ne patri adhuc iuveni subolis sexus alterius desideraretur. nunc autem per subita suprema virum caelibatu, patrem orbitate confodit. his additur quod quinque liberum parens immaturo exitu reddidit infortunatam fecunditatem. qui parvuli si matre sospite perdidissent iam diu debilem patrem, minus pupilli existimarentur.

[1] I WRITE oppressed by a great sorrow. Three days ago Filimatia died, and all business was suspended out of respect to her memory. She was an obedient wife, a kindly mistress, a capable mother, a dutiful daughter, whether at home or abroad, earning the willing service of her inferiors, the affection of her equals, and the consideration of the great. Left an only daughter at her mother's death, she so bewitched her father by her charming ways, that though he was still a young man, he never longed for a male heir. And now her sudden death pierces two hearts, leaving a husband desolate and a father childless. The mother of five children has been snatched away before her time, her very fertility her worst misfortune; had she been left, and the invalid father taken, the little ones would seem less helpless than now.

[2] hanc tamen, si quis haud incassum honor cadaveribus impenditur, non vispillonum sandapilari-orumque ministeria ominosa tumulavere; sed cum libitinam ipsam flentes omnes, externi quoque, prensitarent remorarentur exoscularentur, sacerdotum propinquorumque manibus excepta perpetuis sedibus dormienti similior inlata est. post quae precatu parentis orbatu neniam funebrem non per elegos sed per hendecasyllabos marmori incisam planctu prope calente dictavi, quam si non satis improbas, ceteris epigrammatum meorum voluminibus applicandam mercennarius bybliopola suscipiet; si quod secus, sufficit saxo carmen saxeum contineri. hoc enim epitaphion est:

[2] The tributes of affection which we pay the dead are not vain; it was not the sinister train of bearers who buried her; all present were dissolved in tears, and the very strangers hung upon the bier as if they would hold it back. They imprinted kisses on it, until more like one in slumber than one dead, she was received by her relatives and the clergy, to be laid to rest in her long home. When the rites were done, the bereaved father begged me to write an elegy for her tombstone; I did it while my tears were still almost warm, choosing the

hendecasyllabic in place of the elegiac measure. If you do not think the lines too bad, my bookseller shall include them in the volumes of my selected poems; if you do, the heavy verse shall be confined to the heavy stone.

[3]

Occasu celeri feroque raptam
gnaris quinque patrique coniugique
hoc flentis patriae manus locarunt
matronam Philomathiam sepulchro.

[5] o splendor generis, decus mariti,
prudens casta decens severa dulcis
atque ipsis senioribus sequenda,
discordantia quae solent putari
morum commoditate copulasti:

[10] nam vitae comites bonae fuerunt
libertas gravis et pudor facetus.

hinc est quod decimam tuae saluti
vix actam trieteridem dolemus
atque in temporibus vigentis aevi

[15] iniuste tibi iusta persoluta.

Placeat carmen necne: tu propera civitatemque festinus invise; debes enim consolationis officium duorum civium domibus adflictis, quod ita solvas deum quaeso, ne umquam tibi redhibeatur. vale.

[3] Here is my epitaph:

‘In this tomb a mourning country’s hands have laid the matron Filimatia, whom with fierce stroke and swift, fate snatched from spouse, from sire, from five orphaned children. O pride of thy house, O glory of thy consort, O wise and pure and seemly, O strict and tender, and worthy to precede even the aged, by what art of thy gentle nature didst thou unite the qualities which seem at discord with each other? For a grave ease and a modesty not too severe for gaiety were ever the companions of thy life. Therefore we mourn thee taken, thy sixth lustre hardly run, and the due rites paid in this undue season of thy prime.’

Whether you like the verses or not, hasten back to the city. You owe the bereaved homes of two fellow townsmen the duty of consolation. Pray God you so act that the manner of your action may never be your reproach hereafter. Farewell.

Sidonius Donido suo salutem

IX.

*To his friend Donidius * A.D. 461-7*

[1] Quaeris cur ipse iampridem Nemausum profectus vestra serum ob adventum desideria producam, reddo causas reditus tardioris nec moras meas prodere moror, quia quae mihi dulcia sunt tibi quoque, inter agros amoenissimos, humanissimos dominos, Ferreolum et Apollinarem, tempus voluptuosissimum exegi. praediorum his iura contermina, domicilia vicina, quibus interiecta gestatio peditem lassat neque sufficit equitatu. colles aedibus superiores exercentur vinitori et olivitori: Aracynthus et Nysam, celebrata poetarum carminibus iuga, censeas, uni domui in plana patentiaque, alteri in nemora prospectus; sed nihilo minus dissimilis situs similiter oblectat.

[1] To your question why, having got as far as Nimes, I still leave your hospitality expectant, I reply by giving the reason for my delayed return. I will even dilate upon the causes of my dilatoriness, for I know that what I enjoy is your enjoyment too. The fact is, I have passed the most delightful time in the most beautiful country in the company of Tonantius Ferreolus and Apollinaris, the most charming hosts in the world. Their estates march together; their houses are not far apart; and the extent of intervening ground is just too far for a walk and just too short to make the ride worth while. The hills above the houses are under vines and olives; they might be Nysa and Aracynthus, famed in song. The view from one villa is over a wide flat country, that from the other over woodland; yet different though their situations are, the eye derives equal pleasure from both.

[2] quamquam de praediorum quid nunc amplius positione, cum restat hospitalitatis ordo reserandus? iam primum sagacissimis in hoc exploratoribus destinatis, qui reditus nostri iter aucuparentur, domus utraque non solum tramites aggerum publicorum verum etiam calles compendiis tortuosos atque pastoria deverticula insedit, ne quo casu dispositis officiorum insidiis elaberemur. quas incidimus, fateor, sed minime inviti, iusque iurandum confestim praebere compulsi, ne, priusquam septem dies evolverentur, quicquam de itineris nostri continuatione meditaremur.

[2] But enough of sites; I have now to unfold the order of my entertainment. Sharp scouts were posted to look out for our return; and not only were the roads patrolled by men from each estate, but even winding short-cuts and sheep-tracks were under observation, to make it quite impossible for us to elude the friendly ambush. Into this of course we fell, no unwilling prisoners; and our captors instantly made us swear to dismiss every idea of continuing our journey until a whole week had elapsed.

[3] igitur mane cotidiano partibus super hospite prima et grata contentio, quatenam potissimum antea edulis nostris culina fumaret; nec sane poterat ex aequo divisioni lancem ponere vicissitudo, licet uni domui mecum, alteri cum meis vinculum foret propinquitatis, quia Ferreolo praefectorio viro praeter necessitudinem sibi debitam dabat aetas et dignitas primi invitatoris praerogativam.

[3] And so every morning began with a flattering rivalry between the two hosts, as to which of their kitchens should first smoke for the refreshment of their guest; nor, though I am personally related to one, and connected through my relatives with the other, could I manage by alternation to give them quite equal measure, since age and the dignity of prefectorian rank gave Ferreolus a prior right of invitation over and above his other claims.

[4] ilicet a deliciis in delicias rapiebamur. vix quodcumque vestibulum intratum, et ecce huc 1 sphaeristarum contrastantium paria inter rotatiles catastropharum gyros duplicabantur, huc inter aleatoriarum vocum competitiones frequens crepitantium fritillorum tesserarumque strepitus audiebatur; huc libri adfatim in promptu (videre te crederes aut grammaticales pluteos aut Athenaei cuneos aut armaria exstructa bybliopolarum): sic tamen quod, qui inter matronarum cathedras codices erant, stilus his religiosus inveniebatur, qui vero per subsellia patrumfamilias, hi coturno Latiaris eloqui nobilebantur; licet quaequam volumina quorumpiam auctorum servarent in causis disparibus dicendi parilitatem: nam simili! scientiae viri, hinc Augustinus hinc Varro, hinc Horatius hinc Prudentius lectitabantur.

[4] From the first moment we were hurried from one pleasure to another. Hardly had we entered the vestibule of either house when we saw two opposed pairs of partners in the ball-game repeating each other's movements as they turned in wheeling circles; in another place one heard the rattle of dice boxes and the shouts of the contending players; in yet another, were books in abundance ready to your hand; you might have imagined yourself among the shelves of some grammarian, or the tiers of the Athenaeum, or a bookseller's towering cases. They were so arranged that the devotional works were near the ladies' seats; where the master sat were those ennobled by the great style of Roman eloquence. The arrangement had this defect, that it separated certain books by certain authors in manner as near to each other as in matter they are far apart. Thus Augustine writes like Varro, and Horace like Prudentius; but you had to consult them on different sides of the room.

[5] quos inter Adamantius Origenes 1 Turrano Rufino interpretatus sedulo fidei nostrae lectoribus inspiciebatur; pariter et, prout singulis cordi, diversa censentes sermocinabamur, cur a quibusdam protomystarum tamquam scaevus cavendusque tractator improbaretur, quamquam sic esset ad verbum sententiamque translatus ut nec Apuleius Phaedonem sic Platonis neque Tullius Ctesiphontem sic Demosthenis in usum regulamque Romani sermonis

[5] Turranius Rufinus' interpretation of Adamantius Origen was eagerly examined by the readers of theology among us; according to our several points of view, we had different reasons to give for the censure of this Father by certain of the clergy as too trenchant a controversialist and best avoided by the prudent; but the translation is so literal and yet renders the spirit of the work so well, that neither Apuleius' version of Plato's *Phaedo*, nor Cicero's of the *Ctesiphon* of Demosthenes is more admirably adapted to the use and rule of our Latin tongue.

[6] studiis hisce dum nostrum singuli quique, prout libuerat, occupabantur, ecce et ab archimagiro adventans, qui tempus instare curandi corpora moneret, quem quidem nuntium per spatia clepsydrae horarum incrementa servantem probabat competenter ingressum quinta digrediens, prandebamus breviter copiose, senatorium 1 ad morem, quo insitum institutumque multas epulas paucis parabsidibus apponi, quamvis convivium per edulia nunc assa nunc iurulenta varietur, inter bibendum narratiunculae, quarum cognitu hilararemur institueremur, quia eas bifariam orditas laetitia peritiaque comitabantur, quid multa? sancte pulchre abundanter accipiebamur.

[6] While we were engaged in these discussions as fancy prompted each, appears an envoy from the cook to warn us that the moment of bodily refreshment is at hand. And in fact the fifth hour had just elapsed, proving that the man was punctual, had properly marked the advance of the hours upon the water-clock . The dinner was short, but abundant, served in the fashion affected in senatorial houses where inveterate usage prescribes numerous courses on very few dishes, though to afford variety, roast alternated with stew. Amusing and instructive anecdotes accompanied our potations; wit went with the one sort, and learning with the other. To be brief, we were entertained with decorum, refinement, and good cheer.

[7] inde surgentes, si Vorocingi eramus (hoc uni praedio nomen), ad sarcinas et deversorium pedem referebamus; si Prusiani (sic fundus alter nuncupabatur), Tonantium cum fratribus, lectissimos aequaevorum nobilium principes, stratis suis eiciebamus, quia nec facile crebro cubilium nostrorum instrumenta circumferebantur, excusso torpore meridiano paulisper equitabamus, quo facilius pectora marcida cibis cenatoria fami exaceremus.

[7] After dinner, if we were at Vorocingus (the name of one estate) we walked over to our quarters and our own belongings. If at Prusianum, as the other is called, [the young] Tonantius and his brothers turned out of their beds for us because we could not be always dragging our gear about: they are surely the elect among the nobles of our own age. The siesta over, we took a short ride to sharpen our jaded appetites for supper.

[8] balneas habebat in opere uterque hospes, in usu neuter; sed cum vel paxillulum bibere desisset assecularum meorum famulorumque turba compotrix, quorum cerebris hospitales creterrae nimium immersae dominabantur, vicina fonti aut fluvio raptim scrobis fodiebatur, in quam forte cum lapidum cumulus ambustus demitteretur, antro in hemisphaerii formam corylis flexibilibus 1 intexto fossa inardescens operiebatur, sic tamen ut superiectis Cilicum velis patentia intervalla virgarum lumine excluso tenebrarentur, vaporem repulsura salientem, qui undae ferventis aspergine flammatis silicibus excuditur.

[8] Both of our hosts had baths in their houses, but in neither did they happen to be available; so I set my own servants to work in the rare sober interludes which the convivial bowl, too often filled, allowed their sodden brains. I made them dig a pit at their best speed either near a spring or by the river; into this a heap of red-hot stones was thrown, and the glowing cavity then covered over with an arched roof of wattled hazel. This still left interstices, and to exclude the light and keep in the steam given off when water was thrown on the hot stones, we laid coverings of Cilician goats' hair over all.

[9] hic nobis trahebantur horae non absque sermonibus salsis iocularibusque; quos inter halitu nebulae stridentis oppletis involutisque saluberrimus sudor eliciebatur; quo, prout libuisset, effuso coctilibus aquis ingerebamur, quarumque 2 fotu cruditatem nostram tergente resoluti aut fontano deinceps frigore putealique aut fluviali copia solidabamur: siquidem domibus medius it Vardo fluvius, nisi cum deflua nive pastus impalluit, flavis ruber glareis et per alveum perspicuus quietus calculosusque neque ob hoc minus piscium ferax delicatorem.

[9] In these vapour-baths we passed whole hours with lively talk and repartee; all the time the cloud of hissing steam enveloping us induced the healthiest perspiration.

When we had perspired enough, we were bathed in hot water; the treatment removed the feeling of repletion, but left us languid; we therefore finished off with a bracing douche from fountain, well or river. For the river Garden runs between the two properties; except in time of flood, when the stream is swollen and clouded with melted snow, it looks red through its tawny gravels, and flows still and pellucid over its pebbly bed, teeming none the less with the most delicate fish.

[10] dicerem et cenas et quidem unctissimas, nisi terminum nostrae loquacitati, quem verecundia non adhibet, charta posuisset; quarum quoque replicatio fieret amoena narratu, nisi epistulae tergum madidis sordidare calamis erubesceremus. sed quia et ipsi in procinctu sumus teque sub ope Christi actutum nobis invisere placet, expeditius tibi cenae amicorum in mea cena tuaque commemorabuntur, modo nos quam primum hebdomadis exactae

spatia completa votivae restituant esuritioni, quia disruptum ganea stomachum
nulla sarcire res melius quam parsimonia solet, vale.

[10] I could tell you of suppers fit for a king; it is not my sense of shame, but simply want of space which sets a limit to my revelations. You would have a great story if I turned the page and continued on the other side; but I am always ashamed to disfigure the back of a letter with an inky pen. Besides, I am on the point of leaving here, and hope, by Christ's grace, that we shall meet very shortly; the story of our friends' banquets will be better told at my own table or yours — provided only that a good week's interval first elapses to restore me the healthy appetite I long for. There is nothing like thin living to give tone to a system disordered by excess. Farewell.

* Translated by Hodgkin, ii. 324 f.

Sidonius Hesperio suo salutem

X.

To his friend Hesperius c. A. D. 470

[1] Amo in te quod litteras amas et usquequaque praeconiis cumulatissimis excolere 1 contendo tantae diligentiae generositatem, per quam nobis non solum initia tua verum etiam studia nostra com- mendas. nam cum videmus in huiusmodi disciplinam iuniorum ingenia succrescere, propter quam nos quoque subduximus ferulae manum, copiosissimum fructum nostri laboris adipiscimur. illud appone, quod tantum increbruit multitudo desidiorum ut, nisi vel paucissimi quique meram linguae Latiaris proprietatem de trivialium barbarismorum robigine vindicaveritis, eam brevi abolitam defleamus interemptamque: sic omnes nobilium sermonum purpurae per incuriam vulgi decolorabuntur.

[1] WHAT I most love in you is your love of letters, and I strive to enhance the generous devotion by the highest praises I can give; your firstfruits please the better for it, and even my own work begins to rise in my esteem. For the richest reward of a man's labours is to see promising young men growing up in that discipline of letters for which he in his own day smarted under the cane. The numbers of the indifferent grow at such a rate that unless your little band can save the purity of the Latin tongue from the rust of sorry barbarisms we shall soon have to mourn its abolition and decease. All the fine flowers of diction will lose their splendour through the apathy of our people.

[2] sed istinc alias: interea tu quod petis accipe, petis autem ut, si qui versiculi mihi fluxerint postquam ab alterutro discessimus, hos tibi pro quadam morarum mercede pernumerem. dicto pareo; nam praeditus es quamquam iuvenis hac animi maturitate, ut tibi etiam natu priores gerere morem concupiscamus. ecclesia nuper ex-structa Lugduni est, quae studio papae Patientis summum coepti operis accessit, viri sancti strenui, severi misericordis quique per uberem munificentiam in pauperes humanitatemque non minora bonae conscientiae culmina levat.

[2] But of that another time. My present duty is to send you what you asked, namely, any verses I might have written since we saw each other last, to compensate you for my absence. I now satisfy your desire; young though you are, your judgement is already so matured that even we seniors like to obey your wishes.

A church has recently been built at Lyons, and carried to a successful completion by the zeal of Bishop Patiens; you know his holy, strenuous, and ascetic life, how by his abounding liberality and hospitable love towards the poor he erects to an equal height the temple of a spotless reputation.

[3] huius igitur aedis extimis rogatu praefati antistitis tumultuarium carmen inscripsi trochaeis triplicibus adhuc mihi iamque tibi perfamiliaribus. namque ab hexametris eminentium poetarum Constantii et Secundini vicinania altari basilicae latera clarescunt, quos in hanc paginam admitti nostra quam maxime verecundia vetat, quam suas otiositates trepidanter edentem meliorum carminum comparatio premit.

[3] At his request I wrote a hurried inscription for the end of the church in triple trochaic, a metre by this time as familiar to you as it has long been to me. Hexameters by the illustrious poets Constantius and Secundinus adorn the walls by the altar; these mere shame forbids me to copy here for you. It is with diffidence that I let my verse appear at all; comparison of their accomplished work with the poor efforts of my leisure would be too overwhelming. Just as a too beautiful bridesmaid makes the worst escort for a bride, and a dark man looks his swarthiest in white, so does my scrannel pipe sound common and is drowned by the music of their nobler instruments. Holding the middle post in space and the last in merit, my composition stands condemned as a poor thing, no less for its faulty art than for the presumption which has set it where it is. Their inscriptions properly outshine mine, which is but a sketchy and fanciful production. But excuses are of little use: let the wretched reed warble the lines demanded of me:

[4] nam sicuti novam nuptam nihil minus quam pulchrior pronuba decet, sicuti, si vestiatur albo, fuscus quisque fit nigrior, sic nostra, quantula est cumque, tubis circumfusa potioribus stipula vilescit, quam mediam loco, infimam merito despicabiliorem pronuntiari non imperitia modo sed et arrogantia facit, quapropter illorum iustius epigrammata micant quam istaec, quae imaginarie tantum et quodammodo umbratiliter effingimus. sed quorsum ista? quin potius paupertinus flagitatae cantilenae culmus immurmuret.

Quisquis pontificis patrisque nostri
conlaudas Patientis hic laborem,
voti compote supplicatione
concessum experiare quod rogabis.

[4] 'O thou * who here applaudest the labours of Patiens our pontiff and father, be it thine to receive of heaven an answer to a prayer according with thy desire. High stands the church in splendour, extending neither to right nor left, but with towering front looking towards the equinoctial sunrise. Within is shining light, and the gilding of the coffered ceiling allures the sunbeams golden as itself. The whole basilica is bright with diverse marbles, floor vaulting and windows all adorned with figures of most various colour, and mosaic green as a blooming mead shows its design of sapphire cubes winding through the ground of verdant glass. The entrance is a triple portico proudly set on Aquitanian columns; a second portico of like design closes the atrium

at the farther side, and the mid-space is flanked afar by columns numerous as forest stems. On the one side runs the noisy highway, on the other leaps the Saône; here turns the traveller who rides or goes afoot, here the driver of the creaking carriage; here the towers, bowed over the rope, raise their river-chant to Christ till the banks re-echo Alleluia. So raise the psalm, O wayfarer and boatman, for here is the goal of all mankind, hither runs for all the way of their salvation.'

[5] aedis celsa nitet nec in sinistrum
aut dextrum trahitur, sed arce frontis
ortum prospicit aequinoctialem.
intus lux micat atque bratteatum
sol sic sollicitatur ad lacunar,

[10] fulvo ut concolor erret in metallo.
distinctum vario nitore marmor
percurrit cameram solum fenestras,
ac sub versicoloribus figuris
vernans herbida crusta sapphiratos

[15] flectit per prasinum vitrum lapillos.
huic est porticus applicata triplex
fulmentis Aquitanicis superba,
ad cuius specimen remotiora
claudunt atria porticus secundae,

[20] et campum medium procul locatas
vestit saxea silva per columnas.
hinc agger sonat, hinc Arar resultat,
hinc sese pedes atque eques reflectit
stridentum et moderator essedorum,

[25] curvorum hinc chorus helciariorum
responsantibus alleluia ripis
ad Christum levat amnicum celeuma.
sic, sic psallite, nauta vel viator;
namque iste est locus omnibus petendus,
[30] omnes quo via ducit ad salutem.

[5] Ecce parui tamquam iunior imperatis: tu modo fac memineras multiplicato me faenore re-munerandum, quoque id facilius possis voluptuosiusque, opus est ut sine dissimulatione lectites, sine fine lecturias; neque patiaris ut te ab hoc proposito propediem coniunx domum feliciter ducenda de-flectat, sisque oppido meminsens quod olim Marcia Hortensio, Terentia Tullio, Calpurnia Plinio, Pudentilla Apuleio, Rusticiana Symmacho legentibus meditantibusque candelas et candelabra tenuerunt.

[5] You see I have done your bidding as if you were the older and I the younger man. But mind not to forget that I expect repayment with compound interest; and to make the payment easy and positively delightful, there is only one thing to do: read shamelessly; never stop longing for your books. The auspicious event, now so near, I mean the home-coming of your bride, must not distract you; keep steadily before your mind how many wives have held the lamp for studious or meditative lords — Marcia for Hortensius, Terentia for Tullius, Calpurnia for Pliny, Pudentilla for Apuleius, Rusticana for Symmachus.

[6] certe si praeter oratoriam 1 contubernio feminarum poeticum ingenium et oris tui limam frequentium studiorum cotibus expolitam querens obtundi, reminiscere quod saepe versum Corinna cum suo Nasone complevit, Lesbia cum Catullo, Caesennia cum Gaetulico, Argentaria cum Lucano, Cynthia cum Propertio, Delia cum Tibullo. proinde liquido daret studentibus discendi per nuptias occasionem tribui, desidibus excusationem, igitur incumbe, neque

apud te litterariam curam turba depretiet imperitorum, quia natura comparatum est ut in omnibus artibus hoc sit scientiae pretiosior pompa, quo rarior, vale.

[6] When you are inclined to complain that feminine companionship may deaden not only your eloquence but your poetic talent as well, and dull the fine edge which long study has set upon your diction, remember how often Corinna helped her Ovid to round off a verse, Lesbia her Catullus, Caesennia her Gaetulicus, Argentaria her Lucan, Cynthia her Propertius, or Delia her Tibullus. Why, it is as clear as day that, to the studious, marriage is opportunity, and only to the idle an excuse. Set to, then; do not permit a mob of the unlettered to discourage your zeal for letters. For it is Nature's law in all the arts that the rarer the accomplishment, the higher the value. Farewell.

* Translated by Hodgkin, ii. 328 ff., who uses a corresponding English metre; also by Fertig, ii. 37.

Sidonius Rustico suo salutem

XI.

To his friend Rusticus A. D. 461-7

[1] Si nobis pro situ spatiisque regionum vicinaremur nec a se praesentia mutua vasti itineris longinquitate discriminaretur, nihil apicum raritati licere in coeptae familiaritatis officia permitterem neque iam semel missa fundamenta certantis amicitiae diversis honorum generibus extruere cessarem. sed animorum coniunctioni separata utrique porrecti-oribus terminis obsistit habitatio, equidem semel devinctis parum nocitura pectoribus.

[1] IF only we lived nearer to each other, and the distance which sunders us were less vast, I should allow no remissness in correspondence to affect the duties of our established intimacy. I should not cease, the foundations of our mutual friendship once laid, to raise thereon a noble structure by all honourable attention. The distance of our homes from each other may hardly affect the union of hearts linked once for all, yet it interferes with the intercourse of minds.

[2] sed tamen ex ipsa communium municipiorum discretione procedit quod, cum amicissimi simus, raritatem collo-quii de proluxa terrarum interiectione venientem in reatum volumus transferre communem, cum de naturalium rerum difficultate nec culpa nos debeat manere nec venia, domine inlustris, gerulos litterarum de disciplinae tuae institutione formatos et morum eriliū verecundiam praeferentes opportune admisi, patienter audiui, competenter explicui. vale.

[2] The remoteness of our cities is really responsible for the rarity of our letters; but so close is our friendship that we keep accusing ourselves, though all the time the obstacles are purely natural, and afford no real ground either for blame or for excuse. I opened my gates in a good hour, illustrious lord, to your messengers, in whom I marked the effect of your training and the influence of their master's unassuming manners. I heard with pleasure all they had to say, and finally dismissed them as the event required. Farewell.

Sidonius Agricolae suo salutem

XII.

To his brother-in-law Agricola A. D. 461-7

[1] Misisti tu quidem lembum mobilem solidum lecti capacem iamque cum piscibus; tum praeterea gubernatorem longe peritum, remiges etiam robustos expeditosque, qui scilicet ea rapiditate praetervolant amnis adversi terga qua deflui. sed dabis veniam quod invitanti tibi in piscationem comes venire dissimulo; namque me multo decumbentibus nostris validiora maeroris retia tenent, quae sunt amicis quaeque et externis indolescenda. unde te quoque puto, si rite germano movens adfectu, quo temporis puncto paginam hanc sumpseris, de reditu potius cogitaturum.

[1] WHAT a fast and well-built boat you have sent, roomy enough to hold a couch; and a present of fish too! In addition, a steersman who knows the whole river well, with sturdy and expert oarsmen who seem able to shoot upstream just as fast as down. But you must hold me excused if I decline your invitation to join your fishing; stronger nets than yours detain me here, nets of anxiety for our invalids, a source of concern not merely to our own circle but to many beyond its limits. If the natural feelings of a brother awaken in you the moment you open this, you too will give up the expedition and return.

[2] Severiana, sollicitudo communis, inquietata primum lentae tussis impulsu febribus quoque iam fatigatur, hisque per noctes ingravescentibus; propter quod optat exire in suburbanum; litteras tuas denique cum sumeremus, egredi ad villulam iam parabamus. quocirca tu seu venias seu moreris, preces nostras orationibus iuva ut ruris auram desiderant salubriter cedat ipsa vegetatio. certe ego vel tua soror inter spem metumque suspensi credidimus eius taedium augendum si voluntati iacentis obstitissemus.

[2] The cause of this general solicitude is our Severiana. At first she was troubled by a shattering intermittent cough; upon this an exhaustive fever supervened which has grown worse during successive nights. She longs to get away into the country; when your letter came, we were actually preparing to leave town for the villa. Whether you decide to stay where you are, or to come to us, join your prayers to ours that Nature with her vigorous growth may bring back health to one pining for country air. Your sister and I have been living in suspense between hope and fear; we thought that to oppose the invalid's wish would only make her fret the more.

[3] igitur ardori civitatis atque torpori tam nos quam domum totam praevio Christo pariter eximimus simulque medicorum consilia vitamur assidentum dissidentumque, qui parum docti et satis seduli languidos multos officiosissime occidunt, sane contubernio nostro iure amicitiae Iustus

adhibebitur, quem, si iocari liberet in tristibus, facile convincerem Chironica magis institutum arte quam Machaonica. quo diligentius postulandus est Christus obsecrandus-que ut valetudini, cuius curationem cura nostra non invenit, potentia superna medeatur, vale.

[3] So under Christ's guidance we are determined to fly the languor and heat of town with all our household, and incidentally escape the doctors also, who disagree across the bed, and by their ignorance and endless visits conscientiously kill off their patients. Only Justus shall be of our party, but in the quality of friend, not as physician; Justus, who, if this were a time for jesting, I could easily prove a Chiron rather than a Machaon. Let us then with all the more diligence entreat and beseech the Lord that the cure which our efforts fail to effect may come down to our invalid from above. Farewell.

Sidonius Serrano suo salutem

XIII.

To Senanus A. D. 461-7*

[1] Epistulam tuam nobis Marcellinus togatus exhibuit, homo peritus virque amicorum, quae primoribus verbis salutatione libata reliquo sui tractu, qui quidem grandis est, patroni tui Petronii Maximi imperatoris laudes habebat; quem tamen tu pertinacius aut amabilius quam rectius venusque felicissimum appellas, propter hoc quippe, cur per amplissimos fascium titulos fuerit evectus usque ad imperium, sed sententiae tali numquam ego assentior, ut fortunatos putem qui rei publicae praecipitibus ac lubricis culminibus insistent.

[1] THE advocate Marcellinus has brought your letter; I find him a man of experience; he is of the sort that makes friends. The consecrated words of greeting over, you give all the rest of your space, no trifling amount, to laudation of Petronius Maximus, your imperial patron. With more persistence (or shall I call it amiability?) than truth and justice, you style him 'the most fortunate', because, after holding all the most honourable offices of state, he at last attained the diadem. Personally, I shall always refuse to call that man fortunate who is poised on the precipitous and slippery peak of office.

[2] nam dici nequit quantum per horas fert in hac vita miseriarum vita felicitum istorum, si tamen sic sunt pronuntiandi qui sibi hoc nomen ut Sulla praesumunt, nimirum qui supergressi ius fasque commune summam beatitudinem existimant summam potestatem, hoc ipso satis miseres, quod parum intellegunt inquietissimo se subiacere famula-tui. nam sicut hominibus reges, ita regibus dominandi desideria dominantur.

[2] O the unspeakable miseries of that life, the life of your fortunates! And are they who usurp the title, as Sulla did, really to be so styled for trampling upon all law and justice, and believing power the only happiness? Does not their blindness to their own most harassing servitude alone prove them more wretched than other men? For as kings rule their subjects, so desire of domination dominates kings.

[3] hic si omittamus antecedentium principum casus vel secutorum, solus iste peculiaris tuus Maximus maximo nobis ad ista documento poterit esse, qui quamquam in arcem praefectoriam patriciam consularemque intrepidus ascenderat eosque quos gesserat magistratus ceu recurrentibus orbitis inexpletus iteraverat, cum tamen venit omnibus viribus ad principalis apicis abruptum, quandam potestatis immensae vertiginem sub corona patiebatur nec sustinebat dominus esse, qui non sustinuerat esse sub domino.

[3] Were the fate of all princes before and after him left out of the account, this Maximus of yours would alone provide the maximum of warnings. He had scaled with intrepidity the prefectorian, the patrician, the consular citadels; with an unsated appetite for office, he took for a second term posts which he had already held. But when the supreme effort brought him to the yawning gulf of the imperial dignity, his head swam beneath the diadem at sight of that enormous power, and the man who once could not bear to have a master could not now endure to be one.

[4] denique require in supradicto vitae prioris gratiam potentiam diuturnitatem eque diverso principatus paulo amplius quam bimenstris originem turbinem finem: profecto invenies hominem beatiorem prius fuisse quam beatissimus nominaretur. igitur ille, cuius antierius epulae mores, pecuniae pompae, litterae fascies, patrimonia patrocina florebant, cuius ipsa sic denique spatia vitae custodiebantur ut per horarum disposita clepsydras explicarentur, is nuncupatus Augustus ac sub hac specie Palatinis liminibus inclusus ante crepusculum ingemuit quod ad vota pervenerat, cumque mole curarum pristinae quietis tenere dimensum prohiberetur, veteris actutum regulae legibus renuntiavit atque perspexit pariter ire non posse negotium principis et otium senatoris.

[4] Imagine how much was left in all this of the influence, the power, and the stability of the old life; then think of this two-months' principate, its beginning, its whirlwind course, its end. Is it not plain that his real happiness was over and done before this epithet of 'fortunate' was ever given him? The man who once was so great a figure, with his conspicuous way of life, his banquets, his lavish expense, his retinues, his literary pursuits, his official rank, his estates, his extensive patronage; who so jealously watched the flight of time that the clock must set before his eyes the passage of every hour; this man, once made emperor, and prisoned in the palace walls, was rueing his own success before the first evening fell. And when his mountainous cares forbade him to mete the hours in his former tranquil way, he had to make instant renunciation of the old regular life; he soon discovered that the business of empire and a senatorial ease are inconsistent with each other.

[5] nec fefellerunt futura maerentem; namque cum ceteros aulicos honores tranquillissime percurrisset, ipsam aulam turbulentissime rexit inter tumultus militum popularium foederatorum; quod et exitus prodidit novus celer acerbus, quem cruentavit Fortunae diu lenocinantis perfidus finis, quae virum ut scorpios ultima sui parte percussit, dicere solebat vir litteratus atque ob ingenii merita quaesitorius, partium certe bonarum pars magna, Fulgentis, ore se ex eius frequenter audisse, cum perosus pondus imperii veterem securitatem desideraret: 'felix te, Damocles, qui non uno longius prandio regni necessitatem toleravisti.'

[5] The future did not deceive his sad forebodings; it was no help to him to

have traversed all other offices of the court in the fairest of fair weather; his rule of it was from the first tempestuous, with popular tumults, tumults of soldiery, tumults of allies. And the climax was unprecedentedly swift and cruel; Fortune, who had long cozened him, showed now all her faithlessness and made a bloody end; it was the last of her that stung him, as the tail of the scorpion stings. A prominent, noble man of high culture, whose talents raised him to quaestor's rank, a man of great influence among the nobility, I mean Fulgentius, used to say that whenever the thrice-loathed burden of a crown set Maximus longing for his ancient ease, he would often hear him exclaim: 'Happy thou, O Damocles, whose royal duress did not outlast a single banquet!'

[6] iste enim, ut legimus, Damocles provincia Siculus, urbe Syracusanus, familiaris tyranno Dionysio fuit. qui cum nimiis laudibus bona patroni ut cetera scilicet inexpertus efferret: 'vis,' inquit Dionysius, 'hodie saltem in hac mensa bonis meis pariter ac malis uti?' 'libenter,' inquit. tunc ille confestim laetum clientem quamquam et attonitum plebeio tegmine erepto muricis Tyrii seu Tarentini conchyliato ditat indutu et renidentem gemmis margaritisque aureo lecto sericatoque toreumati imponit.

[6] History tells us that Damocles was a Sicilian of Syracuse, and an acquaintance of the tyrant Dionysius. One day, when he was extolling to the skies the privileges of his patron's life without any comprehension of its drawbacks, Dionysius said to him: 'Would you like to see for yourself, at this very board, what the blessings and the curses of royalty are like?' 'I should think I would,' replied the other. Instantly the dazzled and delighted creature was stripped of his commoner's garb and made resplendent with robes of Tyrian and Tarentine dye; they set him on a gold couch with coverings of silk, a figure glittering with gems and pearls.

[7] cumque pransuro Sardanapallicum in morem panis daretur e Leontina segete confectus, insuper dapes cultae ferculis cultioribus apponerentur, spumarent Falerno gemmae capaces inque crystallis calerent unguenta glacialibus, huc 2 suffita cinnamo ac ture cenatio spargeret peregrinos naribus odores et madescentes nardo capillos circumfusa florumserta siccarent, coepit supra tergum sic recumbentis repente vibrari mucro dstrictus e lacunaribus, qui videbatur in iugulum purpurati iam iamque ruiturus; nam filo equinae saetae ligatus et ita pondere minax ut acumine gulam formidolosi Tantaleo frenabat exemplo, ne cibi ingressi per ora per vulnera exirent.

[7] But just as a Sardanapalian feast was about to begin, and bread of fine Leontine wheat was handed round; just as rare viands were brought in on plate of yet greater rarity; just as the Falernian foamed in great gem-like cups and unguents tempered the ice-cold crystal; just as the whole room breathed cinnamon and frankincense and exotic perfumes floated to every nostril; just as the garlands were drying on heads drenched with nard, — behold a bare

sword, swinging from the ceiling right over his purple-mantled shoulders, as if every instant it must fall and pierce his throat. The menace of that heavy blade on that horsehair thread curbed his greed and made him reflect on Tantalus; the awful thought oppressed him that all he swallowed might be rendered through gaping wounds.

[8] unde post mixtas fletibus preces atque multimoda suspiria vix absolutus emicatumque prosiliens illa refugit celeritate divitias deliciasque regales, quae solent appeti, reductus ad desideria mediocrium timore summorum et satis cavens, ne beatum ultra diceret duceretque qui saeptus armis ac satellitibus et per hoc raptis incubans opibus ferro pressus premeret aurum. quapropter ad statum huiusmodi, domine frater, nescio an constet tendere beatos, patet certe miseros pervenire. vale.

[8] He wept, he prayed, he sighed in every key; and when at last he was let go, he was off like a flash, flying the wealth and the delights of kings as fast as most men follow after them. A horror of high estate brought him back with longing to the mean, nicely cautioned never again to think or call the mortal happy who lives ringed round with army and guards, or broods heavy over his spoils while the steel presses no less heavily upon him than he himself upon his gold. If such a state be the goal of happiness I know not my lord brother; but that those who attain it are the most miserable of men is proved beyond dispute. Farewell.

* Partly translated by Hodgkin, ii. 200-3.

Sidonius Maurusio suo Salitem.

XIV.

To his friend Maurusius A. D. 461-7

[1] Audio industriae tuae votisque communibus uberiore proventu, quam minabatur sterilis annus, respondere vindemiam. unde et in pago Vialoscensi, qui Martialis aetate citeriore vocitatus est propter hiberna legionum Iulianarum, suspicor diuturnius te moraturum; quo loci tibi cum ferax vinea est, tum praeter ipsam praedium magno non minus domino, quod te tuosque plurifaria frugum mansionumque dote remoretur.

[1] I HEAR that your vines have responded to your hard work and our general hopes with a more abundant harvest than a threatening and lean year promised. I expect that you will consequently stay longer at the village of Vialoscum; was not the place formerly called Martialis, from the time when it formed Caesar's winter quarters? Of course you have a rich vineyard there, and a large farm besides worthy of its great proprietor, both of which will keep you and yours busy harvesting the various crops and always in fresh quarters.

[2] ilicet si horreis apothecisque seu penu impleta destinās illic usque ad adventum hirundineum vel ciconinum Iani Numaeque ninguidos menses in otio fuliginoso sive tunicata quiete transmittere, nobis quoque parum in oppido fructuosae protinus amputabuntur causae morarum, ut, dum ipse nimirum frueris rure, nos te fruamur, quibus, ut recognoscis, non magis cordi est aut voluptati ager cum redditibus amplis quam vicinus aequalis cum bonis moribus, vale.

[2] When your granaries and stores are full, you may decide to pass the snowy months of Janus and Numa in rural ease by your smoking hearth until swallow and stork reappear; if so, we too shall cut short engagements hardly promising enough to keep us in town, and while you enjoy your country life we shall enjoy your society. You know me well enough to be aware that even the sight of a fine estate with ample revenues could never give me half the satisfaction or the keen pleasure which I derive from intercourse with a neighbour of my own years and so worthy of my esteem. Farewell.

BOOK III

Sidonius Avito suo salutem

I.

To his friend Avitus c. A. D. 472

[1] Multis quidem vinculis caritatis ab ineunte pueritia quicquid venimus in iuventutem gratiae sese mutuae cura nexuerat, primum quia matribus nostris summa sanguinis iuncti necessitudo, dein quod ipsi isdem temporibus nati magistris usi, artibus instituti lusibus otiati, principibus evecti stipendiis perfuncti sumus; et, quod est ad amicitias ampliandas his validius efficaciusque, in singulis quibusque personis vel expetendis aequaliter vel cavendis iudicii parilitate certavimus.

[1] FROM our earliest boyhood and through our youth you and I have been linked by many bonds of mutual affection. To begin with, our mothers were very near relations. Then we were born about the same time and were contemporaries at school; we were together initiated into the study of the arts and employed our leisure in the same amusements; we were promoted by the same imperial favour; we were colleagues in the service of the state. Lastly, in personal likings and antipathies our judgement has always agreed — perhaps a stronger and more efficient factor this, in widening the scope of friendship than all the rest together.

[2] propter quae omnia (praetereo 1 conscientiam, quae interius tibi longe praestantior eminentiorque) multum voluntates nostras copulaverat decursarum forinsecus actionum multitudo.² sed, quod fatendum est, diu erectis utrimque amoris machinis ipse culmina pretiosa posuisti ecclesiam Arverni municipioli, cui praepositus, etsi immerito, videor, peropportuna oblatione locupletando; cuius possessioni plurimum contulisti Cuticiacensis praedii suburbanitate, non minus nostrae professionis fraternitatem loci proximitate dignatus ditare quam redditu.

[2] The outward resemblance of our careers drew us together by the bond of similar occupation; inwardly we were less alike, for yours was by far the higher and more excellent nature. And now I gladly recognize that yours is the hand to crown the edifice of our long mutual regard by this most timely endowment of the church in our poor town of Clermont, whose unworthy bishop I am. In this estate of Cutiacum, lying almost at its gates, you have indeed made an important addition to its property; to the members of our sacred profession whom your generosity has thus enriched, the convenience of access counts for almost as much as the revenue which the place yields.

[3] et licet sororiae hereditatis duo consortes esse videamini, exemplo tamen fidei tuae superstes germana commota est ad boni operis imitationem. itaque tibi caelitus iure redhibetur tui facti meritum, alieni incitamentum, quo fit ut

reperiare dignissimus quem divinitas inusitato successionum 3 genere sublimet; quae tamen nec diu distulit religiosam devotionem centuplicatis opulentare muneribus quaeque, ut confidimus, nihilo segnius caelestia largietur, cum terrena iam solvent. Nicetiana namque, si nescis, hereditas Cuticiaci supernum pretium fuit.

[3] Under your late sister's will, you were only a co-heir, but the example of your piety has already moved your surviving sister to emulate your good works. And heaven has already repaid you as you deserve for your own deed and its effect upon her; God has chosen you out to be exalted by unusual good fortune in inheritances. He did not long delay to reward your devotion a hundredfold, and it is our sure belief that these earthly gifts will be followed by heavenly gifts hereafter. I may tell you, if you are really unaware of it, that the Nicetian succession is heaven's repayment for Cutiacum surrendered.

[4] quod restat, exposcimus ut sicut ecclesiae nostrae ita etiam civitatis aequae tibi sit cura communis, quae cum olim, tum debeat ex hoc praecipue tempore ad tuum patrocinium vel ob tuum patrimonium pertinere, quod cuius meriti esse possit, quippe si vestra crebro illud praesentia invisat, vel Gothi credite, qui saepenumero etiam Septimaniam suam fastidiunt vel refundunt, modo invidiosi huius anguli etiam desolata proprietate potiuntur.

[4] We pray you in the future to extend to the city itself the interest you have already shown its church; henceforward it should be more than ever the object of your protection since you have inherited a property there. You may conclude from the attitude of the Goths how valuable the place might become if you would only make it frequent visits; they are always depreciating their own Septimania, and even talking of returning it to the empire, all because they covet this land of yours, which they would like to annex even if everything upon it were laid waste.

[5] sed fas est praesule deo vobis inter eos et rempublicam mediis animo quietiora concipere,¹ quia, etsi illi veterum finium limitibus effractis omni vel virtute vel mole possessionis turbidae metas in Rhodanum Ligerimque proterminant, vestra tamen auctoritas pro dignitate sententiae sic partem utramque moderabitur ut et nostra discat quid debeat negare cum petitur et poscere adversa desinat cum negatur. vale.

[5] But by God's grace and your mediation a more tranquil outlook lies before us. For though the Goths have broken their old bounds, though their valour and the impetus of a vague greed have pushed their frontiers to the Rhône and Loire, yet the esteem in which you are held and the weight your opinion carries, should so influence both sides that we shall learn to refuse when we ought, and they to refrain from further demands when met with a firm denial. Farewell.

Sidonius Constantio suo salutem

II.

To his friend Constantius A. D. 474

[1] Salutatur populus Arvernus, cuius parva tuguria magnus hospes impleti, non ambitiosus comitatu sed ambiendus adfectu, deus bone, quod gaudium fuit laboriosis cum tu sanctum pedem semirutis moenibus intulisti! quam tu ab omni ordine sexu aetate stipatissimus ambiebare! quae salsi erga singulos libra sermonis! quam te blandum pueri, comem iuvenes, gravem senes metiebantur! quas tu lacrimas ut parens omnium super aedes incendio prorutas et domicilia semiusta fudisti! quantum doluisti campos sepultos ossibus insepultis! quae tua deinceps exhortatio, quae reparationem suadentis animositas!

[1] THE people of Clermont salute you, a great guest in their lowly homes, coming without ambitious retinue and simply environed by their love. Merciful God, what joy they felt amid their tribulation when you set your venerated foot within their half-ruined walls. How dense was the crowd of both sexes, and of every rank and age about you; how impartially you gave a cheering word to one and all; how kind the small boys found you, how considerate the young men, how helpful in advice the older among us. What tears you shed over our buildings ruined by the flames and our homes half burned to the ground, as if you had been the father of us all. What grief you showed at the sight of fields buried under the bones of the unburied dead. And afterwards what a power of encouragement you were, with what spirit you urged the people to repair their loss.

[2] his adicitur quod, cum inveneris civitatem non minus civica similitudine quam barbarica incursione vacuatam, pacem omnibus suadens caritatem illis, illos patriae reddidisti. quibus tuo monitu non minus in unum consilium quam in unum oppidum revertentibus muri tibi debent plebem reductam, plebs reducta concordiam, quocirca satis te toti suum, satis se toti tuos aestimant; et, quae gloria tua maxima est, minime falluntur.

[2] Over and above this, you found the city no less desolated by internal dissension than by the barbarian onslaught; but you conciliated all; you renewed their harmony; you gave the country back her sons. The walls are remanned, the people restored to them at unity, all thanks to you; your counsel it was which brought them back into one mind as into one city. They all regard you as their father and themselves as your children; they perceive with an infallible eye wherein lies your greatest title to praise.

[3] obversatur etenim per dies mentibus singulorum quod persona aetate gravis infirmitate fragilis, nobilitate sublimis religione venerabilis solius dilectionis

obtentu abruptisti tot repagula, tot obiectas veniendi difficultates, itinerum videlicet longitudinem brevitatem dierum, nivium copiam penuriam pabulorum, latitudines solitudinum angustias mansionum, viarum voragines aut umore imbrium putres aut frigorum siccitate tribulosas, ad hoc aut aggeres saxis asperos aut fluvios gelu lubricos aut colles ascensu salebrosos aut valles lapsuum adsiduitate derasas; 1 per quae omnia incommoda, quia non privatum commodum requirebas, amorem publicum rettulisti.

[3] For day by day it is borne in upon their minds what a magnificent thing this is that you have done at so advanced an age and in so delicate and infirm a state of health. Despite your noble birth and the veneration with which you are regarded, you broke down every barrier by sheer force of love; all the difficulties of the journey were nothing to you, long ways and short days, thick snows and thin fare, wide wastes and narrow lodging, roads full of holes, now sodden with rain, now ribbed with frost, highways covered with rough stones, rivers slippery with ice; you had steep hills to climb, valleys choked with continual landslides to pass; through every discomfort you came triumphant with the love of a whole people for your reward because your own comfort was the last thing of which you thought.

[4] quod restat, deum precamur ut aevi metis secundum vota promotis bonorum amicitias indefessim expetas capias referas sequaturque te adfectio quam relinquis, et initiatae per te ubicumque gratiae longum tibi redhibeantur quam fundamenta tam culmina, vale.

[4] And now we beseech the Lord that he may hear our prayer and set far the term of your life; that the friendship of all good men may be yours to have and hold; that our affection which you seem to be leaving behind may ever be about your path; and finally, that the fair structure of our concord which you began to restore, may be regarded from foundation to summit as your peculiar work. Farewell.

Sidonius Ecdicio suo Salutem.

III.

To his brother-in-law Ecdicius A. D. 474

[1] Si quando, nunc maxume Arvernīs meis desideraris, quibus dilectio tui immane dominatur, et quidem multiplicatus ex causis: primum quod summas in adfectu partes iure sibi usurpat terra quae genuit, dein quod saeculo tuo solus ferme mortalium es qui patriae non minus desiderii nasciturus quam gaudii natus feceris; astipulantur assertis materni quondam puerperii tempora, quae proficiente conceptu concordantibus civium votis numerabantur.

[1] THERE never was a time when my people of Clermont needed you so much as now; their affection for you is a ruling passion for more than one reason. First, because a man's native soil may rightly claim the chief place in his affection; secondly, because you were not only your countrymen's joy at birth, but the desire of their hearts while yet unborn. Perhaps of no other man in this age can the same be said; but the proof of the statement is that as your mother's time advanced, the citizens with one accord fell to checking every day as it went by.

[2] omitto illa communia quidem, sed quae non mediocria caritatis incitamenta sunt, istius tibi reptatas caespitis glaebas, praetereo quod haec primum gramina incessu, flumina natatu, venatu nemora fregisti. omitto quod hic primum tibi pila pyrgus, accipiter canis, equus arcus ludo fuere, mitto istic ob gratiam pueritiae tuae undique gentium confluisse studia litterarum tuaeque personae quondam debitum quod sermonis Celtici squamam depositura nobilitas nunc oratorio stilo, nunc etiam Camenalibus modis imbue-batur.

[2] I will not dwell on those common things which yet so deeply stir a man's heart, as that here was the grass on which as an infant you crawled, or that here were the first fields you trod, the first rivers you swam, the first woods through which you broke your way in the chase. I will not remind you that here you first played ball and cast the dice, here you first knew sport with hawk and hound, with horse and bow. I will forget that your schooldays brought us a veritable confluence of learners and the learned from all quarters, and that if our nobles were imbued with the love of eloquence and poetry, if they resolved to forsake the barbarous Celtic dialect, it was to your personality that they owed all.

[3] illud in te adfectum principaliter universitatis accendit, quod, quos olim Latinos fieri ex- egeras, barbaros deinceps esse vetuisti. non enim potest umquam civicis pectoribus elabi, quem te quantumque nuper omnis aetas ordo sexus e semirutis murorum aggeribus conspicabantur, cum interiectis aequoribus in adversum perambulatis et vix duodeviginti equitum sodalitate

comitatus aliquot milia Gothorum non minus die quam campo medio, quod difficile sit posteritas creditura, transisti.

[3] Nothing so kindled their universal regard for you as this, that you first made Romans of them and never allowed them to relapse again. And how should the vision of you ever fade from any patriot's memory as we saw you in your glory upon that famous day, when a crowd of both sexes and every rank and age lined our half-ruined walls to watch you cross the space between us and the enemy? At midday, and right across the middle of the plain, you brought your little company of eighteen safe through some thousands of the Goths, a feat which posterity will surely deem incredible.

[4] ad nominis tui rumorem personaeque conspectum exercitum exercitissimum stupor obruit ita ut prae admiratione nescirent duces partis inimicae quam se multi quamque te pauci comitarentur. subducta est tota protinus acies in supercilium collis abrupti, quae cum prius applicata esset oppugnatione te viso non est explicata congressui. interea tu caesis quibusque optimis, quos novissimos agmini non ignavia sed audacia fecerat, nullis tuorum certamine ex tanto desideratis solus planitie quam patentissima potiebare, cum tibi non daret tot pugna socios quot solet mensa convivas.

[4] At the sight of you, nay, at the very rumour of your name, those seasoned troops were smitten with stupefaction; their captains were so amazed that they never stopped to note how great their own numbers were and yours how small. They drew off their whole force to the brow of a steep hill; they had been besiegers before, but when you appeared they dared not even deploy for action. You cut down some of their bravest, whom gallantry alone had led to defend the rear. You never lost a man in that sharp engagement, and found yourself sole master of an absolutely exposed plain with no more soldiers to back you than you often have guests at your own table.

[5] hinc iam per otium in urbem reduci quid tibi obviam processere officiorum plausuum, fletuum gaudiorum, magis temptant vota conicere quam verba reserare, siquidem cernere erat refertis capacissimae domus atriis illam ipsam felicissimam stipati reditus tui ovationem, dum alii osculis pulverem tuum rapiunt, alii sanguine ac spumis pingua frena suscipiunt, alii sellarum equestrium madefacta sudoribus fulcra resupinant, alii de concavo tibi cassidis exituro flexilium lamminarum vincla diffibulant, alii explicandis ocrearum nexibus implicantur, alii hebetatorum caede gladiatorum latera dentata pernumerant, alii caesim atque punctim foraminatos circulos loricarum digitis livescentibus metiuntur.

[5] Imagination may better conceive than words describe the procession that streamed out to you as you made your leisurely way towards the city, the greetings, the shouts of applause, the tears of heartfelt joy. One saw you receiving in the press a veritable ovation on this glad return; the courts of your

spacious house were crammed with people. Some kissed away the dust of battle from your person, some took from the horses the bridles slimed with foam and blood, some inverted and ranged the sweat-drenched saddles; others undid the flexible cheek-pieces of the helmet you longed to remove, others set about unlacing your greaves. One saw folk counting the notches in swords blunted by much slaughter, or measuring with trembling fingers the holes made in cuirasses by cut or thrust.

[6] hic licet multi complexibus tuorum tripudiantes adhaerescerent, in te maximus tamen laetitiae popularis impetus congregabatur; tandemque in turbam inermem quidem veneras sed de qua te nec armatus evolveres; ferebasque nimirum eleganter ineptias gratulantum et, dum inruentum tumultuoso diriperis amplexu, eo condicionis accesseras piissimus publici amoris interpres ut necesse esset illi uberiores referre te gratiam qui tibi liberiores fecisset iniuriam.

[6] Crowds danced with joy and hung upon your comrades; but naturally the full brunt of popular delight was borne by you. You were among unarmed men at last; but not all your arms would have availed to extricate you from them. There you stood, with a fine grace suffering the silliest congratulations; half torn to pieces by people madly rushing to salute you, but so loyally responsive to this popular devotion that those who took the greatest liberties seemed surest of your most generous acknowledgements.

[7] taceo deinceps collegisse te privatis viribus publici exercitus speciem parvis extrinsecus maiorum opibus adiutum et infreniores 1 hostium ante discursus castigatis coercuisse populatibus. taceo te aliquot superventibus cuneos mactasse turmales e numero tuorum vix binis temisve post proelium desideratis et tantum calamitatis adversae parti 1 inopinatis certaminibus inuictum ut oculere caesorum. numerositatem consilio deformiore meditarentur. siquidem quos humari nox succincta prohibuerat decervicatis liquere cadaveribus, tamquam minoris indicii foret quam villis 2 agnoscere crinitum dimisisse truncatum.

[7] And finally I shall say nothing of the service you performed in raising what was practically a public force from your private resources, and with little help from our magnates. I shall not tell of the chastisement you inflicted on the barbaric raiders, and the curb imposed upon an audacity which had begun to exceed all bounds; or of those surprise attacks which annihilated whole squadrons with the loss of only two or three men on your side. Such disasters did you inflict upon the enemy by these unexpected onsets, that they resorted to a most unworthy device to conceal their heavy losses. They decapitated all whom they could not bury in the short night-hours, and let the headless lie, forgetting in their desire to avoid the identification of their dead, that a trunk would betray their ruin just as well as a whole body.

[8] qui postquam luce revoluta intellexerunt furtum ruinae suae crudeli vilitate patuisse, tum demum palam officiis exsequialibus occupabantur, non magis cladem fraude quam fraudem festinatione celantes; sic tamen quod nec ossa tumultuarii caespitis mole tumulabant, quibus nec elutis vestimenta nec vestitis sepulchra tribuebant, iuste sic mortuis talia iusta solventes. iacebant corpora undique locorum plaustis convecta rorantibus, quae, quoniam percussis indesinenter incumberes, raptim succensis conclusa domiciliis culminum superlabentum rogalibus fragmentis funerabantur.

[8] When, with morning light, they saw their miserable artifice revealed in all its savagery, they turned at last to open obsequies; but their precipitation disguised the ruse no better than the ruse itself had concealed the slaughter. They did not even raise a temporary mound of earth over the remains; the dead were neither washed, shrouded, nor interred; but the imperfect rites they received befitted the manner of their death. Bodies were brought in from everywhere, piled on dripping wains; and since you never paused a moment in following up the rout, they had to be taken into houses which were then hurriedly set alight, till the fragments of blazing roofs, falling in upon them, formed their funeral pyres.

[9] sed quid ego istaec iusto plusculum garrio, qui laborum tuorum non ex asse historiam texere sed pro parte memoriam facere praesumpsi, quo magis crederes votis tuorum, quorum expectationi aegrescenti nulla salubrius ociusque quam tui adventus remedia medicabuntur? igitur, si quid nostratium precatibus adquiescis, actutum in patriam receptui canere festina et adsiduitatem tuam periculosae regum familiaritati celer exime, quorum consuetudinem expertissimus 1 quisque flammaram naturae bene comparat, quae sicut paululum a se remota inluminant, ita satis sibi admota comburunt. vale.

[9] But I run on beyond my proper limits; my aim in writing was not to reconstruct the whole story of your achievements, but to remind you of a few among them, to convince you how eagerly your friends here long to see you again; there is only one remedy, at once quick and efficacious, for such fevered expectancy as theirs, and that is your prompt return. If, then, the entreaties of our people can persuade you, sound the retreat and start homeward at once. The intimacy of kings is dangerous; court it no more; the most distinguished of mankind have well compared it to a flame, which illuminates things at a short distance but consumes them if they come within its range. Farewell.

Sidonius Felici suo salutem

IV.

To his friend Magnus Felix A.D. 473

[1] Gozolas natione Iudaeus, cliens culminis tui, cuius mihi quoque esset persona cordi, si non esset secta despectui, defert litteras meas, quas granditer anxius exaravi, oppidum siquidem nostrum quasi quandam sui limitis obicem circumfusarum nobis gentium arma terrificant. sic aemulorum sibi in medio positi lacrimabilis praeda populorum, suspecti Burgundionibus, proximi Gothis, nec impugnantum ira nec propugnantum caremus invidia.

[1] THE bearer of this is Gozolas, a Jew, and a client of your excellency, a man I should like if I could only overcome my contempt for his sect. I write in great anxiety. Our town lives in terror of a sea of tribes which find in it an obstacle to their expansion and surge in arms all round it. We are exposed as a pitiful prey at the mercy of rival peoples, suspected by the Burgundians, almost in contact with the Goths; we have to face at once the fury of our assailants and the envy of our defenders.

[2] sed istinc alias, interea, si vel penes vos recta sunt, bene est. neque enim huiusmodi pectore sumus, ut, licet apertis ipsi poenis propter criminum occulta plectamur, non agi prospere vel ubicumque velimus, nam certum est non minus vitiorum quam hostium esse captivum, qui non etiam inter mala tempora bona vota servaverit, vale.

[2] But of this more later. Only let me know that all goes well with you, and I shall be content. For though we may be punished in the sight of all men for some obscure offence, we are still generous enough of heart to desire for others all prosperity. If a man cannot wish others well in evil times he is no better than a captive; the enemy that takes him is his own unworthy nature. Farewell.

Sidonius Hypatio suo salutem

V.

To his friend Hypatius A.D. 473

[1] Si vir spectabilis morumque vestrorum suspector admiratorque Donidius solam rationem domesticae utilitatis habuisset, satis abundeque sufficeret fides vestra commodis suis, etsi nullus intercessor accederet, sed amore meo ductus est, ut, quod ipse per se impetraverat, me faceret postulare, itaque nunc honori vestro hic quoque cumulus accrescit, quod duo efficimur debitores, cum tamen unus e nobis beneficium consequatur.

[1] THE excellent Donidius admires and respects your character; and had he no other aim than his own family advantage, he might safely confide in your acknowledged reputation, and feel no need of another's advocacy. But he thinks so well of me, that he would have me ask for him what he could certainly obtain alone. Consequently, you will acquire a crowning title of distinction in making both of us your debtors, though one alone will reap the material benefit.

[2] Eborolacensis praedii etiam ante barbaros desolatam medietatem, quae domus patriciae iura modo respicit, suffragio vestro iuri 1 suo optat adiungi. neque ad hanc nundinationem stimulo cupiditatis sed respectu avitae recordationis adducitur. siquidem fundi ipsius 2 integritas familiae suae dominium usque in obitum vitrici nuper vita decedentis aspexit; nunc autem vir alieni non appetens, sui parcus possessionis antiquae a se alienatae non tam damno angitur quam pudore; quam ut redimere conetur non avaritiae vitio sed verecundiae necessitate compellitur.

[2] He seeks to acquire the other moiety of the estate of Eborolacum, abandoned even before the barbarian came, but now in possession of a patrician family; his rights are clear, but the added weight of your support would be very welcome. Respect for the memory of his ancestors, and no mere greed, inclines him to this purchase, for down to the recent death of his stepfather the whole property belonged to his family. He is of an economical turn of mind, but not the man to covet his neighbour's goods; the loss of a former possession in itself troubles him little; the point of honour decides him; it is not avarice which prompts his action, but the shame of inactivity.

[3] tribuere dignare votis suis, precibus meis, moribus tuis, ut ad soliditatem ruris istius te patrocinate perveniat, cui rem parentum sibi non solum notam verum etiam inter laetantis infantiae rudimenta reptatam sicut recepissem parum fructuosum, sic non emeruisse nimis videtur ignavum, ego vero tantum obstringar indultis ac si meae proficiat peculiariter proprietati, quicquid meus aetate frater professione filius, loco civis fide amicus acceperit, vale.

[3] Deign therefore to consider what you owe to your own credit, to his honourable desire, to my friendly intercession; help to secure for him this chance of rounding off the estate. These paternal acres are not just casually known to him; he crawled upon them as an infant hardly weaned. He will make little profit by their recovery; but he feels that it would have been too contemptible not to make the effort. Whatever favour you may be able to accord to one whom I regard as a brother in years, a son by profession, a fellow citizen by origin, and a friend by loyalty, I shall be as much beholden as if the matter turned to my own particular advantage. Farewell.

Sidonius Eutropius suo Salutem.

VI.

To his friend Eutropius A. D. 470 (?)

[1] Si veteris commilitii, si deinceps innovatae per dies gratiae bene in praesentiarum fides vestra reminiscitur, profecto intellegitis ut vos ad dignitatum sic nos ad desideriorum culmina ascendere. ita namque fascibus vestris gratamur omnes, ut erectam per illos non magis vestram domum quam nostram amicitiam censeamus. testis est ille tractatus in quo exhortationis meae non minimum incitamenta valuerunt.

[1] IF kind memories still remain to you of our old comradeship and of an intimacy ever and again renewed, you will readily understand that our soaring wishes will follow your ascent to each new height of office. We rejoice with you over your insignia, believing that thereby your house and our friendship are alike promoted. In proof whereof I remind you of my letter of exhortations, which I think had no small share in this result.

[2] quibus vix potuistis adduci ut praefecturam philosophiae iungeretis, cum vos consecrati vestri Plotini dogmatibus inhaerentes ad profundum intempestivae quietis otium Platoniorum palaestra rapuisset, cuius disciplinae tunc fore adstruxi liberam professionem, cum nil familiae debuisses. I porro autem desidiae vicinior putabatur contemptus ille militiae, ad quam iactitant Ii vidi bonarum partium viros non posse potius quam nolle conscendere.

[2] But what trouble I had in persuading you that a man might be a philosopher and a prefect at the same time! You were deep in the tenets of Plotinus, and the Platonic school had seduced you into a quietism unsuited to your age. I maintained that only a man without family obligations was free to profess a philosophy of that nature. Most people ascribed your scorn for public service to simple indolence; malignant tongues added that our nobles fail to rise in the state less from disinclination than incapacity.

[3] igitur, quod loco primore fieri par est, agimus gratias uberes Christo, qui statum celsitudinis tuae ut hactenus parentum nobilitate decorabat, ita iam nunc titulorum parilitate fastigat; simul et animorum spebus erectis fas est de cetero sperare meliora, certe creber provincialium sermo est annum bonum de magnis non tam fructibus quam potestatibus existimandum. qua de re vestrum est, domine maior, expectationem nostram competentibus dispositionibus munerari. nam memor originis tuae nobilium sibi persuasit universitas, quamdiu nos Sabini familia rexit, Sabmiani familiam non timendam. vale.

[3] Now, therefore, as a Christian should, I begin by rendering unstinted thanks

to Our Lord who has raised you to an official rank befitting your exalted birth; our hopes are also raised, so that we may fairly look for even better things to come. It is a common saying with provincials that a good year really depends less on ample crops than on a good administration; it must be yours, honoured lord, to crown all our expectations by such measures as the present occasion demands. Our nobles do not forget the stock from which you spring; they are sure that so long as the family of Sabinus controls their destinies, they have nothing to fear from the house of Sabinianus. Farewell.

Sidonius Felici suo salutem

VII.

To his friend [Magnus] Felix A.D. 474

[1] Longum a litteris temperatis. igitur utrique nostrum mos suus agitur: ego garrio, vos tacetis. unde etiam, vir ad reliqua fidei officia insignis, genus reor esse virtutis tanto te otio non posse lassari. ecquid numquamne 1 respectu movebere familiaritatis antiquae, ut tandem a continuandi 2 silentii proposito pedem referas? aut 3 nescis quia garrulo non respondere convicium est? tu retices vel bybliotheacarum medius vel togarum et a me officium paupertini sermonis exspectas, cui scribendi, si bene perspicis, magis est facilitas quam facultas.

[1] You are very sparing in your correspondence. Each of us obeys his own temperament: I gossip, you hold your peace. And since in other obligations of friendship you are beyond reproach, I am driven to the conclusion that this indefatigable love of ease must itself be a kind of virtue. But, seriously, will no thought of old acquaintance ever lift you from the rut of this interminable silence? Or are you really unaware that it is nothing short of insult to refuse a talkative man an answer? You bury yourself in the depths of a library or office and give no sign of life, yet all the while expect the attention of a line now and then from me; and this though you know quite well that mine is rather a ready than a gifted pen.

[2] certe vel metus noster materiam stilo tuo faciat, mementoque viatorum manus gravare chartis, quatinus amicorum cura relevetur, et indicare festina, si quam praevio deo quaestor Licinianus trepidationi mutuae ianuam securitatis aperuerit, persona siquidem est, ut perhibent, magna exspectatione maior adventu, relatu sublimis inspectione sublimior et ob omnia felicitatis naturaeque dona monstrabilis.

[2] The apprehensions among which we live ought alone to furnish you with subject enough for letters; write then, and do not fail to entrust a good bulky missive to some one coming our way, to relieve your friends' anxieties and especially to let them know whether the new quaestor Licinianus is likely to open a door of safety out of these mutual alarms. He is described as one who has more than fulfilled the expectations formed of him, proving greater on acquaintance than his great repute; in fine, a man conspicuously endowed with the best gifts of nature and good fortune.

[3] summa censura, par comitas et prudentia fidesque misso mittentique conveniens; nihil adfectatum simulatumque, ponderique sermonum vera potius severitas quam severitatis imitatio; et nec, ut plurimi, qui cum credita diffidenter allegant, volunt videri egisse se 1 cautius, sed neque ex illo, ut

ferunt, numero qui secreta dirigentium principum venditantes ambiunt a barbaris bene agi cum legato potius quam cum legatione.

[3] A model of judgement, adorned with equal discretion and personal charm, this trusty envoy is worthy of the power which he represents. He is quite free from affectation or pretence; there is nothing feigned in the gravity which lends weight to his words. He does not follow the example of most envoys who seek a reputation as safe men, and are over-timid in diplomacy; on the other hand, he is not to be numbered among those ambassadors to barbarian courts, who sell their master's secrets, and work for their own advantage rather than that of their mission.

[4] hunc nobis morum viri tenorem secundus rumor invexit. mandate perneciter, si vero dicta conquadant, ut tantisper a pervigili statione respirent quos a muralibus excubiis non dies ninguidus, non-nox inlunis et turbida receptui canere persuadent; quia, etsi barbarus in hiberna concedat, mage differunt quam relinquant 1 semel radicatam corda formidinem, palpate nos prosperis, quia nostra non tam procul est a vobis causa quam patria, vale.

[4] Such is the character of the man as favourable rumour carries it to us. But let us know at once if the description squares with fact. Then perhaps we may snatch some breathing-space from our unceasing vigils; at present neither a snowy day nor a cloudy moonless night will tempt our people from their watch upon the walls. Even were the barbarian to draw off to winter quarters, their fears are too deep to be eradicated; at the most, they can only be deferred. Encourage us with hope of better times; you may regard our country as remote, but the cause we stand for is as near to your own heart as to ours. Farewell.

Sidonius Eucherio suo salutem

VIII.

To his friend Eucherius (No indication of date)

[1] Veneror antiquos, non tamen ita ut qui aequaeavorum 2 meorum virtutes aut merita postponam. neque si Romana respublica in haec miseriarum extrema defluxit, ut studiosos sui numquam remuneretur, non idcirco Brutus Torquatosque non pariunt saecula mea. ‘quorsum istaec?’ inquis, de te mihi ad te sermo est, vir efficacissime, cui debet respublica quod supra dictis solutum laudat historia.

[1] I HAVE the highest respect for the men of antiquity, but mere priority in time shall never lead me to place the virtues and the merits of our contemporaries upon a lower plane of excellence. It may be true that the Roman state has sunk to such extreme misery that it has ceased to reward its loyal sons; but I will not therefore admit that a Brutus or a Torquatus is never born into our age. You ask the purport of this declaration? You yourself shall point my moral, most capable of men; the state owes you the rewards which history applauds when granted to the great men of the past.

[2] quapropter ignari rerum temeraria iudicia suspendant nec perseverent satis aut suspicere praeteritos aut despiciere praesentes; quandoquidem facile clarescit rempublicam morari beneficia vos mereri, quamquam mirandum granditer non sit, natione foederatorum 1 non solum inciviliter Romanas vires administrante verum etiam fundamentaliter eruente, si nobilium virorum militarium-que et supra vel spem nostrae vel opinionem partis adversae bellicosorum non tam defuerint 2 facta quam praemia, vale.

[2] Men ignorant of the facts had best refrain from carelessly conceived opinions; they had best abandon the obstinate habit of looking up to the men of old time and down on those of our own day. It is abundantly clear that the recognition which the state owes you is now long overdue. Yet what is there to wonder at in this, when a race of uncivilized allies directs the Roman power, yes, and bids fair to bring it crashing to the ground? We have men of rank and valour who excel anything we ourselves could hope, or our enemies believe. Aye, and they do the old deeds; but the reward is not forthcoming. Farewell.

Sidonius Riothamo suo salutem

IX.

To his friend Riothamus c. A. D. 472

[1] Servatur nostri consuetudo sermonis; namque miscernus cum salutatione querimoniam, non omnino huic rei studentes, ut stilus noster sit officiosus in titulis, asper in paginis, sed quod ea semper eveniunt de quibus loci mei aut ordinis hominem constat inconciliari, si loquatur, peccare, si taceat, sed et ipsi sarcinam vestri pudoris inspicimus, cuius haec semper verecundia fuit, ut pro culpis erubesceretis alienis.

[1] I WILL write once more in my usual strain, mingling compliment with grievance. Not that I at all desire to follow up the first words of greeting with disagreeable subjects, but things seem to be always happening which a man of my order and in my position can neither mention without unpleasantness, nor pass over without neglect of duty. Yet I do my best to remember the burdensome and delicate sense of honour which makes you so ready to blush for others' faults.

[2] gerulus epistularum humilis obscurus despicabilisque etiam usque ad damnum innocentis ignaviae mancipia sua Britannis clam sollicitantibus abducta deplorat. incertum mihi est an sit certa causatio; sed si inter coram positos aequanimiter obiecta discingitis,¹ arbitror hunc laboriosum posse probare quod obicit, si tamen inter argutos armatos tumultuosos, virtute numero contubernio contumacem poterit ex aequo et bono solus inermis, abiectus rusticus, peregrinus pauper audiri, vale,

[2] The bearer of this is an obscure and humble person, so harmless, insignificant, and helpless that he seems to invite his own discomfiture; his grievance is that the Bretons are secretly enticing his slaves away. Whether his indictment is a true one, I cannot say; but if you can only confront the parties and decide the matter on its merits, I think the unfortunate man may be able to make good his charge, if indeed a stranger from the country unarmed, abject and impecunious to boot, has ever a chance of a fair or kindly hearing against adversaries with all the advantages he lacks, arms, astuteness, turbulences, and the aggressive spirit of men backed by numerous friends. Farewell.

Sidonius Tetradio suo salutem

X.

To his friend Tetradius A. D. 461-7

[1] Plurimum laudis iuvenes nostri moribus suis applicant quotiens de negotiorum 2 meritis ambi-gentes ad peritorum consilia decurrunt, sicuti nunc vir clarissimus Theodorus, domi quidem nobilis, sed modestissimae conversationis opinione generosior, qui per litteras meas ad tuas litteras, id est ad meracissimum scientiae fontem laudabili aviditate proficiscitur, non modo reperturus illic ipse quod discat sed et forsitan relaturus inde quod doceat.

[1] IT is a most laudable trait in the character of younger men when they resort to more experienced heads in questions of perplexity; as the honourable Theodoras now does. He is a man of good family, but quite as much ennobled by his admirable modesty as by his high descent. My letter introduces him to the source of humane letters, I mean the pure fount of your erudition, to which he is setting out with the most commendable ardour, hoping to learn much himself and perhaps bring away as much to impart to others.

[2] cui contra potentes factiososque, si vestra peritia non abundanter opitularetur, prudentia consulta sufficeret, respondete, obsecramus, nisi vobis tamen utriusque nostrum sociae preces oneri fastidiove reputabuntur, iudicio suo, testimonio meo et substantiam causamque supplicis fluctuantem medicabilis responsi salubritate fulcite. vale.

[2] Should even an experience like yours fail to give him all the help he needs against such factious and powerful opponents, at all events your skill and advice will stand him in good stead. Unless you wish me to conclude that you regard our joint petition as troublesome and importunate, justify his hopes of you and this testimonial of mine by a favourable reply, so that the cause and wavering fortunes of this suppliant may be fortified by your salutary counsel. Farewell.

Sidonius Simplicio suo salutem

XI.

To his friend Simplicius (No indication of date)

[1] Etsi desiderium nostrum sinisteritas tanta comitatur ut etiam nunc nostris invidearis obtutibus, non idcirco is es, virorum optime, de cuius nos moribus lateant celsa memoratu: ita cuncti nostrates idemque summates viri optinarum te exactissimarumque partium praestantissimum patremfamilias consono praeconio prosequuntur.

[1] A KIND of fatality attends my hopes, and you still grudge us a sight of you. But, most excellent of men, we need not therefore regard you as one whose memorable actions must necessarily escape our notice. For all our people, the notables included, hail you with one accord as the model of all that a father should be, even in the select and critical society in which you move.

[2] adstipulatur huic de te sententiae bonorum vel sic electus gener vel educta sic filia; in quorum copula tam felicem tibi controversiam vota pepererunt ut ambigas utrum iudicio an institutione superaveris. sed tamen hinc vel maxume, parentes ambo venerabiles, este securi: idcirco ceteros vincitis, quod vos filii transierunt, igitur dona venia litteras primas, quas ut necdum mittere desidia fuerat, ita vereor ne sit misisse garrulitas. carebit sane nostrum naevo loquacitatis officium si exemplo recursantis alloquii impudentiam paginae praesentis absolveris. vale.

[2] The manner in which you have brought up your daughter, and chosen a husband for her, confirms the opinion of our friends; and the accomplishment of your desires in this union must have raised in your mind an agreeable uncertainty whether you have most excelled in the choice of the one or the education of the other. On that score, venerable parents, you may wholly set your minds at rest; you surpass every one because your children surpass even you. Please, therefore, excuse my earlier letter; it was negligent of me not to have sent it before I did, but the dispatch of it, I fear, betrayed the chatterer. My officiousness will lose its blemish of loquacity if you condone the impertinence of this greeting by sending me an answer. Farewell.

Sidonius Secundo suo salutem

XII.

To his nephew Secundus c. A. D. 467

[1] *Avi mei, proavi tui tumulum hesterno (pro dolor!) die paene manus profana temeraverat; sed deus adfuit, ne nefas tantum perpetraretur. campus autem ipse dudum refertus tam bustualibus favillis quam cadaveribus nullam iam diu scrobem recipiebat; sed tamen 1 tellus, humatis quae superducitur, redierat in pristinam distenta planitiem pondere nivali seu diuturno imbrium fluxu sidentibus acervis: quae fuit causa ut locum auderent tamquam vacantem corporum baiuli rastris funebribus impiare.*

[1] I HAVE dreadful news. Yesterday profane hands all but desecrated the grave where my grandsire and your great-grandsire lies, but God's intervening arm stayed the accomplishment of an impious act. The cemetery had for years been overcrowded with burned and unburned burials, and interment there had long ceased. But snows and constant rains had caused the mounds to settle; the raised earth had been dispersed, and the ground had resumed its former even surface. This explained how it was that some undertaker's men presumed to profane the spot with their grave-digging tools just as if it were unoccupied by human bodies.

[2] *quid plura? iam niger caespes ex viridi, iam supra anti- quum sepulchrum glabrae recentes, cum forte pergens urbem ad Arvernam publicum scelus e supercilio vicini collis aspexi meque equo effuso tam per aequata quam per abrupta proripiens et morae exiguae sic quoque impatiens, antequam pervenirem, facinus audax praevio clamore compescui. dum dubitant in crimine reperti dilaberentur an starent et superveni (confiteor errorem), supplicia captorum differre non potui, sed supra senis nostri ipsum opertorium torsi latrones, quantum sufficere posset superstitum curae, mortuorum securitati.*

[2] Must I relate what happened? They had already unturfed the ground, so that the soil showed black, and were piling the fresh sods upon the old grave. By a mere chance I happened to be passing on my way to Clermont, and saw this public outrage from the top of a neighbouring hill. I gave my horse his head, and dashed at full speed over the intervening ground, flat or steep was all the same to me; I grudged even those brief moments, and sending a shout before me, stopped the infamy even before I myself reached the scene. The villains, caught in the act, were still hesitating whether to make off or hold their ground, when I was upon them. It was wrong, no doubt, but I could not allow them an instant's impunity; on the very grave of our beloved ancestor I gave them such a trouncing as should in future secure the dead from molestation,

and safeguard the pious care of the survivors.

[3] ceterum nostro quod sacerdoti nil reservavi, meae causae suaeque personae praescius in commune consului, ne vel haec iusto clementius vindicaretur vel illa iusto severius vindicaret, cui cum tamen totum ordinem rei ut satisfaciens ex itinere mandassem, vir sanctus et iustus iracundiae meae dedit gloriam, cum nil amplius ego venia postulare, pronuntians more maiorum reos tantae temeritatis iure caesos videri.

[3] I did not reserve the case for the judgement of our good bishop, considering it best for the common advantage not to do so; I knew too well the strength of my own case, and his gentle nature; he was certain to judge me with too much severity, and these fellows with too great a lenience. To satisfy his right to be informed I did explain the whole affair after I had resumed my journey, and this upright and holy man gave me far more than the mere absolution I expected; he extolled my righteous indignation, declaring that in his opinion men who perpetrated so audacious a deed deserved the death our forefathers would have inflicted.

[4] sed ne quid in posterum casibus liceat, quos ab exemplo vitare debemus, posco ut actutum me quoque absente tua cura sed meo sumptu resurgat in molem sparsa congeries, quam levigata pagina tegat, ego venerabili Gaudentio reliqui pretium lapidis operisque mercedem, carmen hoc sane, quod consequetur, nocte proxima feci, non expositum, credo, quod viae non parum intentus.

[4] The incident should help to prevent any similar mischance in future, and I beg you to see that the disturbed earth is at once raised to a mound again, and to have a smooth flat slab placed upon it at my expense. I have deposited a sum of money with the venerable Gaudentius to cover the cost of the stone and of the mason's labour. The verses which I enclose were composed the night of the occurrence; of course they are not finished to perfection; I was too busy with preparations for the road.

[5] quod peto ut tabulae, quantumcumque est, celeriter indatur; sed vide ut vitium non faciat in marmore lapidicida; quod factum sive ab industria seu per incuriam mihi magis quam quadratario lividus lector adscribet. ego vero, si pio studio rogata curaveris, sic agam gratias quasi nil tibi quoque laudis aut gloriae accedat, quem patruo tuo remoto solida praesentis officii sollicitudo mansisset pro gradu seminis.

Serum post patruos patremque carmen
haud indignus avo nepos dicavi,
ne fors tempore postumo, viator,
ignorans reverentiam sepulti

[5] Such as they are, please have them carved on the tomb with the smallest possible delay, and be specially careful that the stonemason makes no errors either by negligence or with intention; for whatever the cause, the captious reader will put it all down to me. If you carry out this pious obligation I shall thank you no less heartily than if you were not certain to receive part of the praise and credit. For were I, your uncle, no longer with you, the whole responsibility of this duty would have devolved on you as the next descendant after myself.

‘A grandson not all unworthy of such a grandsire, I dedicate to him, though all too late, this epitaph, my father and my paternal uncles being dead, that you, O passer by, may never tread on unbounded earth, unwitting of the reverence due to him who is buried in this grave. Here lies Apollinaris, who, having ruled all Gaul, was gathered to the bosom of a mourning country. He was learned in the law and helpful to his kind above all other men. He laboured for the land, and for the State, and in the cause of eloquence; and, example perilous to others, he dared be free under the rule of tyrants. But this stands as his chief title to fame, that of all his race he was the first to purify his brow with the sign of the cross and his limbs with baptismal water; he first abandoned the old sacrilegious rites. This is the highest glory, this the transcendent virtue, if a man outstrip in hope those whom he equals in honours, and is placed by his desert above his fathers though on earth his titles were the same as theirs.’

[5] tellurem tereres inaggeratam.
praefectus iacet hic Apollinaris,
post praetoria recta Galliarum
maerentis patriae sinu receptus,
consultissimus utilissimusque

[6] I know well that this epitaph is unworthy of our accomplished ancestor; yet methinks the souls of the lettered do not refuse a poetic tribute.

[10] ruris militiae forique cultor,
exemploque aliis periculoso
liber sub dominantibus tyrannis.
haec sed maxima dignitas probatur,
quod frontem cruce, membra fonte purgans

[15] primus de numero patrum suorum
sacris sacrilegis renuntiavit.
hoc primum est decus, haec superba virtus,
spe praecedere quos honore iungas,
quique hic sunt titulis pares parentes,
[20] hos illic meritis supervenire.

[6] Novi quidem auctoris nostri non respondere doctrinae epitaphii qualitatem, sed anima perita musicas non refutat inferias, tibi quoque non decet I tardum videri quod heres tertius quartusque dependimus, cum tot annorum gyro voluto magnum Alexandrum parentasse manibus Achillis et Iulium Caesarem Hectori ut suo iusta solvisse didicerimus. vale.

[10] And neither of us need regard as too belated the pious duty which we have now fulfilled in our quality as heirs in the

third and fourth degree. How many revolving years rolled by before Alexander celebrated funeral rites for Achilles' shade, or Julius Caesar for the shade of that Hector whom he treated as an ancestor of his own? Farewell.

Sidonius Apollinari suo salutem

XIII.

To [his son] Apollinaris c. A. D. 469

[1] Unice probo gaudeo admiror, quod castitatis adfectu contubernia fugis impudicorum, praesertim quibus nihil pensi, nihil sancti est in appetendis garriendisque turpitudinibus quique, quod verbis inverecundis aurium publicarum reverentiam incestant, granditer sibi videntur facetiari. cuius vilitatis esse signiferum Gnathonem patriae nostrae vel maximum intellege.

[1] THE love of purity which leads you to shun the company of the immodest has my whole approval; I rejoice at it and respect it, especially when the men you shun are those whose aptitude for scenting and retailing scandals leaves nothing privileged or sacred, wretches who think themselves enormously facetious when they violate the public sense of shame by shameless language. Hear now from my lips that the standard-bearer of the vile troop is the very Gnatho of our country.

[2] est enim hic gurgis de sutoribus fabularum, de concinnatoribus criminum, de sinistrarum opinionum duphicatoribus, loquax ipse nec dicax ridiculusque nec laetus arrogansque nec constans curiosusque nec perspicax atque indecenter adfectato lepore plus rusticus; tempora praesentia colens, praeterita carpens, futura fastidiens; beneficii, si rogaturus est, importunus petendi derogator negati, aemulator accepti callidus reformandi, querulus flagitati garrulus restituti; at si rogandus, simulator parati dissimulator petiti, venditor 1 praestiti publicator occulti, calumniator morati infitiator soluti;

[2] Imagine an arch-stringer of tales, arch-fabricator of false charges, arch-retailer of insinuations. A fellow whose talk is at once without end and without point; a buffoon without charm in gaiety; a bully who dares not stand his ground. Inquisitive without insight, and three-times more the boor for his brazen affectation of fine manners. A creature of the present hour, with ever a carping word ready for the past and a sneer for the future. When he is after some advantage, no beggar so importunate as he; when refused, none so bitter in depreciation. Grant his request and he grumbles, using every artifice to get better terms; he moans and groans when called on to refund a debt, and if he pays, you never hear the end of it. But when any one wants a loan of him he lies about his means and pretends he has not the wherewithal; if he does lend, he makes capital out of the loan, and bruits the secret abroad; if debtors delay repayment he resorts to calumny; when they have absolved the debt he tries to deny receipt.

[3] osor ieiuniorum, sectator epularum; laudabilem proferens non de bene vivente sed de bene pascente sententiam; inter haec tamen ipse avarissimus

quemque non pascit tam panis bonus quam panis alienus, hoc solum comedens domi, si quid e raptis inter alaparum procellas praemisit obsoniis. sed nec est sane praedicabilis viri in totum silenda 1 frugalitas: ieiunat quotiens non vocatur; sed sic quoque levitate parasitica, si invitetur, excusans; si vitetur, explorans; si excludatur, exprobrans; si admittatur, exsultans; si verberetur, exspectans.

[3] Abstinence is his abomination, he loves the table; but a man who lives well wins no praise from him unless he treats well too. Personally, he is avarice itself; the best of bread is not for his digestion unless it is also the bread of others. He only eats at home if he can pilfer his viands, and send them off amid a storm of buffets. He cannot indeed be wholly denied the virtue of frugality; he fasts when he cannot get himself invited. Yet with the light perversity of the parasite, he will often excuse himself when asked; on the other hand, if he sees that men avoid him, he will fish for invitations.

[4] cum discubuerit, fertur actutum, si tarde comedat, in rapinas; si cito saturetur, in lacrimas; si sitiatur, in querellas; si inebrietur, in vomitus 2; si fatigetur, in contumelias; si fatigetur, in furias; faeculentiae omnino par cloacali, quae quo plus commota, plus faetida est. ita vivens paucis voluptati, nullis amori, omnibus risui; vesicarum ruptor fractorque ferularum, bibendi avidus, avidior detrahendi, rabido pariter ore spirans caenum, spumans vinum, loquens venenum facit ambigi putidior, temulentior an facinorosior existimetur.

[4] If left out he grows abusive; if admitted, unbearably elate: no blow descends on him unexpected. If dinner is served late, he falls like a bandit upon the dishes; if appetite is stilled too soon, he falls to lamentation. Thirst unquenched makes him quarrelsome; drunkenness makes him sick. If he banters others, he grows scurrilous; if others banter him, ungovernable; take him for all in all, he is like the filth in sewers, the fouler the more you stir it. His life brings pleasure to few, love to none, contemptuous mockery to all. He is one to burst bladders or break canes upon, one whose thirst for drink is only excelled by his thirst for scandal; exhaling loathsomeness, frothing wine, uttering venom, he makes one doubt for what to hate him most, his unsavouriness, his drunken habits, or his villany.

[5] sed dicis: 'animi probra vultu 3 colorat et deprecatur ineptiam 4 mentis qualitas corporis; elegans videlicet homo pervenustusque cuiusque sit spectabilis persona visentibus.' enimvero illa 5 sordidior est atque deformior cadavere rogali quod facibus admotis semicombustum moxque sidente strue torrium devolutum reddere pyrae iam fasti- diosus pollinctor exhorret. praeter hoc lumina gerit idem lumine carentia, quae Stygiae vice paludis volvunt lacrimas per tenebras.

[5] 'But', you may say, 'perhaps a fair complexion lends a colour to a vile

nature; perhaps his charm of person redeems ineptitude of mind; the man may have elegance or exquisite taste; he may create a good impression on those who meet him.' In point of fact, his person is fouler and more unsightly than a corpse rolled half-burnt from the pyre when the brands have settled — such a thing as a very undertaker's slave could not bring himself to put back. He hardly sees out of his; eyes, which, like the Stygian lake, roll waters down through darkness.

[6] gerit et aures immanitate barrinas, quarum fistulam biformem pellis ulcerosa circumvenit saxeis nodis et tofosis umore verrucis per marginem curvum protuberantibus. portat et nasum, qui cum sit amplus in foraminibus et strictus in spina, sic patescit horrore quod angustatur olfactui. praetendit os etiam labris plumbeum rictu ferinum, gingivis purulentum dentibus buxeum, quod spurcat frequenter exhalatus e concavo molarium computrescentum mephiticus odor, quem supercumulat esculenta ructatio de dapibus hesternis et redundantum sentina cenarum.

[6] His ears are elephantine; an ulcered skin surrounds each aperture with indurated waste, either helix is bossed with suppurating tumours. His nose is broad at the nostril and narrow at the bridge, strait for his own olfactory ends, but for the spectator a cavernous vision of horror. He obtrudes a face with leaden lips and a bestial rictus, with purulent gums and brown teeth; a foul mephitic odour breathes from his decayed and hollow teeth, enhanced by eructations from the feasts of yesterday and the bilge of his excesses at the board.

[7] promit et frontem, quae foedissimo gestu cutem plicat supercilia distendit. nutrit et barbam, quae iam senectute canescens fit tamen morbo nigra Sullano. tota denique est misero facies ita pallida veluti per horas umbris maestificata larvalibus. taceo reliquam sui molem vinctam podagra pinguedine solutam, taceo cerebrum crebra vibice peraratum, quod parum amplius tegi constat capillis quam cicatricibus, taceo pro brevitate cervicis occipiti supinato scapularum adhaerere confinia.

[7] A forehead too he flaunts hideous with creases and distension of the brows. He grows a beard which age vainly whitens, since Sylla's malady keeps it black. His whole face is as pale as if it were ever dolorous with infesting shades. I spare you the hulking residue, gout-ridden, fat and flabby. I spare you his weal-furrowed skull, covered with almost as many scars as hairs. I spare you the description of a nape so short that when his head is thrown back it seems to merge into his shoulder-blades.

[8] taceo quia decidit honor umeris, decor brachiiis, robur lacertis, taceo chira-gricas manus unctis cataplasmatum pannis tamquam caestibus involutas. taceo quod alarum specubus hircosis atque acescentibus latera captiva vallatus nares circumsedentem ventilata duplicis Ampsancti peste funestat. taceo fractas

pondere arvinæ iacere mammas quasque foedum esset in pectore virili vel prominere, has ut ubera materna cecidisse, taceo ventris inflexi pendulos casses parti genitalium, quia debili, bis pudendae turpibus rugis turpius praeberere velamen.

[8] The sunken carriage, the lost grace and vigour of his arms, the gouty hands bound cestus-like with greasy poultices; all these I spare you, so too the acrid hircine armpits that entrench his sides, and pollute the air for every nostril near him with a reek three times more pestilent than that from Ampsanctus' cave. And breasts collapsed with adiposity horrible on a man's body even in mere protuberance, but now hanging like a mother's. And the pendulous folds of the abdomen about genitals thrice shameful in their debility, a foul creased covering worse than what it hides.

[9] iam quid hic tergum spinamque commemorem? de cuius licet internodiorum fomitibus erumpens arcam 1 pectoris texat curvatura costarum, tota nihilominus haec ossium 2 ramosa compago sub uno velut exundantis abdominis pelago latet, taceo lumborum corpulentiam cluniumque, cui crassitudini comparata censetur alvus exilis. taceo femur aridum ac pandum, genua vasta poplites delicatos, crura cornea vitreos talos, parvos digitos pedes grandes, cumque distortis horreat ita liniamentis perque multiplicem pestilentiam exsanguis semivivusque nec portatus sedeat 3 nec sustentatus incedat, verbis tamen est ille quam membris execrabilior.

[9] Why should I tell of his back and spine? True, the ribs do sweep round from the vertebral joints and cover the chest, but the whole branching structure of bones is drowned under a billowing main of belly. I pass over the fat reins and buttocks which make even his paunch look insignificant in comparison. I pass the bent and withered thigh, the swollen knees, the slender hams, the horny shanks, the weak ankles, the small toes and enormous feet. As I have drawn him, he is horrible enough in his deformity, a monster from whom his infinite noisomeness drains half the blood and life, who cannot sit a litter or walk a yard, however much they prop him. But his tongue is more detestable still than his other members.

[10] nam quamquam pruritu laborat sermonis inhonesti, tamen patronorum est praecipue cavendus arcanis, quorum est laudator in prosperis, delator in dubiis; et.1 si ad occulta familiarium publicanda temporis ratio sollicitet, mox per hunc Spartacum quaecumque sunt clausa franguntur quaeque obserata reserantur; ita quod, quas domorum nequiverit machinis apertae simultatis impetere, cuniculis clandestinae prodicionis impugnat. hoc fabricatu Daedalus noster amicitiarum culmen aedificat, qui sicut sodalibus velut Theseus inter secunda sociatur, sic ab his postmodum velut Proteus inter adversa dilabitur.

[10] He keeps it busy in the service of the vilest prurience; but it is most dangerous of all to patrons with anything to hide. For those in luck he belauds,

but those who are unfortunate he betrays; let a tempting moment but urge to disclosure of a friend's secret, and instantly this Spartacus will break all bars and open every seal. He will mine with the unseen tunnels of his treachery the houses which the rams of open war have failed to breach. This is the fashion in which our Daedalus crowns the edifice of his friendships, sticking as close as Theseus in prosperity; but when adversity comes, more elusive than any Proteus.

[11] igitur ex voto meo feceris si talium sodalitati ne congressu quidem primore sociere, maxume illorum quorum sermonibus prostitutis ac theatralibus nullas habenas, nulla praemittit repagula pudor, nam quibus citra honestatis nitorem iactitabundis loquacis faece petulantiae lingua polluitur infrenis, his conscientia quoque sordidatissima est. denique facilius obtingit ut quispiam seria loquens vivat obscene, quam valeat ostendi qui pariter exsistat improbus dictis et probus moribus, vale.

[11] The more you avoid even a first introduction to such company the better you will please me; especially to those so shameless that they talk like degraded players at the booths, and know neither bar nor bridle. For when a man exults in leaving all seemliness and decency behind, and fouls a loose tongue with the dirt of all lawless licence, be sure his heart is no less filthy than his language. You may find an evil liver with a serious tongue; the foul tongue and virtuous life are very rarely allied. Farewell.

Sidonius Placido suo Salutem.

XIV.

To his friend Placidus After A. D. 477

[1] Quamquam te tua tenet Gratianopolis, comperi tamen hospitum veterum fido relatu quod meas nugas sive confectas opere prosario seu poetarum stilo cantilenosas plus voluminum lectione dignere repositorum. gaudeo hoc ipso, quod recognovi chartulis occupari nostris otium tuum; sed probe intellego quod moribus tuis hanc voluptatem non operis effectus excudit sed auctoris adfectus, ideoque plus debeo, quia gloriae punctum, quod dictioni negares, das amicitiae.

[1] **THOUGH** your loved Grenoble holds you far from me, I learn from a sure channel — your former hosts — that you are kind enough to prefer my trifles in prose or verse to all the other volumes on your shelves. It goes without saying that it gave me pleasure to hear how my writings occupy your leisure; but I understand well enough that it is really affection for the author and not the quality of his work which procures you this delight. My debt is all the greater; friendship wins me the honour which you could not honestly give the composition.

[2] de ceteris vero studii nostri derogatoribus quid ex asse pronuntiem, necdum deliberavi. nam qui maxume doctus sibi videtur, dictionem sanam et insanam ferme appetitu pari revolvit, non amplius concupiscens erecta quae laudet quam despecta quae rideat. atque in hunc modum scientia pompa proprietates linguae Latinae iudiciis otiosorum maximo spretui est, quorum scurrilitati negligentia comes hoc volens tantum legere, quod carpat, sic non utitur litteris quod abutitur. vale.

[2] For the rest, I have not yet considered what definitive reply I shall make to the detractors of my work. The self-appointed critic absorbs a sound or unsound style with equal appetite; he cares no more that the world should exalt his favourite than that it should despise the object of his mockery. And so we see the fine construction, the comeliness and grandeur of our Latin tongue exposed to contemptuous criticism of idle quidnuncs; minds careless and so flippant as this want books only to carp at; their use for literature is a mere abuse. Farewell.

BOOK IV

Sidonius Probo suo salutem

I.

To his friend Probus A.D. 461-7

[1] Soror mihi quae uxor tibi: hinc inter nos summa et principalis necessitudo, et ea quidem patruelis, non germana fraternitas, quae plerumque se purius fortius meracius amat. nam facultatum inter germanos prius lite sopita iam qui nascuntur ex fratribus nihil invicem controversantur, et hinc saepe caritas in patruelibus maior, quia desistit simultas a divisione nec cessat affectus a semine, secundus nobis animorum nexus accessit de studiorum parilitate, quia idem sentimus culpamus laudamus in litteris et aequae nobis quaelibet dictio placet improbatque.

[1] You married my cousin, whence the first and principal tie between us; the cousinly relationship often leads to a stronger, purer, and more unmixed affection than that between two brothers. For when brothers' quarrels over property are once appeased, their children have no longer cause for disagreement, and so it often happens that cousins are the more deeply attached; the enmities arising from the partition of estates are over, the tie of blood relationship remains. The second link between us is intellectual, and formed by a similarity of studies; our literary taste is identical; we praise and blame the same things; a style approved or disapproved by one produces the same impression on the other.

[2] quamquam mihi nimis arrego iudicium meum conterens tuo. quis enim iuvenum nesciat seniorum-que te mihi magistrum fuisse proprium, cum videremur habere communem, et si quid heroicus arduum comicus lepidum, lyricus cantilenosum orator declamatorium, 1 historicus verum satiricus figuratum, grammaticus regulare panegyrista plausibile, sophista serium epigrammatista 2 lascivum, commentator lucidum iurisconsultus obscurum multifariam condiderunt, id te omnifariam singulis, nisi cui ingenium sibique quis defuit, tradidisse? deus bone! quam sibi hinc patres nostri gloriabantur, 3 cum viderunt sub ope Christi te docere posse, me discere, et non solum te facere quod posses sed et velle quod faceres ideoque te bonum non minus quam peritum pro-nuntiari!

[2] But I am presumptuous in venturing a comparison between my judgement and yours. It is common knowledge among young and old that you were my real master, though we were nominally both pupils of another. You were everybody's teacher in every branch of literature. All of us learned from you, except those who had not the brains, or could not do themselves proper justice: our epic poets derived from you their lofty vein, our comic poets their humour, our lyric poets their musical art; from you the orator drew his rhetoric, the historian his respect for truth, the satirist his pictorial gift, the

grammarian his fidelity to rule, the panegyrist his plausibility, the sophist his gravity of style, the writer of epigram his petulance and point, the commentator his lucid method, the lawyer his obscurity. Heavens! how proud our respective fathers used to be when they saw that Christ had given you grace to teach and me to learn, that you not only did what lay within your power but also enjoyed the doing of it, and so deserved a name for goodness no less than a learned reputation.

[3] et vere intra Eusebianos lares talium te quaedam moneta suscepit disciplinarum, cuius philosophica include formatus nunc varias nobis rerum sermonumque rationes ipso etiam qui docuerat probante pandebas, nunc ut Platon discipulus iam prope potior sub Socrate, sic iam tu sub Eusebio nostro inter Aristotelicas categorias artifex dialecticus atticissabas, cum ille adhuc aetatulam nostram mobilem teneram crudam modo castigatoria severitate decoqueret, modo mandatorum salubritate condiret.

[3] And indeed in your case Eusebius' house proved a veritable mint of the sciences and arts; you were there struck on a philosophical die, and to the delight of your own instructor were able to impart to the rest of us every phase of knowledge and of eloquent expression. Just as Plato the pupil was more expert than Socrates, so did you excel our good Eusebius. While he was maturing our tender, unformed and plastic youth with ruthless floggings, or trying to ground it on wholesome principles, there you were, a dialectician born, moving with Attic ease through all the categories of Aristotle.

[4] at qualium, deus bone, quamque pretiosorum, quae si quis deportaret philosophaturus aut ad paludicolas Sygambros aut ad Caucasigenas Alanos aut ad equimulgas Gelonos, bestialium rigidarumque nationum corda cornea fibraeque glaciales procul dubio emollirentur egelidarentur neque illorum ferociam stoliditatemque, quae secundum beluas ineptit brutescit accenditur, rideremus contemneremus pertimesceremus.

[4] Yet how admirable his principles were after all, how precious in possession! If only some migratory philosopher could export them to the Sigambri on their marshes, or the Alans of the Caucasus, or the mare-milking Geloni, the horny hearts of all these stark and brutal folks, yes and all their frozen fibres, were surely thawed and softened, while we should cease to sneer and scoff, and tremble by turns at their stolidity and their ferocious natures, which now brood in bestial dullness, now burst into swift flame.

[5] igitur quia nos ut affinitas, ita studia iunxerunt, precor, quoquo loci es, amicitiae iura inconcussa custodias longumque tibi etsi sede absumus, adsimus affectu: cuius in-temeratae partes, quantum spectat ad vos, a nobis I in aevum, si quod est vitae reliquum, perennabuntur. vale.

[5] Since, then, our family connexion and our studies thus unite us, preserve

the laws of friendship unshaken, wherever your abode may be; though my home is far from yours, let our hearts draw nearer by virtue of this affection, which I for my part will keep inviolate as long as breath remains in my body. Farewell.

Claudianus Sidonio Papae salutem

II.

Claudianus [Mamertus] to the Lord Bishop Sidonius A. D. 472

[1] Si possibile factu esset, ut te, dominum meum, vel aliquotiens aliquantulum convenirem, non undeunde quarumpiam personarum aut voluntates aut necessitates anquirerem, 2 quae 3 in rem debiti mei usui mihi esse possent, quippe revisionis potestas multis modis et miseris perinde causis intercluditur. enimvero scribendi facultas aut raro idonea suppetit aut nec suppetit. istaec eadem remissibilia sint necne, tute iudicaveris.

[1] IF I could only meet you now and again, my dear lord, were it only for a short time, I should not have to look about on all sides for any kind of messenger whose goodwill or necessities might help me pay the debt of correspondence owed you. Numerous causes, all sad ones, prevent me from seeing you again; even an opportunity of writing comes rarely or not at all. Whether all this excuses me or not, you yourself must judge.

[2] porro autem vero, quod saepenumero scriptis vestris alii inperituntur, qui id ipsum nec ambiunt quam egomet forsitan nec merentur amplius, non arbitrator amicitiae legibus inpune committi. illud etiamnum dolenter faxo tacitum, quod libellos illos, quos tuo nomine nobilitari non abnuis, nullo umquam inperfvisti rescripto. sed vacuum forte non suppetit, quod tute modicum magnae admodum impendas amicitiae.

[2] But in often favouring with your letters persons who either do not expect them, or deserve to get them less than I, you on your side are guilty of an offence against the laws of friendship which may not be committed with impunity. Though I have said little, I confess that it has wounded me never to have received from you any acknowledgement of the book which you have deigned to allow me to publish under the auspices of your illustrious name. But perhaps you cannot spare even a few short moments for a friendship of such long standing as ours?

[3] ecquo tumet occupatu umquam uspiamve implicabere, quin illud in aliorum commoda revergat? cum precatu deum placas, eundem non modo amicis sed ignotis quoque concilias. cum scripturarum caelestium mysteria rimaris, quo te studiosius imbuis, eo doctrinam ceteris copiosius infundis. cum tuas opes in usus inopum prodigis, tibi quidem maxume, sed aliis quoque consultum facis, proinde nihil videlicet, profecto nihil est tam infecundum actionum tuarum omnium, quod tibi uni soli tantum et non aliis quoque multis tecum uberem fructum ferat.

[3] I wonder if you will ever involve yourself in any interest which does not

turn to other folks' advantage. When you propitiate God by prayer, you entreat Him not only for your friends but for men you have never seen; when you search out the mysteries of Holy Writ, the more deeply your own mind is imbued with doctrine, the fuller the stream which you impart to others. When you lavish your goods upon the poor, there is a sense in which you may be said to serve yourself, but your aim is the service of others. Not a single action of yours is so barren as to yield abundant fruit to your sole self and not to a host of other people as well.

[4] nulla igitur cuiusquam praepedimenti occasio praetendi vel falso potest, cur egomet specialis atque intumus [tuus] 1 nihil ab speciali meo fructi feram, a quo ignoti quoque multum capiant plurimi, sed, uti ego autumo, iuxta formam euangelici largitoris quod non das amico esurienti dabis improbo pulsatori. porro si etiamnum solito 1 obdurueris, faxim egomet quod tete paenitebit, quoniam, si peccabis 2 ultra reticendo, ego protinus ulciscar scribendo, porro enim ambiguo caret tam te puniendum scripto meo, quam punior egomet silentio tuo. vale.

[4] No possible pretext, then, can be alleged by any stretch of fancy on which an intimate friend like myself should be deprived of his own especial fruit, while strangers in scores are allowed to eat of it in plenty. I suppose you follow the precedent of the giver in the Gospel, and accord to the unworthy but importunate what you deny to a hungry friend. But if you allow yourself to grow hardened in this habit, I shall take measures to assure your repentance. For if your taciturnity exceeds all reason, my communications shall do the same. It is quite evident that you will have to be punished by my letters, as I myself am punished by your silence. Farewell.

Sidonius Claudiano suo salutem

III.

To Claudianus [Mamertus] A.D. 472

[1] Committi, domine maior, in necessitudinis iura pronuntias, cur quod ad salve tibi debitum spectat a stilo et pugillaribus diu temperem quodque deinceps nullas vianum volas mea papyrus oneraverit, quae vos cultu sedulae sospitatis 3 impertiat. praeter aequum ista coniectas, si reare mortalium quempiam, cui tamen sermocinari Latialiter cordi est, non pavere, cum in examen aurium tuarum quippe scriptus adducitur; tuarum, inquam, aurium, quarum peritiae, si me decursorum ad hoc aevi temporum praerogativa non obruat, nec Frontoniana gravitatis, aut ponderis Apuleiani fulmen aequiperem, cui Varrones, vel Atacinus vel Reatinus, 1 Plinii, vel avunculus vel Secundus, compositi in praesentiarum rusticabuntur.

[1] You declare, most honoured master, that I have offended against the laws of friendship: you allege that though it is my turn to give you epistolary greeting, I have let my tablets and stylus lie, and no traveller's hand has been burdened with papyrus of mine inscribed with my assiduous wishes for your welfare. The suggestion is unfair; you cannot really suppose that any man on earth, with the least devotion to Latin letters, would lightly submit his compositions to the ordeal of being read to you; you, with whose accomplishments, but for the overwhelming privilege of antiquity, I should never rank either Fronto's gravity, or the fulminating force of Apuleius; for compared with you the Varros, both he of the Atax and he of Reate, and the Plinies, uncle and nephew, will always seem provincial.

[2] adstipulatur iudicio meo volumen illud, quod tute super statu animae rerum verborumque scientia divitissimus propalavisti. in quo dum ad meum nomen prooemiaris, hoc munus potissimum cepi, ut meae fama personae, quam operae pretium non erat librorum suorum titulis inclarescere, tuorum beneficio perpetuaretur. at quod, deus magne, quantumque opus illud est, materia clausum declamatione conspicuum, pro-positione obstructum disputatione reseratum, et quamquam propter hamata syllogismorum puncta tribulosum, vernantis tamen eloquii flore monitum!

[2] In support of this opinion I have only to mention your new volume on the nature of the Soul, with all its wealth of evidence and mastery of diction. The dedication to me I regarded as an inestimable gift: the fame which my own books would never keep alive, would now be immortalized by yours. Great God! what a wonderful book it is, and of what authority! abstruse in subject, in exposition clear as day; in statement serried, expansive in discussion, and though barbed with many a point of syllogism, yet soft with vernal flowers of

eloquence!

[3] nova ibi verba, quia vetusta, quibusque conlatus merito etiam antiquarum litterarum stilus anti-quaretur; quodque pretiosius, tota illa dictio sic caesuratim succincta, quod profluens; quam rebus amplam strictamque sententiis sentias plus docere quam dicere, denique et quondam, nec iniuria, haec principalis facundia computabatur, cui paucis multa cohibenti curae fuit causam potius implere quam paginam.

[3] You have found ancient words which by their very age regain the charm of novelty; compared with these even a classic vocabulary seems obsolete. And what is more, the style, so succinct in its short clauses, has yet an even flow; loaded with facts, concise in comment, these pages do not merely propound — they inform. It was once, and rightly, held the highest part of eloquence to condense much matter into a small space and aim at exhausting the subject before the paper.

[4] at vero in libris tuis iam illud quale est, quod et teneritudinem quamquam I continuata maturitas admittit interseritque tempestivam censura dulcedinem, ut lectoris intentionem per eventilata disciplinarum philosophiae membra lassatam repente voluptuosis excessibus quasi quibusdam pelagi sui portibus foveat? o liber multifariam pollens, o eloquium non exilis sed subtilis ingenii, quod nec per scaturigines hypeiholicas intumescit nec per tapinomata depressa tenuatur!

[4] And what a charming feature it is in your books, when you allow some relaxation in the sustained display of mastery and interpose most welcome graces amid the severities of argument; by this means the reader's attention, strained by following that exhaustive analysis of doctrine and philosophy, is suddenly relieved by the most delightful of digressions, comforting as harbours after open seas. O work of endless excellences! O worthy expression of a genius subtle without tenuity, which neither freshets of hyperbole swell, nor mean terms minish and abase!

[5] ad hoc unica singularis-que doctrina et in diversarum rerum assertione monstrabilis, cui moris est de singulis artibus cum singulis artificibus philosophari, quaeque, si fors exigit, tenere non abnuat cum Orpheo plectrum cum Aesculapio baculum, cum Archimede radium cum Euphrate horoscopium, 2 cum Perdice circinum cum Vitruvio perpendiculum quaeque numquam investigare destiterit cum Thalete tempora, cum Atlante sidera, cum Zeto 3 pondera, cum Chrysippo numeros, cum Euclide mensuras.

[5] And then the unrivalled, the unique learning conspicuous in so many fields, and used to hold its own with the great masters in the discussion of every art. It does not hesitate, if need be, to wield the plectrum with Orpheus himself, or the staff with Aesculapius, or the rule with Archimedes, the horoscope with

Euphrates, the compasses with Perdix, the plummet with Vitruvius; it never ceases to explore the ages with Thales, or the stars with Atlas; to study weight with Zetus, number with Chrysippus, or measure with Euclid.

[6] ad extremum nemo saeculo meo quae voluit affirmare sic valuit, si- quidem dum sese adversus eum, quem contra loquitur, exertat, morum ac studiorum linguae utriusque symbolam iure sibi vindicat, sentit ut Pythagoras dividit ut Socrates, explicat ut Platon implicat ut Aristoteles, ut Aeschines blanditur ut Demosthenes irascitur, vernet ut Hortensius aestuat ut Cathegus, incitat ut Curio moratur ut Fabius, simulat ut Crassus dissimulat ut Caesar, suadet ut Cato dissuadet ut Appius persuadet ut Tullius.

[6] I can only say that no man of our times produces his knowledge with more effect, in the stress of conflict with the adversary can point with more justice to his own share in maintaining the spirit and the letters of Greece and Rome. Here is a writer who has the perception of Pythagoras, the clear logic of Socrates; he can unfold a theme with Plato or involve it with Aristotle; the charm of Aeschines is his, and the indignation of Demosthenes; he is as fresh and vivid as Hortensius; he storms like a Cethegus; he is impetuous as Curio, cautious as Fabius; in finesse the equal of Crassus, in reserve of Caesar, in suasion of Cato, in dissuasion of Appius, in persuasion of Tully himself.

[7] iam si ad sacrosanctos patres pro comparatione veniatur instruit ut Hieronymus destruit ut Lactantius adstruit ut Augustinus, attollitur ut Hilarius summittitur ut Iohannes, ut Basilus corripit ut Gregorius consolatur, ut Orosius affluit ut Rufinus stringitur, ut Eusebius narrat ut Eucherius sollicitat, ut Paulinus provocat ut Ambrosius - perseverat.

[7] Compare him now with the holy Fathers; you find him instructive as Jerome, destructive as Lactantius, constructive as Augustine; soaring in flight like Hilary, in humility meek as John; a Basil in rebuke, in consolation a Gregory. He is fluent as Orosius, terse as Rufinus; he has Eusebius' gift of narrative and Eucherius' power to stir, Paulinus' rousing voice, the perseverance of an Ambrose.

[8] iam vero de hymno tuo si percontere quid sentiam, commaticus est copiosus, dulcis elatus, et quoslibet lyricos dithyrambos amoenitate poetica et historica veritate supereminet, idque tuum in illo peculiare, quod servatis metrorum pedibus pedum syllabis syllabarumque naturis intra spatii sui terminum verba ditia versus pauper includit nec artati carminis brevitatis longitudinem phalerati sermonis eliminat; ita tibi facile factu est minutis trochaeis minutionibusque pyrrhichiis non solum molossicas anapaesticasque ternarias sed epitritorum etiam paeonumque quaternatas 1 supervenire iuncturas.

[8] And now for my opinion on your hymn. I find it at once admirable in

brevity and richness of content, at once tender and exalted, in poetic charm and truth to history superior to any lyrics or dithyrambs that I know. It is your peculiar merit that you observe each foot in the metre, each syllable in the foot, and each emphasis in the syllable; and in a restricted measure none too rich in opportunity, you contrive to include great opulence of words; the compressed, terse metre does not exclude long-drawn beauty of ornate diction. It seems mere play to you, with your tiny trochees and tinier pyrrhics, to surpass in effect not merely the Molossian and anapaestic ternary, but even the quaternary, the epitrite and Paeonian rhythms.

[9] *excrecit amplitudo proloqui angustias regulares et tamquam parvo auro grandis gemma vix capitur emicatque ut equi potentis animositas, cui frementi, si inter tesqua vel confraga frenorum lege teneatur, intellegis non tam cursum deesse quam campum, quid multis? arbitro me in utroque genere dicendi nec Athenae sic Atticae nec Musae sic musicae iudicabuntur, si modo mihi vel censendi copiam desidia longior non ademit, nam dum in pactae professionis obtentu novum scribendi morem gradatim appeto et veterem saltuatim dedisco, de bono oratore nil amplius habeo quam quod malus poeta esse plus coepi.*

[9] Your grand exordium overflows the customary strait limits, as a great gem is hardly confined in a poor setting; as the mettle of a strong steed flashes out, and he chafes on the bit if he is held in over rough and broken ground; so it is with you; you are conscious of a speed to which a proper field is denied. What more shall I say? I will assert that neither Athens was ever so Attic, nor the Muses so musical as Claudian, if indeed a long period of inaction has not robbed me even of my critical capacity.

[10] *proin, quaeso, delicti huius mihi gratiam facias, quod aliquantisper mei meminens arentem venulam rarius flumini tuo misceo, tuam tubam totus qua patet 1 orbis iure venerabitur, quam constat geminata felicitate cecinisse, quando nec aemulum repperit nec aequalem, cum pridem aures et ora populorum me etiam circumferente pervagaretur. nobis autem grandis audacia, si vel apud municipales et cathedrarios oratores aut forenses rabulas garriamus, qui etiam cum perorant, salva pace potiorum, turba numerosior illitteratissimis litteris vacant, nam te, cui, seu liberum seu ligatum placeat alternare sermonem, intonare ambifariam suppetit, pauci, quos aequus amavit, mutabuntur, vale.*

[10] For in deference to the profession which has been thrust upon me, I am endeavouring step by step to acquire a new style of writing, while I unlearn my old one by leaps and bounds; little remains now of a good speaker, except that I am more than ever the indifferent poet. I must therefore beg your indulgence if, remembering who and what I am, I seldom blend my thin and parching rivulet with your mighty river. The whole world shall honour the music of your silver trumpet, music thrice blessed in finding neither rival nor equal, though it has sounded all these years over the earth, charming the ears and lips of peoples, while I, too, strove to spread its fame. But all that your servant now dares in public speech is to raise his voice among town-councillors and teachers or even among market-quacks; these are the majority now, and (with all apologies to the best among them), even in their ambitious efforts, but illiterately lettered. But as for you, who can ring the changes on verse and prose and write in metre or without it exactly when you please, your emulators will be few, and those only whom Apollo loves. Farewell.

Sidonius Simplicio et Apollinari Suis salutem

IV.

To [his kinsmen] Simplicius and Apollinaris c. A.D. 472

[1] Eccum vel tandem adest promissio mea, expectatio vestra, Faustinus, pater familias domi nobilis et inter maxima patriae iam mihi sibiue communis ornamenta numerandus. hic meus frater natalium parilitate, amicus animorum similitudine; saepe cum hoc seria, saepe etiam ioca miscui; cumque abhinc retro iuvenes eramus, in pila in tesseris, saltibus cursu, venatu natatu sancta semper ambobus, quia manente caritate, contentio, mihi quidem maior hic natu, tantum tamen, ut eum non tam honorari necesse esset quam delectaret imitari; simul et ipse hinc amplius capiebatur, quod se diligi magis quam quasi coli intellegebam sed propectu aetatis et 1 militia clericali, cum esset amabilis prius, coepit modo esse venerabilis.

[1] AT last I send the promised Faustinus, for whom you have been waiting; he is the father of a family, a noble by birth, and a man to be accounted one of the chief ornaments of our common country. In years he is a brother to me, in community of sentiment a friend. How often have he and I together blended grave and gay! how often, in the far-off days of our youth, played ball and dice together, and vied in leaping, running, hunting, or swimming, always honourable rivals because firmest friends! He was my elder, but only by a little; the difference did not so much bind me to defer to him, as make it a delight to follow; he too was more deeply charmed not to be given deference, but simply affection. Only with advancing years, and with his entry into the Church, has my old love for him insensibly passed into veneration.

[2] per hunc salutem dico, videre vos sub ope Christi quam maturissime, si per statum publicum liceat, cupiens, quocirca, nisi desiderium meum videtur onerosum, remeante prae-fato fiam locorum vestrorum et temporum gnarus, stat sententia eluctari oppositas privatarum occupationum difficultates et complectendis pectoribus vestris quamlibet longum officium deputare, si tamen, quod etiam nunc veremur, non vis maior disposita confundat.

[2] This is the man through whom I greet you, in the ardent desire that I may see you very soon, if God will, and the state of the country permit. Unless, then, my wish is irksome to you, inform me, by return of this good messenger, in what places you expect to be, and when. I am firmly determined to shake myself free from all obstacles and hindrances of personal affairs, and allow myself the privilege of long and intimate hours in your society, if only some major force does not upset my plans, as I am half afraid it may.

[3] quae vos quoque non per-indignum est cum fratre Faustino, prout tempora monent, tractatu communicato deliberare. quem ego quia diligo, tamquam qui

me diligat misi: si respondet iudicio meo, gratias ago; porro autem cum vir bonus ab omnibus censeatur, non est homo peior, si non est optimus, valete.

[3] You too might find it worth while to talk them over with Brother Faustinas in the light of probable events. I made him my envoy because I love him and know that he returns my feelings. If he justifies my good opinion, I shall be very thankful. All men set him high in their esteem; and perhaps he is none the worse for not being a perfect paragon. Farewell.

Sidonius Felici suo salutem

V.

To his friend [Magnus] Felix A.D. 474

[1] Iterat portitorem salutationis iteratio: Gozolas vester, deus tribuat ut noster, apicum meorum secundo gerulus efficitur, igitur verecundiam utrique eximite communem; nam si etiamnum silere meditemini, omnes et me cui et illum per quem scribere debebas 1 indignum arbitrabuntur.

[1] I SALUTE you a second time by the same messenger as before. Your Gozolas (may I soon call him mine too!) acts once more as the carrier of my letter. Spare us both, therefore, the indignity of an open slight; for if you persist in silence, every one will think that you look down on me and on the destined bearer of your reply.

[2] de temporum statu iam nihil ut prius consulo, ne sit moribus tuis oneri, si adversa significes, cum prospera non sequantur, nam cum te non deceat falsa mandare atque item desint 2 votiva memoratu, fugio quicquid illud mali est per bonorum indicia cognoscere, vale.

[2] As on the last occasion, I ask nothing as to the state of public affairs, fearing it may be painful to you to announce unfavourable events at a time when fortune fails us. It would not be like you to send false news; and as there is nothing pleasant to record, I would rather learn of disaster from any one but my friends. Farewell.

Sidonius Apollinari suo salutem

VI.

To [his kinsman] Apollinaris A. D. 472

[1] Per Faustinum antistitem non minus mihi veteris contubernii sodalitate quam novae professionis communione devinctum verbo quaequam cavenda mandaveram: dicto paruisse vos gaudeo. siquidem prudentibus cordacitus insitum est vitare fortuita, sicut itidem absurdum, si coeptis audacibus adversetur eventus, consurgere in querimonias et inconsultarum dispositionum culpabiles exitus ad infamanda casuum incerta convertere.

[1] I SENT you a verbal warning lately by the priest Faustinus, my old comrade and new brother in the ministry, and glad I am that you have listened to it. It is the root-principle of practical wisdom to avoid unnecessary risks; if a man takes them, and a rash course ends in trouble, it is futile to break out into lamentations and abuse Fate for the consequences of one's own bad management.

[2] 'quorsum istaec?' ais. fateor me nimis ventum, ne tempore timoris publici non timeres 1 et solidae domus ad hoc aevi inconcussa securitas ad tempestuosos hostium incursus pro intempestiva devotione trepidaret inchoaretque apud animorum matronalium teneritudinem sollemnitatis expetita vilescere: 2 quamquam in pectoribus earundem ita sibi sit genuina sanctitas peculiare metata domicilium, ut, si quid secus viantibus accidisset, laetaturae fuerint quoddam se pro martyre tolerasse martyrium. ast ego, cui maiorem diffidentiam minor innocentia facit, super hoc ambiguo sententiae cautiore libentius adhaerescere nec difficulter applicor etiam tuta metuentibus.

[2] You ask the trend of these remarks. I confess I was much afraid that, at a time when all men felt anxiety, you might feel none; and that the house which stood solid as a rock through all these years might be shaken at last through a misplaced devotion. I feared that the solemnity to which the ladies of your family so looked forward might be spoiled for their gentle souls by these alarms, though I well know that true religion is so deeply implanted in their breasts that they would have rejoiced to suffer a sort of martyrdom in honour of the Martyr had anything untoward befallen upon the way. But I have less innocence, and therefore more distrust of events; amid such uncertainties I prefer the safer side; it takes little to make me join those who discover danger in the very heart of safety.

[3] proinde factum bene est, quod anceps iter salubriter distulisti neque intra iactum tantae aleae status tantae familiae fuit. et licet inchoata via potuerit prosperari, ego tamen huiusmodi consilio album calculum minime apponam, cuius temeritas absolvi nequit nisi beneficio felicitatis. dabit quidem talia vota

divinitas dignis successibus promoveri licebitque adhuc horumce terrorum sub pacis amoenitate meminisse; sed praesentia faciunt cautos quos videbunt futura securos.

[3] I therefore approve your action in putting off so perilous an expedition, and refusing to expose the fortunes of a family like yours to such a hazard. The journey, once undertaken, might possibly have prospered; but I for one will never vote for the reckless kind of measure which only luck can justify. Providence, I doubt not, will grant a happy issue to our prayers, and under new blessings of peace we shall look back upon these tenors as mere memories; but those who wish to enjoy security in future must learn caution from the present hour.

[4] interim ad praesens apicum oblato damna sibi quaequid per Genesium vestrum inflicta suspirat, si perspicis a vero non discrepare querimoniam, tribue, quaeso, convincenti reformationem, peregrino celeritatem, si vero calumniam plectibili sufflammat invidia, in eo iam praecessit vindicta pulsati, quod procax petitor sumptu et itinere confectus temere propositae litis exsudat incommoda, atque hoc in maximo hiemis accentu summisque cumulis nivium crustisque glacierum; quod tempus, quantum ad sectatores litium spectat, breve quidem saepe est audientiae sed diuturnum semper iniuriae, vale,

[4] Meanwhile, I draw your attention to the bearer's complaint of some wrong done him by one of your people, by name Genesius. If you find that facts bear out the grievance, I beg of you to do the plaintiff justice and grant him a quick return to his distant home. But if he has fanned up a flame of calumny out of culpable spite, the defendant can enjoy the foretaste of his discomfiture, when he thinks of his wanton accuser, wayworn and impoverished, bearing all for nothing the hard consequences of a rash accusation, and that at the very height of winter, when the ice is thick and the snow lies piled in drifts. The litigious are apt to find this a season when hearings are generally short, but there is plenty of time for suffering damage. Farewell.

Sidonius Simplicio suo salutem

VII.

To his kinsman Simplicius (Date not indicated)

[1] Solet dicere ‘currentem mones’ qui rogatum ut faciat quod facturus fuerat etiam non rogatus. percontere forsitan, quo spectet ista praemitti, baiulus apicum sedulo precatur, ut ad vos a me litteras ferat, cuius a nobis itinere comperto id ipsum erat utique, si tacuisset, orandus; namque hoc officium vester potius amor quam geruli respectus elicit. ceterum hic ipse beneficium se computat meruisse, qui praestitit, quamquam identidem quod poposcit acceperit, sed quae nobis amicitiarum iura minime agnoscens.

[1] ‘You spur the willing,’ is the usual comment of the man who meant to do unasked the thing you ask of him. You ask how the quotation applies? The bearer of these lines insists on a letter of introduction from me, whereas, the moment I knew where he was going I should myself have begged the privilege of giving it before he opened his mouth, obliging him not so much from consideration for him as from my warm feeling towards yourself. For the rest, my messenger calculates that by doing me a service he will have deserved a good turn; he has obtained what he wanted, but without ever dreaming how close the bond is which unites you and me.

[2] unde quamquam absens facile coniecto, quo repente stupore ferietur, cum intuitu nostri dignanter admissus intellexerit se paginam meam magis otiose flagitasse quam tradere, videre mihi videor, ut homini non usque ad invidiam per-faceto nova erunt omnia, cum invitabitur peregrinus ad domicilium, trepidus ad conloquium, rusticus ad laetitiam, pauper ad mensam, et cum apud crudos caeparumque crapulis esculentos hic agat vulgus, illic ea comitate retractabitur 1 ac si inter Apicios epulones et Byzantinos chironomuntas hucusque ructaverit.

[2] Miles away though I remain, I shall be able to picture his stupefaction on his arrival, when the mere fact that he comes from me secures him respectful welcome, and he finds no effectual use for a letter which it was really superfluous to solicit. I can see it all as if I were there; the novelty of everything to one whose wits are not of the sharpest; his confusion as a stranger invited to make himself at home, or as a nervous guest drawn into conversation, or as a countrified fellow called on to take his part in polite gaiety, or as a poor man set down at a sumptuous board. It will be strange indeed to a man from these parts, where ill-cooked viands and too much onion afford the only fare, to find himself as nobly regaled as if he had eaten his fill all his days at Apician banquets, served by the rhythmic carvers of Byzantium.

[3] attamen qualis ipse quantusque est, 2 percopiose me officii votivi compotem fecit, sed quamquam huiuscemodi saepe personae despicabiles ferme sunt, in sodalibus tamen per litteras ex-colendis dispendii multum caritas sustinet, si ab usu frequentioris alloquii portitorum vilitate revocetur. vale.

[3] Anyhow, whatever his merit or importance, he could not have better helped me to pay my debt of friendship. Men of his type are often almost beneath our notice; at the same time friends who, like ourselves, are thrown back on letters for their intercourse would lose many a chance of writing were they too particular about the person of their messengers. Farewell.

Sidonius Evodio suo salutem

VIII.

*To his friend Evodius * A.D. 467 (?)*

[1] Cum tabellarius mihi litteras tuas reddidit, quae te Tolosam rege mandante mox profecturum certis amicis confitebantur, nos quoque ex oppido longe remotum rus petebamus, me quidem mane primo remoratum I vix e tenaci caterva prosectorum paginae tuae occasio excussit, ut satisfacere mandato saltim viator, saltim eques possem.

[1] I WAS just setting out for a remote country district when your messenger handed me your letter, and told his acquaintances in confidence that you were on the point of visiting Toulouse in obedience to a summons from the King. This gave me an excuse to shake off the embarrassing crowd which delayed my early start, and allowed me to give you such reply as a traveller bootied and spurred could attempt.

[2] ceterum diluculo familia praecesserat ad duodeviginti milia passuum fixura tentorium, quo quidem loci sarcinulis relaxandis multa succedunt conducibilia, fons gelidus in colle nemoroso, subditus ager herbis abundans, fluvius ante oculos avibus ac pisce multo refertus, praeter haec iunctam habens ripae domum novam vetus amicus, cuius immensae humanitati nec si acquiescas nec si recuses modum ponas.

[2] My servants had gone ahead at dawn to pitch my tent eighteen miles away at a spot with many conveniences for camping, a cold spring issuing from a wooded hill with a meadow of rich grass at the foot; a river in the foreground stocked with waterfowl and fish; and in addition to these advantages, almost on the bank, the new home of an old friend whose boundless hospitality is the same, whether you try to refuse it or not.

[3] igitur huc nostris antecedentibus, cum tui causa sub-stitissemus, quo puer ocus vel e capite vici remit- teretur, iam duae secundae facile processerant, iam sol adultus roscidae noctis umorem radio crescente sorbuerat: aestus ac sitis invalescebant atque I in profunda serenitate contra calorem sola quae tegeret nebula de pulvere; tum longinquitas viae per virens aequor campi patentis exposita visentibus, quippe ob hoc ipsum sero pransuris, ingemebatur; nam viaturos etsi nondum terebat labore, iam tamen expectatione terrebat.

[3] After stopping behind to do what you required, that I might send the messenger back at once from the end of the town, I found it was already more than four hours after dawn; the sun was well up, and his gathering heat had absorbed the heavy dews of night. The torrid air and our parched throats got

worse and worse, and so cloudless was the sky that the only protection from the blazing heat was the dust we made ourselves. The long way was a weariness, stretching in full view for miles in front of us across the grassy plain; before it had time to tire us, it already terrified by its prospect; it meant that our lunch would be late.

[4] quae cuncta praemissa, domine frater, huc tendunt, ut tibi probem neque animo vacasse me multum neque corpore neque tempore, cum 2 postulatis obtemperavi. ilicet, ut ad epistulae vestrae tenorem iam revertamur, post verba, quae primum salve ferebant, hoc poposcisti, ut epigramma transmitterem duodecim versibus terminatum, quod posset aptari conchae capaci, quae per 3 ansarum latus utrumque in extimum gyri a rota fundi senis cavatur striaturis.

[4] All this introduction is to convince you, honoured lord and brother, that when I obeyed your behests I had small time to spare and little leisure of mind or body. I return now to the substance of your letter. After the usual salutations, you asked a poem of twelve verses suitable for engraving on a large two-handled cup, the sides of which from foot to rim were fluted with six channels.

[5] quarum puto destinas vel ventribus pandis singulos versus vel curvis meliore consilio, si id magis deceat, capitibus inscribere; istoque cultu expolitam reginae Ragnahildae disponis offerre, votis nimirum tuis pariter atque actibus patrocinium invictum praeparaturus. famulor iniunctis quomodocumque, non ut volebam; sed tuae culpae primus ignosce, qui spatii plus praestitisti argentario quam poetae, cum procul dubio non te lateret intra officinam litteratorum carminis si quid incus metrica produxerit non minus forti et asprata lima poliri. 1 sed ista vel similia quorsum? ecce iam canta. 2

Pistrigero quae concha vehit Tritone Cytheren
hac sibi conlata cedere non dubitet.

poscimus, inclina paulisper culmen erile
et munus parvum magna patrona cape

[5] Euodiumque libens non aspernare clientem,
quem faciens grandem tu quoque maior eris,
sic tibi, cui rex est genitor, socer atque maritus,
gnatus rex quoque sit cum patre postque patrem.
felices lymphae, clausae quae luce metalli

[10] ora tamen dominae lucidiora foveat!
nam cum dignatur regina hinc tinguere vultus,
candor in argentum mittitur e facie.

si tantum amore nostro teneris, ut scribere has nugas non erubescas, occulte auctorem, de tua rectius parte securus, namque in foro tali sive Athenaeo plus charta vestra quam nostra scriptura laudabitur, vale.

[5] The verses you design, I suppose, for the hollows of the flutings, or, better still, if that seems more suitable, for the ridges between, and, as I gather, you intend to assure yourself an invincible protection for all your plans, actual or prospective, by offering the cup, enriched with this embellishment, to Ragnahild, the queen. I did your bidding then, not as I could have wished, but as best circumstances allowed. You must blame yourself for giving the silversmith time but the poet none; though you know perfectly well that in the literary smithy the verses forged upon the metric anvil want polishing no less severely than any metal. But all this is beside the mark; here is your poem: *

‘The shell which bears Cythera behind the fish-tailed Triton, compared with this must yield its pride of place. Bend thy queenly head, exalted patroness, to our prayer; accept this humble gift; graciously look down upon Evodius who seeks thy favour; make him great, and thine own glory shall grow greater. Thy sire and thy lord’s sire were kings; royal too is thy lord, may thy son also reign a king, both by his father’s side and after him. Happy water enclosed in this gleaming metal, reflecting a royal face yet brighter! For when the queen shall deign to touch it with her lips, the silver shall draw new splendour from her countenance.’ If you love me well enough to make use of such idle stuff, conceal my authorship and properly rely for success on your own part of the offering. For in such a mart or such a school as this barbaric court, your silver page will get all the notice, and not my poor inscription. Farewell.

* The first part translated by Hodgkin, ii. 330-2.

* Translated into German verse by Fertig, Part i, p. 32; and into prose by Chaix, i. 353.

Sidonius Industrio suo Salutem.

IX.

To his friend Industrius + c. A.D. 472

[1] Intveni proxime Vettio 1 inlustri viro et actiones eius cotidianas penitissime et veluti ex otio inspexi. quas quoniam dignas cognitu inveni, non indignas relatu existimavi, primore loco, quod iure ceteris laudibus anteponemus, servat inlaesam domino domus par pudicitiam; servi utiles: rustici morigeri, urbani amici oboedientes patronoque contenti; mensa non minus pascens hospitem quam clientem; humanitas grandis grandiorque sobrietas.

[1] I RECENTLY visited the illustrious Vectius, and was able to study his way of life at close quarters as leisurely as if I had nothing else to do. I found it well worth knowing, and therefore not unworthy of description. In the first place, and this may rightly be regarded as the highest praise of all, the whole household emulates the master's flawless purity of life. His servants are efficient, those in the country obliging, those at his town house friendly, obedient and contented with their lord. His table is open to the stranger no less than to his own clients; there reigns a large hospitality, and an even larger moderation.

[2] illa leviora, quod ipse, quem loquimur, in equis canibus accipitribus instituendis spectandas circumferendis nulli secundus; summus nitor in vestibus, cultus in cingulis, splendor in phaleris; pomposus incessus, animus serius (iste publicam fidem, ille privatam asserit dignitatem); remissio non vitians, correptio non cruentans, et severitas eius temperamenti, quae non sit taetra sed tetrica.

[2] It is of less moment that the man of whom we speak is without a rival in training a horse, judging a dog, or in bearing hawk afield; that his dress is always exquisite and his girdle to match, that all his accoutrements are splendid. The majesty of his gait accords with his gravity of mind, and as the first secures him consideration abroad, so the last maintains his dignity at home. His is an indulgence which does not spoil, a punishment without brutality, a tempered severity, stern but never dreadful.

[3] inter haec sacrorum voluminum lectio frequens, per quam inter edendum saepius sumit animae cibum; psalmos crebro lectitat, crebrius cantat; novoque genere vivendi monachum complet non sub palliolo sed sub paludamento; ferarum carnibus abstinet, cursibus adquiescit; itaque occulte delicateque religiosus venatu utitur nec utitur venatione.

[3] With all this he is a regular reader of the Scriptures; even at meal times he

enjoys this nutriment of the soul. He studies the Psalms, and yet more frequently chants them, setting a new precedent by living after this fashion in martial dress, the complete monk in all but the monastic habit. Though he abstains from eating game, he indulges in the chase; to have the sport without the spoil accords with the secret delicacy of his religious feeling.

[4] *filiam unicam parvam post obitum uxoris relictam solacio caelibatus alit avita teneritudine, materna diligentia, paterna benignitate; erga familiam suam nec in proferendo alloquio minax nec in admittendo consilio spernax nec in reatu investigando persequax; subiectorum statum condicionemque non dominio sed iudicio regit; putes eum propriam domum non possidere sed potius administrare.*

[4] The comfort of his widower's life is his little daughter, sole pledge of his lost wife's love; he brings her up with the tenderness of a grandfather, a mother's sedulous care, a father's kindness. In addressing his servants he does not give way to violence, and he is not above taking their advice upon occasion; in investigating an offence he is never inquisitorial, he rules those under him by reason and not mere authority: you might take him for the steward in his own house.

[5] *qua industria viri ac temperantia inspecta ad reliquorum quoque censui pertinere informationem, si vel summotenus vita ceteris talis publicaretur, ad quam sequendam praeter habitum, quo interim praesenti saeculo imponitur, omnes nostra professionis homines utilissime incitarentur, quia, quod pace ordinis mei dixerim, si tantum bona singula in singulis erunt, plus ego admiror sacerdotalem virum quam sacerdotem, vale.*

[5] All this virtue and moderation seemed to me to deserve recording for the benefit of others; the outlines of it at least should be common knowledge. It would be well for our age if every member of our sacred profession were stirred to emulation by the story irrespective of a garb which in these days often deceives the world. For be it said without offence to my own order, if only the good men among us manifest their individual qualities, I shall prefer the layman of priestly instincts to the priest. Farewell.

+ Translated by Hodgkin, ii. 340-2.

Sidonius Industrio suo Salutem.

X.

To his friend [Magnus] Felix A.D. 477

[1] Erumpo in salutationem licet seram, domine meus, annis ipse iam multis insalutatus, frequentiam veteris officii servare non audens, postquam me soli patrii finibus eliminatum peregrinationis adversa fregerunt, quapropter vos quoque ignoscere decet erubescitibus, siquidem convenit humiliatos humilia sectari neque cum illis parem familiaritatis tenere constantiam, quibus forte sit improbum plus amoris quam reverentiae impendere, propter hoc denique iam diu taceo vosque tacuisse, cum filius meus Heliodorus huc venit, magis toleranter quam libenter accepi.

[1] IT is many years since I have written to you, my good lord, and this greeting breaks a long silence; I had not the heart to keep up the old frequent correspondence while I was living in banishment from my country, and my spirit was broken by the hard lot of an exile. You ought to have compassion on one who admits his delinquency as I do; for whosoever is brought low should go humbly and not attempt to preserve the same familiar footing as before with those towards whom affection may be less in place than reverence. That is why I have said nothing so long, and why, after the arrival of my son Heliodorus, I could at least acquiesce in your silence, though I could hardly be expected to regard it with satisfaction.

[2] sed dicere solebas, quamquam fatigans, quod meam quasi facundiam vererere. excusatio istaec, etiamsi fuisset vera, transierat, quia post terminatum libellum, qui 1 parum cultior est, reliquas denuo litteras usuali, licet accuratus mihi melior non sit, sermone contexo; non enim tanti est poliri formulas editione carituras. ceterum si caritatis tuae morem pristino colloquiorum cursui reddis, et nos vetustae loquacitatis orbitas recurremus, praeter haec avide praevio Christo, sicubi locorum 1 fueritis, modo redux patronus indulgeat, advolaturi, ut rebus amicitia vegetetur, quae verbis infrequentata torpuerat. vale.

[2] You used to say, in jest, that you stood in positive awe of my eloquence. Even were it seriously meant, the ground for that excuse is gone; for as soon as I had finished my volume of Letters, which, though I say it, was a careful piece of work, I reverted to the every-day style in everything else. And indeed my fine style itself is much on the same level; for what is the use of giving finish to phrases which will never see the light? If, however, you are faithful to an old friendship and allow our correspondence once more to follow its former course, I too will return to the old track and be as communicative as ever. Nay more, if Christ will guide my steps and my patron on his return will

only sanction my departure, how eagerly will I fly to meet you wherever you may be, and revive by my presence a friendship which my negligent pen has left to languish. Farewell.

Sidonius Petreio suo salutem

XI.

*To his friend Petreius * c. A.D. 473*

[1] Angit me nimis damnum saeculi mei nuper erepto avunculo tuo Claudiano oculis nostris, ambigo an quempiam deinceps parem conspicaturis. vir siquidem fuit providus prudens, doctus eloquens, acer et hominum aevi loci populi sui ingeniosissimus quique indesinenter salva religione philosopharetur; et licet crinem barbamque non pasceret, pallium et clavam nunc inrideret, nunc etiam execraretur, a collegio tamen conplatoniorum solo habitu ac fide dissociabatur.

[1] I MOURN the loss of your great uncle Claudianus, snatched from us only the other day; it is the loss of our age; perhaps we shall never see his. like again. He was a man of wisdom, prudence and learning; eloquent, and of an active and ingenious mind above all his compatriots and contemporaries. He was a philosopher all his days without prejudice to his faith. It was only by his faith, and by his adoption of ordinary dress, that he dissociated himself from his friends of the Platonic school; for he never let his hair and beard grow long and would make fun of the philosopher's mantle and staff, sometimes with much bitterness.

[2] deus bone, quid erat illud, quotiens ad eum sola 2 consultationis gratia conveniebamus! quam ille omnibus statim 1 totum non dubitans, non fastidiens aperiebat, voluptuosissimum reputans, si forte oborta quarumpiam quaestionum insolubilitate labyrinthica scientiae suae thesauri eventilarentur. iam si frequentes consederamus, officium audiendi omnibus, 2 uni solum quem forsitan elegissemus deputans ius loquendi, viritim vicissimque, non tumultuatim nec sine schematis cuiuspiam gestu artificioso doctrinae suae opes erogaturus.

[2] How delightful it used to be when a party of us would visit him just for the pleasure of hearing his opinion! With what freedom from diffidence or pretence would he at once open his whole mind for our common benefit, delighted if some insoluble and thorny point arose to prove the vast resources of his knowledge! If there were many of us, he expected us all, of course, to listen, but nominated a single spokesman, probably the one whom we ourselves should have chosen; then in his methodical way, now addressing one, now another, and giving each his turn, he would bring forth all the treasures of his learning, not without the accompaniment of trained and appropriate gesture.

[3] dein quaecumque dixisset protinus reluctantium syllogismorum contrarietatibus excipiebamus; sed repellebat omnium nostrum temerarias

oppositiones: itaque nihil non perpensum probatumque recipiebatur. hinc etiam illi apud nos maxima reverentia fuit, quod non satis ferebat aegre pigram in quibus-piam sequacitatem. haec apud eum culpa veniabilis erat; quo fiebat esset ut nobis patientia eiusdem sine imitatione laudabilis, quis 3 enim virum super abditis consuleret invitus, a cuius disputationis communione ne idiotarum quidem imperitorumque sciscitatio repudiabatur? 4

[3] When he had finished, we would put our adverse criticisms in syllogistic form; but nothing was admitted which was not well considered and susceptible of proof, for rash objections he would at once demolish. Most of all we respected him for his tolerance of some men's persistent dullness of apprehension. It amounted almost to an amiable weakness; we could admire his patience, but it was beyond our imitation. Who could shrink from consulting on any recondite point a man who would gladly suffer in argument the stupid questions of the ignorant and the simple?

[4] haec pauca de studiis, ceterum cetera quis competenti praeconio extollat, quod condicionis humanae per omnia memor clericos opere sermone populares, exhortatione maerentes destitutos solacio, captivos pretio ieiunos cibo nudos operimento consolabatur? pariter et super his plura replicare superforaneum statuo. nam merita sua, quibus divitem conscientiam censu pauperatus locupletavit, spe futurae retributionis celare plus studuit.

[4] So far as to his intellectual interests. It is beyond my power adequately to extol him in other relations of life. Mindful in all things of our weak mortal nature, he was always ready with consolation, helping the clergy by his deeds, the people by his words, mourners with exhortation, the destitute with words of comfort. He gave the prisoner money; he fed the hungry, he clothed the naked. To enlarge upon these things were indeed vanity of repetition. He was poor in this world's goods, but the good deeds with which he richly endowed his soul he concealed from notice in the hope of a better reward hereafter. . . .

[5] ... episcopum fratrem maiorem natu affectuosissime observans, quem diligebat ut filium, cum tamquam patrem veneraretur. sed et ille suspiciebat hunc granditer, habens in eo consiliarium in iudiciis vicarium in ecclesiis, procuratorem in negotiis vilicum in praediis, tabularium in tributis in lectionibus comitem, in expositionibus interpretem in itineribus contubernalem, sic utrique ab alterutro usque ad invidiam exempli mutua fide germanitatis officia restituebantur.

[5] For his elder brother the bishop he had the most affectionate regard; he revered him as a father, he loved him as a son. And the brother in his turn looked up to him with boundless admiration, knowing that he had in him a counsellor in every disputed question, a representative in his churches, an agent in business matters, a steward on his farms, a registrar of all ecclesiastical dues, an associate in his reading, an interpreter in difficulties of

exposition, a travelling companion upon his visitations. They were the very exemplars of brotherly affection, with an absolute confidence in each other.

[6] sed quid dolorem nostrum moderaturi causis potius doloris fomenta sufficimus? ergo, ut dicere institueramus, huic iam, ut est illud Maronianum, cineri ingrato id est gratiam non relatu non eniam condidimus tristem luctuosamque propemodum laboriose, quia faceret dictandi desuetudo difficultatem, nisi quod animum natura desidiosissimum dolor fletu gravidus accendit, eius hoc carmen est: 2

germani decus et dolor Mamerti,
mirantum unica pompa episcoporum,.
hoc dat 3 caespitem membra Claudianus,
triplex bybliotheca quo magistro,
[5] Romana, Attica, Christiana, fulsit;
quam totam monachus virente in aevo
secreta bibit institutione,
orator, dialecticus, poeta,
tractator, geometra, musicusque,
[10] doctus solvere vincla quaestionum
et verbi gladio secare sectas,
si quae catholicam fidem lacessunt.
psalmorum hic modulator et phonascus
ante altaria fratre gratulante
[15] instructas docuit sonare classes.
hic sollemnibus annis paravit
quae quo tempore lecta convenirent.
antistes fuit ordine in secundo,
fratrem fasce levans episcopali.
[20] nam de pontificis tenore summi
ille insignia sumpsit, hic laborem.
at tu, quisque doles, amice lector,
de tanto quasi nil viro supersit,
udis parce genis rigare marmor:
[25] mens et gloria non queunt humari.

[6] But why do I add fuel to the flame of a sorrow which it was my purpose to assuage? I meant to have begun by saying that I have written an elegy to this ungrateful shade — the phrase is Virgil's, as you know, and applied to the dead, who can render no man thanks. They are sad lines full of sorrow; the writing of them was no light task to one who has lost the habit of composing; but grief heavy with rising tears moved me from my natural indolence. This is the elegy:

‘Beneath this sod lies Claudianus, at once the glory and grief of his brother Mamertus, the wonder and supreme pride of the bishops. In three fields of learning he was a master and a shining light, the Roman, the Greek, and the Christian; all of them as a monk in his prime he made his own by secret discipline; he was orator, logician, poet, commentator, geometer, musician; skilled also to loose the bonds of disputation, and with the sword of the word dissect the sects that harass the Catholic faith. Well was he skilled to chant psalms and lead a choir; for his grateful brother he taught the trained groups of singers to chant before the altar. His was the choice that at the yearly conclave appointed the passages to be read in season. A priest of the second order, he eased his brother's shoulder of the bishop's burden; for while the other bore the insignia of pontifical rank, it was he who undertook the labour. But thou whoe'er thou art that grieve'st, O kindly reader, over the thought that

of such a man nothing now survives, yet not this marble with thy tears: the mind and its renown come not down into this grave.’

[7] Ecce quod carmen, cum primum affui, super unanimi fratris ossa conscripsi, namque tunc affui, cum funerarentur; I nec ob hoc tamen perdidici in totum desideratissimam flendi occasionem, nam dum forte meditarer, lacrimis habenas anima parturiens laxavi fecique ad epitaphium quod alii fecerunt ad sepulchrum, haec ergo scripsimus tibi, ne forsitan arbitrare solam nos colere vivorum sodalitatem rei que tuo iudicio essemus, nisi amicorum vita carentum semper aeque ut incolumium reminisceremur. namque et ex hoc, quod vix reservatur imaginaria fides vel superstitibus, non praeter aequum opinabere, si perpaucos esse conicias, qui mortuos ament. vale.

[7] Such are the lines that I composed over the remains of this brother of my soul, as soon as I reached the spot. For when they buried him I was away, though absence did not wholly rob me of the longed opportunity for tears. For while I was pondering what to write, my heart swelled to overflowing; I gave it rein, and over my epitaph I wept as others had wept above the tomb. I write this to you for fear you should imagine that my devotion is only to living friends, and censure me as one who thinks less tenderly of those who are gone than of those who are yet alive. And indeed, in days when hardly a trace of loyalty remains among survivors, you might well be pardoned for counting as a small company those who are faithful to the departed. Farewell.

* Most of this letter is translated by Guizot, *Histoire de la civilisation en France*, ed. 1846, i. 167-8. See also Fertig, Part iii, p. 10.

Sidonius Simplicio et Apollinari Suis salutem

XII.

To [his kinsmen] *Simplicius and Apollinaris** c. A.D. 472

[1] Deus bone, quantum naufragioso pelago conformis est motus animorum, quippe cum nuntiorum turbinibus adversis quasi propria tempestate confunditur! nuper ego filiusque communis Terentianae Hecyrae sales ruminabamus; studentī assidebam naturae meminens et professionis oblitus quoque absolutius rhythmos comicos incitata docilitate sequeretur, ipse etiam fabulam similis argumenti id est Epitrepontem Menandri in manibus habebam.

[1] THE excitable mind of man is like nothing so much as a wrecking sea; it is lashed to confusion by contrary tidings as if it bred its own rough weather. A few days ago, I and the son whom we both regard as ours were together enjoying the admirable *Hecyra* of Terence. Seated at his side as he studied, I forgot the cleric in the father; to increase his ardour and incite my docile scholar to a more perfect appreciation of the comic rhythms, I had in my own hands a play with a similar plot, the *Epitrepontes* of Menander.

[2] legebamus pariter laudabamus iocabamurque et, quae vota communia sunt, illum lectio, me ille capiebat, cum repente puer familiaris adstitit vultuosus. cui nos: 'quid ita?' et ille: 'lectorem,' inquit, 'Constantem nomine pro foribus vidi a dominis Simplicio et Apollinare redeuntem; dedit quidem litteras quas acceperat sed perdidit quas recepit.'

[2] We were reading, and jesting, and applauding the fine passages — the play charmed him, and he me, we were both equally absorbed, — when all of a sudden a household slave appears, pulling a long face. 'I have just seen outside', he said, 'the reader Constans, back from his errand to the lords Simplicius and Apollinaris. He says that he delivered your letters, but has lost the answers given him to bring back.'

[3] quibus agnitis serenitas laetitiae meae confestim nubilo superducti maeroris insorduit tantamque mihi bilem nuntii huiusce contrarietas excitavit, ut per plurimos dies illum ipsum hermam stolidissimum venire ante oculos meos inexoratus arcuerim, laturus aegre, si mihi apices aut quoscumque aut quorumcumque non redderet, taceam vestros, qui mihi, dum recti compos animus durat, minime frequentes maxime desiderabiles iudicabuntur.

[3] No sooner did I hear this, than a storm-cloud of annoyance rose upon the clear sky of my enjoyment; the mischance made me so angry that for several days I was inexorable and forbade the blockhead my presence; I meant to make him sorry for himself unless he restored me the letters all and sundry, to

say nothing of yours, which as long as I am a reasonable being I shall always want most because they come least often.

[4] at postquam nostra sensim temporis intervallo ira defremuit, percontor admissum, I num verbo quippiam praeterea detulisset. respondit ipse, quamquam esset trepidus et sternax et prae reatu balbutiret ore, caecutiret intuitu, totum quo instrui, quo delectari valerem, paginis quae intercidissent fuisse mandatum, quocirca recurrite ad pugillares, replicate membranas et scripta rescribite. tamdiu enim aequanimiter admitto, ut desiderio meo sinister eventus officiat, donec ad vos nostro sermone per-veniat ad nos vestrum non pervenisse sermonem, valete.

[4] However, after a time my anger gradually abated; I sent for him and asked whether, besides the letters, he had been entrusted with a verbal message. He was all a-tremble and ready to grovel at my feet; he stammered in conscious guilt, and could not look me in the face, but he managed to answer: 'Nothing.' The message from which I was to have received so much instruction and delight, had been all consigned to the pages which had been lost. So there is nothing else for it; you must resort to your tablets once more, unfold your parchment, and write it all out anew. I shall bear with such philosophy as I may this unfortunate obstacle to my desires until the hour when these lines reach you, and you learn that yours have never yet reached me. Farewell.

* Translated by Hodgkin, ii. 340-2.

Sidonius Vectio suo Salutem.

XIII.

To his friend Vectius c. A.D. 472

[1] Nuper rogatu Germanici spectabilis viri Cantillensem ecclesiam inspexi. est ipse loco sitorum 2 facile primus quique post tergum cum iam duodecim lustra transmittat, cotidie tamen habitu cultuque conspicuo non iuvenescit solum sed quodammodo repuerascit. enimvero vestis adstricta, tensus coturnus, crinis in rotae specimen accisus barba intra rugarum latebras mersis ad cutem secta forcipibus,

[1] NOT long ago I went to see the church of Chantelle at the request of the excellent Germanicus, who is clearly the personage of the place. Though he now has sixty years behind him, he cultivates such bravery of fashion that not content with growing younger, he gets more boyish every day. His clothes fit close, his boots are tight, his hair is cut wheel-fashion; the tweezers have searched the depths of all his wrinkles to get every single hair out of his face.

[2] ad hoc et munere superno membrorum solida coniunctio, integer visus, amplius in celeri gressus incessu, incorruptae lactea dentium compage gingivae, non illi stomachus nauseat, non vena flammatur, non cor incutitur, non pulmo suspirat, non riget lumbus, non iecur turget, non mollescit manus, non spina curvatur, sed praeditus sanitate iuvenali solam sibi vindicat de senectute reverentiam.

[2] Heaven has given him strong and well-knit limbs, an unimpaired sight, an easy and rapid gait; his teeth are complete and his mouth wholesome. He has a perfect digestion, an even circulation, a sound heart and lungs, his loins are free from stiffness, his liver from congestion. His hand is firm, his back straight, endowed with the health of youth, all he asks for age is its proper privilege of respect.

[3] propter quae beneficia peculiaria dei, quoniam vobis iura amicitiae grandia vigent, quippe vicinis, obsecro ac moneo, ut consilio tuo, cui sequendo per conscientiam magnam maximam tribuis auctoritatem, non multum fidat ambiguis nec nimis nimiae credat incolumitati, sed tandem professione religionis arrepta viribus potius resurgentis innocentiae convalescat, faciat se vetustus annis meritis novum.

[3] God has indeed shown him peculiar mercies. But on that very account I beg, nay, I enjoin you, as a neighbour and intimate friend, to give him a piece of that advice which a character like yours invests with such authority: tell him not to put his trust too much in such unstable things, or fancy himself immune from all decay; tell him it is high time for him to embrace religion, to

gather strength from innocence reborn, and by good deeds to become a new man in his old age.

[4] et quoniam nemo ferme est, qui plectilibus careat occultis, ipse super his, quae clam commissa reminiscitur, palam fusa satisfactione solvatur, nam sacerdotis pater filiusque pontificis, nisi sanctus est, rubo similis efficitur, quem de rosis natum rosasque parientem et genitis gignentibusque floribus medium pungentibus comparanda peccatis dumorum vallat asperitas. vale.

[4] Tell him that few of us are free from secret faults, and it were well for him to pour forth full and open satisfaction for all the hidden offences which memory can recall. A man who is a priest's son and has a son of his own a bishop, must sanctify his own life, or he will be even as a rosebush. Of roses born, and bearing the same, he comes between the old bloom and the new; and the briery thorns about him may be likened to his wounding sins. Farewell.

Sidonius Polemio suo salutem

XIV.

To his friend Polemius A.D. 477

[1] Gaius Tacitus unus e maioribus tuis, Ulpianorum temporum consularis, sub verbis cuiuspiam Germanici ducis in historia sua rettulit dicens: ‘cum Vespasiano mihi vetus amicitia; et, dum privatus esset, amici vocabamur.’ ‘quo respicit,’ ais, ‘ista praefari?’ ut scilicet memineris eo. tempore, quo personam publicam portas, gratiae te privatae memorem semper esse oportere, biennium prope clauditur, quod te praefectum praetorio Galliarum non nova vestra dignatione sed nostro affectu adhuc vetere gaudemus, qui, si Romanarum rerum sineret adversitas, aegre toleraremus, nisi singulae personae, non dicam provinciae, variis per te beneficiis amplificarentur.

[1] CORNELIUS TACITUS your ancestor, consular in the reigns of the Ulpians, in his history introduces a German Commander as saying, ‘My acquaintance with Vespasian goes back to old days, and while he was a private person we were called friends.’ You ask the object of this preface. To remind you that your position as a public man ought not to involve neglect of private friendships. Almost two years ago, our old regard for you rather than our satisfaction at your new dignity, led us to rejoice over your elevation to the post of praetorian prefect in Gaul. But for the misfortunes of the Empire, nothing would satisfy us but the enrichment of everybody and every province by the various benefits of your administration.

[2] et nunc, cum id, quod possibilitas tua non habet, verecundia non petatur, I dicas velim, qualiter futurus fueris humanus in factis, qui perduras avarus in verbis, nam tuorum peritiae comparatus non solum Cornelios oratores sed Ausonios quoque poetas vincere potes, si te hactenus philosophantem 2 nova subito ob iurisdietionem gloria capit: et nos aliquod nomenque decusque gessimus.

[2] And now that proper feeling prevents us from asking what it is beyond your power to grant, I should like to know what generosity you would have shown us in deed, when in word you have proved so obstinately avaricious. For if I compare you with your ancestors, I must consider you more than the equal of Tacitus in eloquence, and in poetry above Ausonius. If this new prefecture has turned a philosopher’s head, remember the line:

We too have served for name and fame.

[3] at si videtur humilitas nostrae professionis habenda contemptui, quia Christo res humanas vitasque medicaturo putrium conscientiarum ultro 3 squalens ulcus aperimus, quod in nostri ordinis viris, etsi adhuc aliquid de

neglegentia fetet, iam tamen nihil de superbia tumet, noveris volo non, ut est apud praesulem fori, sic esse apud iudicem mundi, namque ut is, qui propria vobis non tacuerit flagitia, damnatur, ita nobiscum qui eadem deo fuerit confessus absolvitur. unde liquido patet incongrue a partibus vestris nimis reum pronuntiari cuius causa plus spectat tribunal alienum.

[3] But if you scorn the lowliness of our profession because we priests voluntarily lay bare before Christ, the Healer of human lives and fortunes, the ugly sores of the sick heart, which in us are at least unswollen by pride, however much they may have hitherto offended for want of proper tending, I would have you know this, that it is one thing for a man to stand before the magistrate in the forum, another thing for him to stand before the Judge of all the world. The offender who avows his crime to you is condemned; but among us the same confession made to God is absolved. It is therefore abundantly clear that you judges of this world are wrong in fastening guilt on him who is amenable to another jurisdiction than yours.

[4] quapropter imminentem querellam nostri doloris nequaquam valebis ulterius effundere,¹ quia, succedentibus prosperis sive obliviscare seu neglegas gratiam antiquam, iuxta est acerbum, proinde si futura magni pensitas, scribe clerico, si praesentia, scribe collegae; et hanc in te ipse virtutem, si naturalis est, excole, si minus, ut insiticiam appone, qua sodales vetustos numquam pro consequentum novitate fastidias. porro autem videre sic amicis uti quasi floribus, tamdiu gratis, donec recentibus, vale.

[4] You cannot therefore any longer ignore the force of my complaint; whether your prosperity makes you forget old friendship, or only neglect it, the result in either case is almost equally bitter to me. If, then, you have any serious thoughts of the future, write to me as to a priest; if of the present, as to a colleague. There is a virtue which never disdains an old friend for a new one; if it was born in you, develop it; if not, at once implant it in your heart. Otherwise you will appear to treat your friends as one does flowers, which are only cherished as long as they are fresh. Farewell.

Sidonius Elaphio suo salutem

XV.

To his friend Elaphius After A.D. 472

[1] Epulum multiplex et capacissima lectisternia para: plurimis viis, pluribus turbis (ita bonorum contubernio sedit 2) ad te venit, quippe postquam omnibus tempus futurae dedicationis inclaruit. nam baptisterium, quod olim fabricabamini, scribitis posse iam consecrari. ad quae festa vos voti nos ministerii, officii multos fidei totos causa sollicitat; siquidem res est grandis exempli eo tempore a vobis nova ecclesiarum culmina strui, quo vix alius auderet vetusta sarcire.

[1] MAKE ready a great feast, and couches to receive a great company. By numerous roads parties yet more numerous converge upon you, for since the date of your coming dedication is now universally known, all our good friends are bent upon invasion. Your letter tells us that the baptistery so long in the builder's hands is now ready for consecration. We must all keep festival in honour of the faith that we own, and some of us for other causes too; you to celebrate the accomplishment of your vow; I to do my part as bishop; and many others to show their recognition of your enterprise. For indeed you set a great precedent, erecting a new fabric in an epoch when other men have hardly courage to repair an old one.

[2] quod restat, optamus, ut deo nostro per uberes annos, sicut vota redditis, ita reddenda voveatis, idque non solum religione celata, sed et conversione manifesta; mitigatoque temporum statu tam desiderio meo Christus indulgeat quam Rutenorum, ut possitis et pro illis offerre sacrificia, qui iam pro vobis offertis altaria.

[2] For the future I pray that as your present vow is paid, you may make new vows to the glory of God to be redeemed in coming prosperous years; and that, too, not as the expression of a concealed faith, but of manifest conversion. I further pray that in happier times than these Christ may grant my own desire and the hope of the people of Rouergue, and that you who now offer an altar for your own soul's weal, may then offer the holy Sacrifice for theirs.

[3] de cetero, quamquam et 1 extremus autumnus iam diem breviat et viatorum sollicitas aures foliis toto nemore labentibus crepulo fragore circumstrepit inque castellum, ad quod invitas, utpote Alpinis rupibus cinctum, sub vicinitate brumali difficiliter escenditur,2 nos tamen deo praevio per tuorum montium latera confragosa venientes nec subiectas cautes nec superiectas nives expavescemus, quamvis iugorum profunda declivitas aggere cocleatim fracto saepe redeunda sit, quia, et si nulla sollemnitas, tu satis dignus es, ut est

Tullianum illud, propter quem Thespieae visantur, vale.

[3] Though the days draw in with the late autumn, and leaves from every tree rustle in the anxious traveller's ear; though your castle of the mountain crags is hard to reach when winter is so near, yet with Christ to guide my steps I shall traverse your rugged mountain flanks; I shall not shrink from rocks beneath or overhanging snows; no, not even if the way winds in spirals up the long slopes and returns continually upon itself. For should there be no festivities after all, yet you are one of those for whom, to use the words of Tully, a man would even tramp to Thespieae. Farewell.

Sidonius Ruricio suo salutem

XVI.

To his friend Ruricius (No indication of date)

[1] Accepi per Paterninum paginam vestram, quae plus mellis an salis habeat incertum est. ceterum eloquii copiam hanc praefert, hos olet flores, ut bene appareat non vos manifesta modo verum furtiva quoque lectione proficere, quamquam et hoc furtum quod deprecans exemplati libelli non venia tam debeat respicere quam gloria, quid tu enim facias absque virtute, qui nec ipsa peccata sine laude committis?

[1] PATERNINUS has given me your letter; I can hardly say whether it pleases most by wit or charm. It presents such eloquence, such fragrant flowers of diction, that your progress is clearly due to something more than an acknowledged study: you must be working in secret as well. The abstraction of a book of mine to copy, for which you so apologize, I regard as an act redounding to your credit, and requiring no excuse. What can you do really wrong, when even your faults are laudable?

[2] ego vero quicquid impositum est fraudis mihi, utpote absenti, libens audio principalique pro munere amplector, quod 1 quodammodo damnum indemne toleravi. neque enim quod tuo accessit usui, decessit hoc nostrae proprietati aut ad incrementa scientiae vestrae per detrimenta venistis alienae, quin potius ipse 2 iure abhinc uberi praeconio non carebis,³ qui magis igneo ingenio naturam decenter ignis imitatus es 4 de quo si quid demere velis, remanet totus totusque transfertur, unde iam parce trepidare deque moribus amici plusculum recto secus credere, namque in hoc facto nos magis vulnus polluit culpa, si feriat ictus invidiae, vale.

[2] I am not the least vexed at being played this little trick in my absence; it is no loss at all, but really a signal privilege. The volume you appropriated to your use has not therefore ceased to be my property; your knowledge has not been increased at the cost of other people's. On the contrary, you shall have full credit for your action, and rightly; for your nature has the quality of flame, which communicates itself entirely and yet remains entire; it is proper that you should act like your own element. Be no more uneasy, then; that were to betray a little too much uncertainty of your friend, who would only deserve the wound of blame were he vulnerable by the dart of envy. Farewell.

Sidonius Aruogasti suo Salutem.

XVII.

To his friend Arbogast c. A.D. 477

[1] Eminentius amicus tuus, domine maior, obtulit mihi quas ipse dictasti litteras litteratas et gratiae trifariam renidentis 2 cultu refertas. quarum utique virtutum caritas prima est, quae te coegit in nobis vel peregrinis vel iam latere cupientibus humilia dignari; tum verecundia, cuius instinctu dum in-merito trepidas, merito praedicans; tertia urbanitas, qua te ineptire facetissime allegas et Quirinalis impletus fonte facundiae potor Mosellae Tiberim ructas, sic barbarorum familiaris, quod tamen nescius barbarismorum, par ducibus antiquis lingua manuque, sed quorum dextera solebat non stilum minus tractare quam gladium.

[1] YOUR friend Eminentius, honoured lord, has delivered a letter dictated by yourself, admirable in style, and bearing in every line the evidence of three shining virtues. The first is the friendliness which leads you to esteem the lowly talents of one so far away, and so anxious to avoid publicity. The second is the modesty which makes you over-sensitive to blame, but deservedly wins you praise. The third is the gentle humour which makes you in the wittiest way accuse yourself of writing wretched stuff, whereas you have drunk at the well-spring of Roman eloquence, and no draughts from the Moselle can take the taste of Tiber from your mouth. You have your conversation among barbarians, yet you permit no barbarism to pass your lips; in eloquence and valour you equal those ancient generals whose hands could wield the stylus no less skilfully than the sword.

[2] quocirca sermonis pompa Romani, si qua adhuc uspiam est, Belgicis olim sive Rhenanis abolita terris in te resedit, quo vel incolumi vel perorante, etsi apud limitem [ipsum] 3 Latina iura ceciderunt, verba non titubant. quapropter alternum salve rependens granditer laetor saltim in inlustri pectore tuo vanescentium litterarum remansisse vestigia, quae si frequenti lectione continuas, experire per dies, quanto antecellunt beluis homines, tanto anteferri rusticis institutos.

[2] The Roman tongue is long banished from Belgium and the Rhine; but if its splendour has anywhere survived, it is surely with you; our jurisdiction is fallen into decay along the frontier, but while you live and preserve your eloquence, the Latin language stands unshaken. As I return your greeting, my heart is glad within me that our vanishing culture has left such traces with you; continue your assiduous studies, and you will feel more surely every day that the man of education is as much above the boor as the boor in his turn above the beast.

[3] de paginis sane quod spiritalibus vis ut aliquid interpres improbus garriam, iustius haec postulantur 1 a sacerdotibus loco propinquis aetate grandaevis, fide claris opere vulgatis, ore promptis memoria tenacibus, omni denique meritorum sublimium dote potioribus. namque ut antistitem civitatis vestrae relinquam, consummatissimum virum cunctarumque virtutum conscientia et fama iuxta beatum, multo opportunius de quibuscumque quaestionibus tibi interrogatur 2 incliti Galliarum patres et protomystae, nec satis positus in longinquo Lupus nec parum in proximo Auspicius, quorum doctrinae abundanti eventilandae nec consultatio tua sufficit, proinde quod super hac precum parte non parui, benignus quidem sed et iustus ignosce, quia si vos imperitiam fugere par est, me quoque decet vitare iactantiam, vale.

[3] Were I to obey your wish and send you a commentary on some part of the Scriptures, it would be sorry verbiage; you would do far better to direct your request to the clergy of your own district. They are venerable in years, approved in faith, known by works; they are ready in speech and tenacious in memory, my superiors in all sublimer gifts. Even if we leave out of the account the bishop of your city, a character of supreme perfection, blessed in the possession and repute of all the virtues, you may far more appropriately consult on any kind of problem the celebrated fathers of the Church in Gaul; Lupus and Auspicius are both within your reach, and however inquisitive you may be, you will not get to the bottom of a learning such as theirs. In any case, you must pardon me for disobeying you in this matter, and that not only out of kindness, but from simple justice; for if it is fair that you should escape from incompetence, it is equally right that I should avoid conceit. Farewell.

Sidonius Lucontio suo Salutem.

XVIII.

To his friend Lucontius c. A.D. 470

[1] Oblivisceris quod rogans eque contrario, si quid iniungas, ex asse meministi, repetere perlongum est de cito reditu quae tu tuique promiseritis mihi meisque, quorum omnium non sunt vel minima completa. quin potius, cum fugam a nobis machinaremini, quo reversuros ad sacrum pascha vos putaremus, nullae graves sarcinae ad praedium ex oppido ductae, nulla serraca, nulla esseda subvehendis oneribus adtrahebantur.

[1] I FEAR you have a memory defective in the matter of others' requests but infallible in the matter of your own. It would be tedious to repeat all the promises of swift return which you and your family made to me and mine; not the smallest of them have you kept. Far from it, your flight was cunningly planned to make us think you were coming back for Easter; you took no heavy baggage out of town, neither carriage nor cart for luggage appeared in your train.

[2] utque de matronalium partium nil querar fraude, quas cum expeditis tulistis impedimentis, tuque fraterque communis Volusianus vix singulorum clientum puerorumque comitatu ambiebamini; per quod sollicitudinem prosequentum vana mox recurrendi spe fefellistis; certe frater Volusianus, qui forte pergens in praedia Baiocassina totamque 1 provinciam Lugdunensem secundam pervagaturus, 2 expectationem nostram specie brevioris itineris elusit.

[2] It is too late to complain of the trick you made the ladies play us, causing them to travel with only the lightest of effects, while you and our brother Volusianus were hardly escorted by a single client or attendant. By this device you cheated the friends who came to see you off with the delusive hope that they were soon to see you back. Certainly our good brother Volusianus deceived us by the pretence of a short trip, when in fact he was probably bound, not merely for his own estate at Baiocassium, but the whole second province of Lyons into the bargain.

[3] et nunc ipse sic multis contra fidem diebus otiabundus ais tibi si quas postea luserim metro nugas mitti oportere, annuo iniunctis, quia dignus es, ut talia legas; nam carmen ipsum, quod nunc e manibus elabitur, tam rusticanum est tamque impoliturum, ut me non illud ad villam sed potius e villa mittere putes.

[3] As for yourself, though you have broken faith by idling all this time away down there, you yet have the face to ask me for any poetical trifles I may have recently composed. I obey; but simply because you deserve the rubbish you will get; the verses I am sending are so rustic and unfinished that no one

would believe they came from town and not from the depths of the country.

[4] basilicam sancti pontificis confessorisque Martini Perpetuus episcopus, dignissimus tanto praedecessore successor, multum priori l quae fuit hactenus capaciorem novavit. magnum est, ut ferunt, opus nominandumque quod in honorem talis viri factum talis vir fecisse debuerit, huius me parietibus inscribere supradictus sacerdos hoc epigramma compellit, quod recensebis, ut est in his, quaecumque deposcit, privilegio caritatis imperiosissimus.

[4] You must know that Bishop Perpetuus, a worthy successor of his great predecessor, has just rebuilt on a greater scale than before the basilica of the saintly pontiff and confessor Martin. It is said to be a great and memorable work, and all that we should expect when one such man does honour to another. For the walls of this church he has demanded of me the inscription you are now to criticize, and sure as he is of his place in my affection, he takes no denial in matters of this kind.

[5] atque utinam molis illius pompam sive donaria nihil huius obsequii turpet oblatio; quod secus fore plurimum timeo, nisi forsitan inter omnia venusta sic epigrammatis istius foeditas placeat, ut niger naevus candido in corpore, qui quidem solet sic facere risum quod accipere suffragium, sed quid hinc amplius? pone fistulas ipse pastorias et elegiae nostrae, quia pede claudicat, manum porrige.

Martini corpus totis venerabile terris,
in quo post vitae tempora vivit honor,
texerat hic primum plebeio machina cultu,
quae confessori non erat aequa suo.

[5] nec desistebat cives onerare pudore
gloria magna viri, gratia parva loci;
antistes sed qui numeratur sextus ab ipso
longam Perpetuus sustulit invidiam,
internum removens modici penetrabile sacelli

[10] amplaque tecta levans exteriore domo;
creveruntque simul valido tribuente patrono
in spatiis aedes, l conditor in meritis,
quae Salamoniaco potis est configere templo,
septima quae mundo fabrica mira fuit.

[15] nam gemmis auro argento si splenduit illud,
istud transgreditur cuncta metalla fide.
livor, abi, mordax absolvanturque priores,
nil novet aut addat garrula posteritas;
dumque venit Christus, populos qui suscitet omnes,
[20] perpetuo durent culmina Perpetui.

[5] Would I could think this offering of mine would prove no blot upon the magnificence of that pile and its wealth of gifts; but I fear it must be so, unless some happy chance should lend its very defects a charm where all is of such perfection, just as a dark spot on a fair body is mocked at first, and then compels approval. But why should I dilate upon all this? Put down your shepherd's pipe, and give a supporting hand to this hobbling elegy of mine:

*'Over the body of Martin, venerated in every land, the body in which renown survives the life departed, there rose a structure meet for poor men's worship, and unworthy of its famous Confessor. Always a sense of shame weighed heavy on the citizens when they thought of the saint's great glory, and the

small attraction of his shrine. But Perpetuus the bishop, sixth in line after him, has now taken away the disgrace; he has removed the inner shrine from the modest chapel and reared this great building over it. By the favour of so powerful a patron the founder's fame has risen together with the church, which is such as to rival the temple of Solomon, the seventh wonder of the world. That shone resplendent with gems and gold and silver; but this fane shines with a light of faith beyond the brilliance of all metals. Avaunt, Envy of the venomous tooth! be our forefathers absolved; may our posterity, however fond of its own voice, presume to add or alter nothing. And till the second coming of Christ to raise all people from the dead, may the fane of Perpetuus perpetually endure.'

[6] *Obtulimus, ut cernis, quod cantilenae recentis obvium manui fuit; sed nec hoc minus, si moras nectis, astra quatiemus, versibus quoque satirographis, si res exegerit, usuri, quos huic carmini lenitate adaequandos falso putabis, namque efficacius citius ardentius natura mortalium culpat aliqua quam laudet, vale.*

[6] I send you, as you see, the most recent verses I can find. But if you persist in spinning vain delays, the concession will not stop me from shaking the stars with my complaints; nor, if the case requires it, shall I shrink from a resort to satire, and you will be very much mistaken if you imagine that I shall be as suave as in the verses you have had to-day. For it is a law of human nature that man is more telling, more fiery, and quicker on the mark in his censure than in his praise. Farewell.

* Translated by Fertig, Part ii, pp. 37-8; and by Chaix, i. 329.

Sidonius Florentino suo Salutem.

XIX.

To his friend Florentinus (No indication of date)

Et moras nostras et silentium accusas, utrumque purgabile est; namque et venimus et scribimus, vale.

[1] You blame me for my delay and my silence. I can purge myself of both charges, for I am not only on my way, but as you see, I write as well. Farewell.

Sidonius Domnicio 1 suo salutem

XX.

*To his friend Domnicius * c. A. D. 470*

[1] Tu, cui frequenter arma et armatos 2 inspicere iucundum est, quam voluptatem, putamus, mente conceperas,³ si Sigismerem regium iuvenem ritu atque cultu gentilicio ornatum, utpote sponsum seu petitozem, praetorium soceri expetere vidisses! illum equus quidem phaleris comptus, immo equi radiantibus gemmis onusti antecedeabant vel etiam subsequebantur, cum tamen magis hoc ibi decorum conspiciebatur,⁴ quod cursoribus 5 suis sive pedisequis pedes et ipse medius incessit, flammeus cocco rutilus auro lacteus serico, tum cultui tanto coma rubore 6 cute concolor.

[1] You take such pleasure in the sight of arms and those who wear them, that I can imagine your delight if you could have seen the young prince Sigismer on his way to the palace of his father-in-law in the guise of a bridegroom or suitor in all the pomp and bravery of the tribal fashion. His own steed with its caparisons, other steeds laden with flashing gems, paced before and after; but the conspicuous interest in the procession centred in the prince himself, as with a charming modesty he went afoot amid his bodyguard and footmen, in flame-red mantle, with much glint of ruddy gold, and gleam of snowy silken tunic, his fair hair, red cheeks and white skin according with the three hues of his equipment.

[2] *regulorum autem sociorumque comitantum forma et in pace terribilis; quorum pedes primi perone saetoso talos adusque vinciebantur; genua crura suraeque sine tegmine; praeter hoc vestis alta stricta versicolor vix appropinquans poplitibus exertis; manicae sola brachiorum principia velantes; viridantia saga limbis marginata puniceis; penduli ex umero gladii balteis supercurrentibus strinxerant clausa bullatis latera rhenonibus.*

[2] But the chiefs and allies who bore him company were dread of aspect, even thus on peace intent. Their feet were laced in boots of bristly hide reaching to the heels; ankles and legs were exposed. They wore high tight tunics of varied colour hardly descending to their bare knees, the sleeves covering only the upper arm. Green mantles they had with crimson borders; baldrics supported swords hung from their shoulders, and pressed on sides covered with cloaks of skin secured by brooches.

[3] *eo quo comebantur ornatu muniebantur; lanceis uncatis securibusque missibilibus 1 dextrae refertae clipeis laevam adumbrantibus, quorum lux in orbibus nivea, fulva in umbonibus ita censum prodebat ut studium, cuncta prorsus huiusmodi, ut in actione thalamorum non appareret minor Martis pompa quam Veneris, sed quid haec pluribus? spectaculo tali sola*

praesentia tua defuit, nam cum viderem quae tibi pulchra sunt non te 2 videre,
ipsam eo tempore desiderii tui impatientiam desideravi, vale.

[3] No small part of their adornment consisted of their arms; in their hands they grasped barbed spears and missile axes; their left sides were guarded by shields, which flashed with tawny golden bosses and snowy silver borders, betraying at once their wealth and their good taste. Though the business in hand was wedlock, Mars was no whit less prominent in all this pomp than Venus. Why need I say more? Only your presence was wanting to the full enjoyment of so fine a spectacle. For when I saw that you had missed the things you love to see, I longed to have you with me in all the impatience of your longing soul. Farewell.

* Translated by Hodgkin, ii. 364.

Sidonius Apro suo salutem

XXI.

To his friend Aper c. A.D. 472

[1] Est quidem princeps in genere monstrando partis paternae praerogativa, sed tamen multum est, quod debemus et matribus, non enim a nobis aliquid exilius fas honorari quod pondera illarum quam quod istorum semina sumus, sed originis nostrae de-finiendae materia vel ratio sit penes physicos: nos, unde haec ipsa praemisimus, persequamur.

[1] IN every genealogy the father's line must take precedence, yet we owe not a little to our mothers. For it hardly befits us to accord a lesser honour to her who bore, than to him who begot us. I leave the biologist the care of defining what we are or how we came into the world, passing on to the subject introduced by these reflections.

[2] Haedus pater tibi, mater Arverna est. primis Haedus deberis, ergo non solis, vel propter illud exemplum nostri Maronis, quo teste Pallas, sic habitus Arcas quod pariter et Samnis, in Mezentium movere potuisset ut peregrinus arma Etruscorum, ni mixtus matre Sabella partem quoque patriae inde traxisset. ecce habes magnum maximo auctore documentum, quod patriae pars computanda sit et regio materna, nisi poetas et cum ab historia non recedunt mentiri existimabis.

[2] Your father is an Aeduan, your mother comes from Auvergne. Aeduan, then, you are first and foremost, but yet not altogether. For remember the passage in Virgil to the effect that Pallas is Arcadian, but at the same time Samnite. He might have qualified, as a foreigner, to lead the Etruscans against Mezentius, save only for the fact that through his Samnite mother he traced his descent in part to her country of Etruria. Here you have evidence of great moment from the greatest of authorities (unless, indeed, you believe poets false to facts even when they deal with history), that the mother's country must count no less than that of the father.

[3] igitur Arverni si portionem tui saltim vicissim iure sibi vindicant, patienter admitte querirnoniarn desiderantum, qui tibi per unius oris officium non unius pectoris profudere secretum, quos palam et coram dicere puta: 'quid in te mali tantum, ingrate, commisimus, ut per tot annos quondam humum altricem nunc velut hosticum solum fugias? hic incunabula tua fovimus; hic vagientis infantiae lactantia membra formavimus; hic civi-carum baiulabare pondus ulnarum.

[3] Now if the Arvernians in their turn rightly claim at any rate a half-share in you, pray give a patient hearing to the complaint of men who yearn for your

presence, and now unburden the bosom-secret of a whole population through the lips of a single spokesman. Imagine them as standing before you and addressing you face to face. 'What is our offence, ungrateful fellow citizen, that all these years you shun the soil which nourished you as if it were an enemy's country? Here we tended your cradle, here we heard your infant cries and formed your tender limbs; it was our people who carried you in their arms.

[4] hinc avus Fronto, blandus tibi sibi severus, qui exemplo esse potuisset his, quos habemus nos in exemplo; hinc avia Auspicia, quae tibi post tuae matris orbo decessum dependit una curam duarum, sed et matertera tua hinc, et hinc 2 fuit sanctorum sanctis Frontina virginibus, quam verebatur mater pater venerabatur, summae abstinentiae puella, summi rigoris, ac fide ingenti 3 sic deum timens, ut ab hominibus metue-retur. hic te imbuendum liberalibus disciplinis grammatici rhetorisque studia florentia monitu certante fovērunt, unde tu non tam mediocriter institutus existi, ut tibi liceat Arvernos vel propter litteras non amare.

[4] This was the country of your grandsire Fronto, whose indulgence to you was equalled only by his own self-discipline, which our models of to-day might take as a model for themselves. This was the country of your grandmother Auspicia, who from a single heart after her daughter's death gave to the helpless orphan a devotion great enough for two. Your aunt was also of our land, and so was Frontina, the virgin holier than a nun, held by your mother in respect, by your father in veneration, and so ascetic and austere in her life, so perfect in God's faith and fear, that she inspired an awe in all men. It was here that our schools vied one with the other to perfect you in grammar and in rhetoric, when the time came for your initiation in the liberal arts, with such results that even by virtue of your education alone you cannot but think of Clermont with affection.

[5] taceo territorii peculiarem iucunditatem; taceo illud aequor agrorum, in quo sine periculo quaestuosae fluctuant in segetibus undae, quod industrius quisque quo plus frequentat, hoc minus naufragat; viatoribus molle, fructuosum aratoribus, venatoribus voluptuosum; quod montium cingunt dorsa pascuis latera vinetis, terrena villis saxosa castellis, opaca lustris aperta culturis, concava fontibus abrupta fluminibus; quod denique huiusmodi est, ut semel visum advenis multis patriae oblivionem saepe persuadeat.

[5] I shall not recall to you the unique charm of our land; the broad main of tillage, where the profitable waters flow harmless through the crops, bringing rich increase; where the more the industrious man traffics, the less he need fear shipwreck; the land which is easy to the traveller, fertile to the cultivator, to the hunter a perpetual joy; where pastures crown the hill-tops and vineyards clothe the slopes, where villas rise on the lowlands and castles on the rocks, forests here and clearings there, valleys with springs, headlands washed by

rivers; the land, in short, of which a single glimpse suffices to make many a stranger forget his own country.

[6] taceo civitatem ipsam tui semper sic amantissimam, ut soli 1 nobilium contubernio praeferre nil debeas, cui tu manu iniecta feliciter raptus inserebare; sicque omnes praesentiae vestrae voluptas, quod tamen nullum satias cepit, iam quid istic de re familiari tua dicam, cuius hic status est, ut tuam expensam hoc sit facinus tolera-tura, quo crebrius? nam dominus agricola, si larem hic foveat, sic facit sumptum quod auget et 2 redditum.' haec unus tibi omnium civium, certe bonorum, voto petitu vice garrio; qui cum tanto honore te poscant, tanto amore desiderent, intellegi datur gaudii plus te, dum tribuis quod rogaris, assecuturum. vale.

[6] Need I remind you of the town which was always so devoted to you that you ought to find no society more agreeable than that of its nobility? You were received with open arms, and all were so delighted to have you with them that no one could ever see enough of you. Need I speak of your own property? the more you visit it the better it will make good your outlay. For the very expenses of a proprietor cultivating his own land contribute to the increase of his income. I unburden myself thus in the name of all our citizens, and certainly of the best among them. Such is the affection which they show, so high the compliment implied in their desire, that you may imagine the greater joy which will be yours if you assent to their request. Farewell.

Sidonius Leoni suo salutem

XXII.

To his friend Leo A.D. 477

[1] Vir magnificus Hesperius, gemma amicorum litterarumque, nuper urbe cum rediit e Tolosatium, praecipere te dixit, ut epistularum curam iam terminals libris earum converteremus ad stilum historiae, reverentia summa, summo et 3 affectu talem atque tantam sententiam amplector; idoneum quippe pronuntias ad opera maiora quem mediocria putas deserere debere, sed, quod fatendum est, facinus audeo huiusmodi suscipere iudicium quam suscipere consilium.

[1] THE magnificent Hesperius, pearl of friends and glory of letters, informed me on his return from Toulouse not long ago that you wished me to begin writing history as soon as my volume of Letters is completed. I need not tell you with what respect and gratitude I receive an opinion of such weight, and moreover so flattering to myself; for if you hold that I ought to abandon the work of smaller compass for the greater, it must be because you think me competent. But frankly, I find it easier to respect your judgement than to follow your advice.

[2] res quidem digna quam tu iuberes sed non minus digna quam faceres, namque et antiquitus, cum Gaius Cornelius Gaio Secundo paria suasisset, ipse postmodum quod iniunxit arripuit, idque ab exemplo nunc melius 1 aggredieris, 2 quia et ego Plinio ut discipulus assurgo et tu vetusto genere narrandi iure Cornelium antevenis, qui saeculo nostro si revivisceret teque qualis in litteris et quantus habere conspicaretur, modo verius Tacitus esset.

[2] The task indeed is one which is worthy of your recommendation, but it is no less worthy of your own practice. Tacitus long ago gave similar advice to Pliny and then anticipated his friend by following his own counsel. The precedent bears perfectly on your suggestion; for I am a mere disciple of Pliny, whereas in the old historical style you excel Tacitus. Could he return to earth, could he witness your literary eminence and reputation, he would soon follow the hint conveyed by his own name.

[3] itaque tu molem thematis missi 3 recte capessis, cui praeter eloquentiam singularem scientiae ingentis magna opportunitas, cotidie namque per potentissimi consilia regis totius sollicitus orbis pariter [eius] 4 negotia et iura, foedera et bella, loca spatia merita cognoscis, unde quis iustius sese ad ista succinxerit, quam ille, quem constat gentium motus legionum varietates, facta ducum pacta regnantum, tota denique publicarum rerum secreta didicisse, quique praestanti positus in culmine non necesse habet vel suppressere verum vel concinnare mendacium?

[3] You, therefore, are the man to shoulder the burden of your own proposal; you have an excellent gift of eloquence and to vast erudition you join unrivalled opportunities. For as adviser of a most potent sovereign, whose policy is concerned with all the world, you are admitted to the secrets of his business and his laws, his wars and treaties, you understand their local significance, their extent and their importance. Who, then, more fit to gird him for the task than he who is behind the great scene of public affairs, who knows the movements of the peoples, the embassies that pass between them, the generals' feats of arms, the treaties of the princes, who stands himself at such an altitude that he need neither suppress the truth nor broider the fabric of a lie?

[4] at nostra longe condicio dispar, quibus dolori peregrinatio nova nec usui lectio vetus, tum 1 religio professioni est, humilitas appetitui, rnediocritas obscuritati, nec in praesentibus rei tantum, quantum in futuris spei locatum, postremo languor impedimento iamque vel sero propter hunc ipsum desidia cordi; aequaeva certe iam super studiis nulla laus curae, sed ne postuma quidem.

[4] How different is my own condition, afflicted with the griefs of exile, deprived of the old facilities for study; a cleric, sworn to renounce ambition, and keep the middle path of his obscurity. My trust is no longer in the gifts of this present world, but in the hope of a world to come. My failing strength plays me false, and makes me delight in idleness; I care no more for the praise of my own generation, and as little for that of men who shall come after me.

[5] praecipue gloriam nobis parvam ab historia petere 2 fixum, quia per homines clericalis officii temerarie nostra iactanter aliena, praeterita infructuose praesentia semiplene, turpiter falsa periculose vera dicuntur, est enim huiusmodi thema [vel opus], 3 in quo bonorum si facias mentionem, modica gratia paratur, si notabilium, maxuma offensa, sic se illi 4 protinus dictioni color odorque satiricus admiscet. ilicet: scriptio historica videtur ordine a nostro multum abhorrere, cuius inchoatio invidia, continuato labor, finis est odium.

[5] History is the last field in which I should now pursue fame; we churchmen are ill-advised to publish our own affairs and rash to meddle with those of others; we record the past without advantage to ourselves, and the present from imperfect knowledge; we write what is untrue to our disgrace, and what is true at our peril. It is a work or subject in which the mention even of the virtuous wins a man scant credit, and of the great, unbounded enmity. Forthwith some hue and flavour of satire invades the historian's style, and this is wholly incongruous with our vows. Historical writing begins in spite, proceeds in weariness, and ends in ill repute.

[6] sed tunc ista proveniunt, clericis si aliquid dictetur auctoribus; qui

colubrinis oblatratorum molaribus fixi, si quid simpliciter edamus, insani, si quid exacte, praesuinptiosi vocamur. at si tu ipse, cui datum est saltibus gloriae proterere posse 1 cervices vituperonum seu supercurrere, materiae istius libens provinciam sortiare, nemo te Celsius scripserit, nemo et antiquius, etiamsi placeat recentia loqui; quandoquidem sermonum copia impletus ante, nunc rerum, non reliquisti, cur venenato morsu secere. atque ideo te in posterum consuli utilitas, audiri voluptas, legi auctoritas erit. vale.

[6] Let a cleric once dabble in it, and all these woes will fall upon him; forthwith the viper's tooth of envy is into us; if our style be straightforward, we are called mad; if polished, we are presuming beyond our place. But you can enter upon this province with a light heart; your fame allows you to spring from strength to strength. You will tread the neck of the detractor or lightly leap above it. None will have written in a more exalted vein than you, none so near the antique manner, even though your theme be the story of our own times. For as you were trained long since in the art of letters, and now are no less versed in that of affairs, you have left the venomous fang no hold whatever on you. Therefore it is that in years to come your works will be consulted with advantage, heard with delight, and read with assurance of their authority. Farewell.

Sidonius Proculo suo salutem

XXIII.

To his friend Proculus c. A.D. 472

[1] Filius tuus, immo communis ad me cucurrit, qui te relicto deliquisse se maeret, obrutus paenitendi pudore transfugii. igitur audito culpae tenore corripui latitabundum verbis amans vultu minaci et mea quidem voce sed vice tua dignum abdicatione cruce culleo clamans ceterisque suppliciis parricidalibus. ad haec ille confusus inrubit, nil impudenti excusatione deprecatus errorem, sed ad cuncta convictum cum redarguerem, verecundiae iunxit comites lacrimas ita profluas ubertimque manantes, ut secuturae correctioni fidem fecerint.

[1] YOUR son, whom I may almost call mine also, has taken refuge with me, full of sorrow for having left you, overwhelmed with shame and repentance of his desertion. When I heard what he had done, I rebuked him for this truancy with sharp words and threatening looks. The voice was mine, but I spoke in your place; I denounced him as one whose proper meed was disinheritance, the cross, the sack, and the other penalties of parricides. He flushed red in his confusion, but made no brazen excuses for his fault; and when I convicted him on every point, such floods of streaming tears accompanied his contrition that it was impossible to doubt his future amendment.

[2] rogo ergo sis clemens in se severo et deum sequens non habeas te iudice reum se profitente damnabilem; quem si inaudita genera poenarum iubeas inexoratus excipere, non potest amplius per te dolore quam per se pudore torqueri, libera metu desperationem suam, libera confidentiam meam et, pietatis paternae necessitatem si bene interpretor, te quoque absolve, qui conficeris occulto, quod filius publico maerore conficitur. cui fecisse me constat plurimum iniuriae, si tu tamen vel parum feceris, quam certe, ut spero, non facies, nisi scopulis durior duras aut adamantibus rigidior perseveras insecabilibus.

[2] I entreat you, therefore, to show mercy on one who now shows none to himself; imitate Christ and do not condemn him who admits that he deserves to be condemned. You may prove inexorable; you may subject him to unheard-of punishments; but no torture you can inflict will hurt him like his own remorse. Free him from his despairing fears; justify my confidence in you; relieve yourself from the secret anguish you must feel (if I know aught of a father's feelings) at the spectacle of a son crushed by undisguised affliction. I shall only have done him harm if you lift a finger against him, which I trust you will not do unless you mean to remain as hard as rock and rigid as impenetrable adamant.

[3] ergo si de moribus tuis deque amicitii iuste meliora praesumo, excusato propitius indulge, quem reconcilians fore fidelem constanter in posterum spondeo, quoque velociter culpa soluto ego beneficio ligor, magnopere deposcens, non ut ignoscas modo verum ut et pro- tinus, et revertentem non domo solum sed et pectore admittas. deus magne, quam laetus orietur tibi dies, mihi nuntius, animus illi, cum paternis pedibus affusus ex illo ore laeso, ore terribili, dum convicium expectat, 1 osculum exceperit! vale.

[3] If I am right in expecting something better from your known character and warm heart, be indulgent and forgive; I pledge myself that, once reconciled, he will henceforward be a loyal son. To absolve him promptly of his fault is to bind me by a new obligation. I earnestly beg you to do more, and grant him instant pardon; I want you, when he returns, not to open him your door alone, but your heart as well. Great God! what a bright day will dawn for you, what joyous news it will be to me, what gladness will fill his soul, when he casts himself at his father's feet and receives from those injured lips, those lips of terrible aspect, not reproaches but a kiss! Farewell.

Sidonius Turno suo salutem

XXIV.

*To his friend Turnus * A.D. 461-7*

[1] Bene nomini, bene negotio tuo congruit Mantuani illud: Turne, quod optanti divum promittere nemo auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro. pecuniam pater tuus Turpio, vir tribunicius, mutuam pridem, si recordaris, a Maximo Palatino postulavit impetravitque, nil quidem loco fiduciae pignorisque vel argenti sequestrans vel obligans praediorum; sed, ut chirographo facto docetur, cauta centesima est faeneratori, quae per bilustre producta tempus modum sortis ad duplum adduxit.

[1] THE Mantuan's lines suit perfectly your name and your affair:

*Turnus, what never God would dare
To promise to his suppliant's prayer,
Lo, here, the lapse of time has brought
E'en to your hands, unasked, unsought. |*

You remember that a long time ago your father Turpio (he was then of tribune's rank) sought and obtained a loan of Maximus, an official of the Palatine Service; he assigned nothing as security or guarantee, either in money or land; there is only a document ensuring the creditor his twelve per cent. This interest had been accumulating ten years, and had doubled the capital sum.

[2] sed cum pater tuus morti propinquae morbo incumbente succumberet atque ob hoc ipsum publica auctoritas male valentem patremfamilias violentius ad reformandum debitum artaret nec sustineri valeret improbitas executorum, proficiscenti mihi Tolosam iam desperatus litteris imperavit, ut me rogante creditor vester modicas saltem largiretur indutias, precibus orantis citus annui, quia cum Maximo mihi non notitiae solum verum et hospitii vetera iura. igitur ad amicum libens ex itinere perrexī, quamquam villa non paucis aggere a publico milibus abesset.

[2] When your father was grievously ill and near his death, the public authority put serious pressure on him for the payment of the debt; the bailiffs too behaved in an intolerably brutal manner. I was then setting out for Toulouse, and the sick man, in despair, wrote entreating me to intercede with his creditor for at least a short delay. Of course I at once promised to do what I could, for Maximus and I are something more than acquaintances, and linked by old ties of hospitality. I therefore diverged from my route to pay him a visit, though his estate lies some miles distant from the highway.

[3] ut veni, occurrit mihi ipse, quem noveram antea corpore erectum gressu

expeditum, voce liberum facie liberalem, multum ab antiquo dissimilis incessu, habitus viro, gradus pudor, color sermo religiosus, tum coma brevis barba prolixa, tripodes sellae, Cilicum vela foribus appensa, lectus nil habens plumae, mensa nil purpurae, humanitas ipsa sic benigna quod frugi, nec ita carnibus abundans ut leguminibus; certe, si quid in cibis unctius, non sibi sed hospitibus indulgens.

[3] On my arrival, he came out himself to meet me. But how changed his walk from the old erect and rapid gait; how changed the old frank regard and hearty voice! His dress, his walk, his humility, his pallor, his mode of speech — all declared the churchman. And then his hair was short and his beard long; he had simple tripod seats; coarse Cilician hangings covered his doors; the beds were featherless, the tables unadorned. His entertainment was as plain as it was kindly, with more vegetable than meat; if any richer dish appeared, it was brought not to him but to his guests.

[4] cum surgeremus, clam percontor adstantes, quod genus vitae de tribus arripuisset ordinibus, monachum ageret an clericum paenitentemve. I dixerunt nuper impacto sacerdotio fungi, quo recusantem factiose ligasset civicus amor. luce revoluta, dum pueri clientesque capiendis animalibus occuparentur, secretae conlocutionis peto copiam, praestat: amplector nil opinantem gratularique me primum pro sui status apice confirmo, tum consequentes misceo preces.

[4] When we rose from table, I asked my neighbours quietly to which of the three orders he belonged; was he monk, clerk, or penitent? They told me he was so popular that his fellow citizens had thrust priestly office upon him against his inclination. When morning came, and the servants and clients were busy catching the animals, I begged a private interview, which he at once granted. I began by congratulations on his new dignity which he had not expected, but my petition followed close upon them.

[5] Turpionis nostri rogata profero, allego necessitates, extrema deploro, quae duriora maerentibus amicis hinc viderentur, quod faenore ligatus corpore solveretur: meminisset ergo professionis novae, sodalitatis antiquae, exactorumque circumlatrantum barbaram instantiam indultis tantisper indutiis moderaretur; et, si decessisset aeger, tribueret heredibus annui luctus tempus immune; si, quod optarem, pristinam Turpio salutem recuperasset, indulgeret exhausto per otium facultatem convalescendi.

[5] I preferred the prayer of our common friend Turpio; I urged his straits and his extremity; I told how much harder it seemed to the sick man's afflicted friends that his soul should be released from a body still held in the bond of debt. I implored him to remember his new calling and our ancient fellowship; I entreated him at least to accord delay, and so to moderate the barbarous importunities of the collectors, who were barking like dogs about a death-bed;

I asked that if Turpio died, the heirs should be granted the respite of the mourner's year, and that if, as I hoped, he recovered health, he should be left in peace during the time of convalescence from so exhausting a sickness.

[6] adhuc rogabam, cum repente vir caritatis flere granditer coepit non moram debiti sed periculum debitoris; frenato-que singultu: 'absit a me,' inquit, 'ut haec reposcam clericus ab aegro, quae vix petissem miles a sospite, sed et liberos eius ita diligo, ut etiam si quid adversum cesserit amico, nil sum ab his amplius postulaturus quam mei officii ratio permittit. quapropter scribe sollicitis (quoque plus credant litteris tuis, meas iunge), quisquis ille fuerit languoris eventus, quem tamen fratri prosperum optamus, quod et annum solutioni spatium prorogabo et superpositam medietatem, quae per usurae nomen accrevit, indulgeam, sola simpli restitutione contentus.'

[6] I had got thus far with my petition when this charitable soul began to weep copious tears, not for the delay in recovering his debt but for the peril of the debtor, and restraining his sobs, cried: 'Far be it from me, a cleric, to demand from a sick man what as an official I should hardly have brought myself to ask from a sound one. But I am so attached to my friend's children also, that, even should he die, I shall require of them not a penny more than the law of our friendship sanctions. You shall write to them in their anxiety, enclosing a letter from me to confirm the authority of yours. Assure them that whatever be the issue of our brother's illness, (and may it prove a happy one!) I give them a whole year's respite; I will also remit that half of the debt represented by the accumulated interest, and content myself with the simple return of the loan.'

[7] egi ad haec gratias deo maximas, hospiti magnas, qui sic amaret tam suam famam quam conscientiam, confirmans amicum praemittere sibi quod dimitteret vobis, atque hinc superna regna mercari, quod beneficia terrena non venderet. ergo quod restat enitere, ut auctore te protinus saltim commodata summa solvatur, sic ut ingentes nihilominus gratias agas etiam nomine illorum, qui tibi germanitate coniuncti fors per aetatem sapere non possunt, quid muneris consequantur.

[7] On this, I rendered thanks to God first, and then to my host, who so respected his good name and conscience; I assured this good friend that he laid up as a treasure in advance for himself what I was empowered to remit to you, and purchased a heavenly kingdom by refusing to drive a hard bargain here on earth. It now remains for you to use every effort for the repayment of the principal, and to return him heartfelt thanks in the name of your young brother and sister, who by reason of their tender age can know nothing of their own good fortune.

[8] non est cur dicere incipias: 'habeo consortes necdum celebrata divisio est; avarius me constat esse tractatum quam coheredes; frater ac soror sub annis adhuc tute-laribus agunt; sorori necdum maritus, fratri necdum curator, curatori necdum satisdator inventus est.' quod quidem totum creditoribus bene, sed malis dicitur; at cum habet talis persona contractum, quae velit medium relaxare, cum totum possit exigere, si moram patitur, quicquid propter misericordiam concesserat pie, iuste reposcit propter iniuriam, vale.

[8] There is no excuse for you to say, 'I am only a co-heir; the estate has not yet been divided; it is common knowledge that I

have come off worse than the other two; my brother and sister are still minors; a husband has yet to be found for her, a guardian for him, and a surety for the guardian when appointed.' Such things are sometimes said with fairness to creditors, but only to the bad ones. You are fortunate in having to deal with a person ready to remit half your debt when he might exact the whole. Do not keep him waiting; he would be within his right if he demanded once more in his resentment all that his lenience had excused. Farewell.

* Translated by Hodgkin, ii. 345.

Sidonius Domnulo suo salutem

XXV.

To his friend Domnulus c. A.D. 470*

[1] Nequeo differre, quin grandis communione te gaudii festinus inperitiam, nimirum nosse cupientem, quid pater noster in Christo pariter et pontifex Patiens Cabillonum profectus more religionis, more constantiae suae fecerit, cum venisset in oppidum suprascriptum provincialium sacerdotum praeivio partim, partim comitante collegio, scilicet ut municipio summus aliquis antistes ordinaretur, cuius ecclesiae disciplina nutabat, postquam iunior episcopus Paulus discesserat decesseratque, exceperunt pontificale concilium variae voluntates oppidanorum, nec non et illa quae bonum publicum semper evertunt studia privata;

[1] I CANNOT delay an hour in letting you know of an event which must cause you the greatest pleasure, anxious as you were to learn what success attended the piety and firmness of our metropolitan and father in Christ, Patiens, upon the occasion of his visit to Châlon. He went to ordain a bishop for that town, where discipline had been imperilled after the retirement and subsequent death of the young bishop Paulus. Some of the provincial bishops formed his escort; others had preceded him. When the Episcopal Council met, it found that the opinion of the citizens was not unanimous, and that there existed private factions of the kind so ruinous to the public welfare.

[2] quae quidam triumviratus accenderat competitorum, quorum hic antiquam natalium praerogativam reliqua destitutus morum dote ructabat, hic per fragores parasiticos culinarum suffragio comparatos Apicianis plausibus ingere-batur, hic, apice votivo si potiretur, tacita pactione promiserat ecclesiastica plosoribus suis praedae praedia fore.

[2] The presence of three candidates aggravated these evils. The first had no moral qualification whatever, but only the privilege of ancient lineage, of which he made the most. The second was brought in on the applause of parasites, bribed to support him by the free run of a gourmand's table. The third had a tacit understanding with his supporters, that if he attained the object of his ambition, the plundering of the Church estates should be theirs.

[3] quod ubi viderunt sanctus Patiens et sanctus Euphronius, qui rigorem firmitatemque sententiae sanioris praeter odium gratiamque primi tenebant, consilio cum coepiscopis prius clam communicato quam palam prodito strepituque despecto turbae furentis iunctis 1 repente manibus arreptum nihilque tum minus quam quae agebantur optantem suspicantemque sanctum Iohannem, virum honestate humanitate mansuetudine insignem.

[3] Seeing this, the holy Patiens and the holy Euphronius determined that no thought of odium or popularity should move them from the firmness and severity of the saner judgement. They communicated their intention to their fellow bishops in secret conclave assembled, before they made it public. Then, with a complete disregard of the unruly crowd, they suddenly joined their hands upon the holy John, a man conspicuous for an honourable, humane and gentle life, and without the faintest suspicion of what they proposed, or the slightest desire for preferment.

[4] (lector hic primum, sic minister altaris, idque ab infantia, post laborum temporumque processu archidiaconus, in quo seu gradu seu ministerio multum retentus propter industriam diu dignitate non potuit augeri, ne potestate posset absolvi): attamen hunc iam secundi ordinis sacerdotem dissonas inter partium voces, quae differebant laudare non ambientem sed nec audebant culpae laudabilem, stupentibus factiosis erubescens malis, acclamantibus bonis reclamantibus nullis collegam sibi consecraverunt.

[4] This John was first a Reader, and had been a server at the altar from his tender years. In course of time and strenuous duty he became archdeacon, in which office or rank his efficiency kept him back; they would not give him promotion because they did not wish to relieve him of functions he performed so well. Such was the man, a member only of the second order, on whom they laid their hands, to the perplexity of the factions, which had no acclamations ready for one never even put forward for the office, but dared not at the same time say anything against a man whom his own career acclaimed. So, to the stupefaction of the intriguers, the rage of bad citizens, and the delight of good, without one dissentient voice, they two consecrated their new colleague.

[5] nunc ergo Iurensia si te remittunt iam monasteria, in quae libenter solitus escendere iam caelestibus supernisque praeludis habitaculis, gaudere te par est de communium patrum vel patronorum seu sic sentiente concordia seu sic concordante sententia, illius quoque nomine exulta, quem creaverunt Euphronius testimonio, manu Patiens, ambo iudicio, in quo fecit Euphronius quod conveniret non senectutis modo suae verum etiam dignitatis longaevitati, fecit et Patiens, vir quamlibet magnis par tamen laudibus, quod satis decuit facere personam, quae caput est civitati nostrae per sacerdotium, provinciae vero per civitatem, vale.

[5] And now, unless the monasteries of the Jura keep you, where you love to ascend as if in foretaste of a celestial habitation, this letter ought to reach you, bringing the happy news, how these our fathers and protectors opined in accord, or accorded in opinion — whichever you will. Rejoice too in his name whom Euphronius and Patiens consecrated, the one by testimony, the other by laying on of hands, the two together by their concurring judgement; in all which events Euphronius acted as beseemed his age and the long tenure of his high office, Patiens, for whom no praise could ever be too high, as befitted one

who by his ecclesiastical dignity is the first person in our city, and by the priority of the city, the first citizen in all the province. Farewell.

* Partly translated by Guizot, *Hist, de la civilisation en France*, ed. 1846, i. 81-2.

BOOK V

Sidonius Petronio suo salutem

I.

To his friend Petronius A.D. 478

[1] Audio, quod lectitandis epistulis meis voluptuosam patientiam inpendas. magnum hoc est et litterarum viro convenientissimum, cum studiis ipse maxumis polleas, ea in aliis etiam minima complecti, sed ex hoc ipso consummatissima tibi gloria reponderatur; nam satis eminet meritis ingenii proprii qui fuerit fautor alieni.

[1] THEY tell me you devote patient but not unpleasant hours to the perusal of my Letters; you who have achieved mastery in studies of widest scope, can yet notice the most insignificant writings of another. This is great, and well becomes the enthusiast for letters. But you are repaid for it by the most perfect kind of fame; for he who is generous enough to praise other men's talent will not fail to find his own conspicuously acknowledged.

[2] commendo Vindicium necessarium meum, virum religiosum et leviticae dignitati, quam nuper indeptus est, accommodatissimum. cui meis e pugillaribus transferre quae iusseras non vacans proquam provincia 1 fuit, hic vobis aliquid neniarum munusculi vice detuli; 2 quamquam, quae tua sanctitas, semper grandia litteras nostras praemia putes.

[2] I commend to you my friend Vindicium, a man of piety, and admirably suited for the dignity of deacon which he has recently attained. I had no time to copy what you wanted from my tablets, as it was incumbent on me to do, so I have entrusted him with these trifling lines just to have something to send; but such is your kindness that you accept any letter of mine as if it were an exceeding great reward.

[3] interea necessitatem praefati portitoris insinuo, quem traxit isto negotii oborti bipertita condicio, siquidem hac definitione perrexit, ut aut ineat litem aut adeat hereditatem. nam patrueli paterno caelibis intestatoque defuncto per agnationis praerogativam succedere parat, nisi tamen coeptis factiosa vis obviet. contra quas tamen cunctas difficultates solus post opem Christi supplicii tuo sufficis, cuius confido quod, si meruerit persona gratiam, consequetur causa victoriam, vale.

[3] Meanwhile I commend to your notice the affair of this same bearer who is taken to your neighbourhood by a troublesome business in which he finds himself involved. Two possibilities lie before him: he may either enter peacefully upon an inheritance, or he may be entangled in legal proceedings. His paternal uncle has died a bachelor and intestate, and he is taking steps to inherit as next of kin; but factious opposition may bar his way. Against each

and every difficulty which may be raised, you, after Christ, are the suppliant's best hope; I am confident that if he finds favour in your sight, his cause will prove victorious. Farewell.

Sidonius Nymphidio suo salutem

II.

To his friend Nymphidius c. A.D. 472

[1] Librum de statu animae tribus voluminibus inlustrem Mamertus Claudianus peritissimus Christianorum philosophus et quorumlibet primus eruditum totis sectatae 1 philosophiae membris artibus partibusque comere et excolere curavit, novem quas vocant Musas disciplinas aperiens esse, non feminas. namque in paginis eius vigilax lector inveniet veriora nomina Camenarum, quae propriam de se sibi pariunt nuncupationem. illic enim et grammatica dividit et oratoria declamat et arithmetica numerat et geometrica metitur et musica ponderat et dialectica disputat et astrologia 1 praenoscit et architectonica struit et metrica modulatur.

[1] CLAUDIANUS MAMERTUS, the most accomplished of our Christian philosophers and the most learned man in the world, wrote not long ago a notable work in three volumes on the Nature of the Soul; in its embellishment and final elaboration he employed the method of the disposition and logical arrangement of profane philosophy, demonstrating that the nine Muses are not maidens at all, but Liberal Arts. The attentive reader discovers in his pages the real personified titles of the Nine, who of themselves and for themselves create their proper appellations. For in this book Grammar divides, and Rhetoric declaims; Arithmetic reckons, Geometry metes; Music balances, Logic disputes; Astrology predicts, Architecture constructs; Poetry attunes her measures.

[2] huius lectionis novitate laetatus excitatusque maturitate raptim recensendam transferendamque, ut videras, petisti, ut petieras, impetrasti sub sponsione citae redhibitionis. nec me falli nec te fallere decet. tempus est commodata restitui, quia liber ipse, si placuit, debuit exhibere satietatem, si displicuit, debuit movere fastidium, tu autem, quicquid illud est, fidem tuam celeriter absolve, ne si repetitum libellum serius reddere paras, membranas potius videaris amare quam literas. vale.

[2] Pleased with the novelty of a theory like this, and kindled to enthusiasm by so much ripe wisdom, you had hardly seen the book before you asked to have it for a short time to examine and copy it and to make extracts; you promised to return it quickly, and your request was granted as soon as made. Now, it is far from fitting that I should be deceived in this little matter, and that you should be the deceiver. It is high time for you to send the book back; if you liked it, you must have had enough of it by now; if you dislike it, more than enough. Whichever it be, you have now to clear your reputation. If you mean to delay the return of a volume for which I have to ask you, I shall think that

you care more for the parchment than for the work. Farewell.

Sidonius Apollinari suo salutem

III.

To [his kinsman] Apollinaris A.D. 472

[1] Par erat quidem garrulitatem nostram silentii vestri talione frenari. sed quoniam perfecta dilectio non tam debet recolere, quid officiorum solvat, quam meminisse, quid debeat, etiam nunc laxatis verecundiae habenis obsequium alloquii impudentis iteramus. cuius improbitas vel hinc maxime dinoscitur, quod tacetis. ergone quid tempore hostilitatis ageretis, frater, nosse non merui? dissimulastis trepido pro vobis amico vel securitatem prodere vel timorem?

[1] IT was perhaps only fair that you should retaliate on my loquacious habits by applying the curb of taciturnity. But since in the exchange of kind offices a perfect friendship should dwell less on what it pays than on what it may still be held to owe, I shall loosen the rein of scruple and render you the impudent homage of another letter: of course the impropriety of this is proved by the fact of your continued silence. Do I not deserve to be informed of a brother's fortunes in time of war? Are you really afraid of revealing your hopes or apprehensions to a friend who is anxious on your account?

[2] quid est aliud, si requirenti tuas supprimas 1 actiones, quam suspicari eum, qui tui sollicitus existat, aut certe non gavisurum compertis prosperis aut tristem, si diversa cesserint, non futurum? facessat haec a bonis moribus impietatis opinio et a candore suo vera caritas naevum tam miserae suspicionis eliminat. namque, ut Crispus vester affirmat, idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est.

[2] Your motive in keeping your doings from me can only be that you are not quite sure of me, and fear that I might not rejoice as I ought at news of your good luck, or properly lament your adverse fortunes. May such disloyalty find no place in gentle hearts; may so miserable a suspicion be no longer a blot on the candour of a true affection! For, as your Crispus says, 'to desire and reject the same things, that is the making of firm friends.'

[3] interea si vel vos valetis, bene est. ego autem, infelicis conscientiae mole depressus, vi febrium nuper extremum salutis accessi, utpote cui indignissimo tantae professionis pondus impactum est, qui miser, ante compulsus docere quam discere et ante praesumens bonum praedicare quam facere, tamquam sterilis arbor, cum non habeam opera pro pomis, spargo verba pro foliis.

[3] I shall be content if I can hear that you are in good case. My own mind has been depressed by the weight of a troubled conscience; a violent fever brought me almost to death's door. As you know, the cares of an august profession

have been imposed on me, unworthy though I am of such an honour. And it has been misery to me to have to teach what I have never myself learned, and to preach goodness before practising it; like a barren tree, I bear no fruit of good works, but scatter idle words like leaves.

[4] quod restat, orate, ut operae pretium sit, quod ab inferna propemodum sede remeavimus, ne, si in praeteritis criminibus manserimus, incipiat ad animae potius mortem pertinere quod vivimus, ecce quod agimus indicamus; ecce adhuc, quid agatis, inquirimus. fit a nostra parte quod pium est, vos deinceps facite quod videtur, illud sane velut Atticas 1 leges ita aeri 2 credite incisum, nos sub ope Christi numquam admissuros amoris terminum, cuius studuimus fundare principium, vale.

[4] And now pray for me that my future life may prove it to have been worth while to come back almost from the underworld; for now a continuance in past errors would make this renewal of life the beginning of my soul's destruction. You see that I hide nothing from you, and I may fairly ask in return how things fare with you. I have done the part of friendship; it remains for you to act as you think right. But remember that by God's grace we recognize no end to a comradeship which we gave our hearts to begin; it must be like laws of Attica, graven eternally on brass. Farewell.

Sidonius Simplicio suo salutem

IV.

To [*his kinsman*] *Simplicius* (No indication of date)

[1] Quod non recepi scripta qui miseram, imputo amicitiae, sed deuto plus pudori, nam, nisi praeter aequum autumo, ut salutatio mihi debita dissimularetur, non illud contumacia sed verecundia fuit. at si ulterius paginae garrienti forem claudis, pessulum opponis, quieti quidem tuae non invitae indulgeo, sed non procul a te reos meos inventurum me esse denuntio.

[1] YOUR failure to answer my letter I impute to a friendship not beyond reproach, but in a greater degree, to an uneasy conscience. For unless I do you an injustice, your answer is withheld less from perversity than from a sense of shame. But if you continue to close and bolt your door against my communications, I shall not be sorry to oblige you with the peace which you desire. At the same time I must tell you plainly that the instigators of the wrong thus done me are to be found among those nearest to you.

[2] nam totam silentii vestri invidiam verti non iniurium est ad superbiam filiorum, qui se diligi sentientes quoddam patiuntur de nostra sedulitate fastidium, quos monere pro patria auctoritate debebitis, ut contractae apud nos offensae amaritudinem politis affatibus dulcare non desinant. vale.

[2] For it is no injustice to attribute all that is hateful in your silence to the spoiled humours of your sons, who, secure in your affection, submit with impatience to my assiduity. It is incumbent on you to admonish them by your parental authority to be more amiable henceforward in their behaviour, and so sweeten to me the bitterness of their past offence. Farewell.

Sidonius Syagrio suo salutem

V.

To his friend Syagrius (No indication of date)

[1] Cum sis consulis pronepos idque per virilem successionem (quamquam id ad causam subiciendam minus attinet), cum sis igitur e semine poetae, cui procul dubio statuas dederant litterae, si trabeae non dedissent (quod etiam nunc auctoris culta versibus verba testantur), a quo studia posterorum ne parum quidem, quippe in hac parte, degeneraverunt, immane narratu est, quantum stupeam sermonis te Germanici notitiam tanta facilitate rapuisse.

[1] **THOUGH** you descend in the male line from an ancestor who was not only consul — that is immaterial — but also (and here is the real point) a poet, from one whose literary achievement would certainly have gained him the honour of a statue, had it not been secured for him already by his official honours, — witness the finished verse that he has left us; and though on this side of his activity his descendants have proved themselves no wise degenerate, yet here we find you picking up a knowledge of the German tongue with the greatest of ease; the feat fills me with indescribable amazement.

[2] atqui pueritiam tuam competenter scholis liberalibus memini imbutam et saepenumero acriter eloquenterque declamasse coram oratore satis habeo compertum, atque haec cum ita sint, velim dicas, unde subito hauserunt pectora tua euphoniā gentis alienae, ut modo mihi post ferulas lectionis Maronianae postque desudatam varicosi Arpinatis opulentiam loquacitatemque quasi de harilao 1 vetere novus falco 2 prorumpas?

[2] I can recall the thoroughness of your education in liberal studies; I know with what a fervid eloquence you used to declaim before the rhetor. With such a training, how have you so quickly mastered the accent of a foreign speech, that after having your Virgil caned into you, and absorbing into your very system the opulent and flowing style of the varicose orator of Arpinum, you soar out like a young falcon from the ancient eyrie ?

[3] aestimari minime potest, quanto mihi ceterisque sit risui, quotiens audio, quod te praesente formidet linguae suae facere barbarus barbarismum. adstupet tibi epistulas interpretari curva Germanorum senectus et negotiis mutuis arbitrum te disceptatoremque desumit. novus Burgundionum Solon in legibus disserendis, novus Amphion in citharis, sed trichordibus, temperandis, amaris frequentaris, expeteris oblectas, eligeris adhiberis, decernis audiris. et quamquam aequē corporibus ac sensu rigidi sint indolatilesque, amplectuntur in te pariter et discunt sermonem patrium, cor Latinum.

[3] You can hardly conceive how amused we all are to hear that, when you are by, not a barbarian but fears to perpetrate a barbarism in his own language. Old Germans bowed with age are said to stand astounded when they see you interpreting their German letters; they actually choose you for arbiter and mediator in their disputes. You are a new Solon in the elucidation of Burgundian law; like a new Amphion you attune a new lyre, an instrument of but three strings. You are popular on all sides; you are sought after; your society gives universal pleasure. You are chosen as adviser and judge; as soon as you utter a decision it is received with respect. In body and mind alike these people are as stiff as stocks and very hard to form; yet they delight to find in you, and equally delight to learn, a Burgundian eloquence and a Roman spirit.

[4] restat hoc unum, vir facetissime, ut nihilo segnius, vel cum vacabit, aliquid lectioni operis 3 impendas custodiasque hoc, prout es elegantissimus, temperamentum, ut ista tibi lingua teneatur, ne ridearis, illa exerceatur, ut rideas. vale.

[4] Let me end with a single caution to the cleverest of men. Do not allow these talents of yours to prevent you from devoting whatever time you can spare to reading. Let your critical taste determine you to preserve a balance between the two languages, holding fast to the one to prevent us making fun of you, and practising the other that you may have the laugh of us. Farewell.

Sidonius Apollinari suo Salutem.

VI.

To [his kinsman] Apollinaris A.D. 474-5

[1] Cum primum aestas decessit autumno et Arvernorum timor potuit aliquantisper ratione temporis temperari, Viennam veni, ubi Thaumastum, germanum tuum, quem pro iure vel sanguinis vel aetatis reverenda l familiaritate complector, maestissimum inveni, qui quamquam recenti caelibatu granditer afficiebatur, pro te tamen parum minus anxius erat: timebat enim verebaturque, ne quam tibi calumniam turbo barbaricus aut militaris concinnaret improbitas.

[1] As soon as summer began to yield to autumn and the fears of my Arvernians were in some degree moderated by the approach of winter, I was able to make a journey to Vienne. There I found, in great tribulation, your brother Thaumastus, who alike by virtue of his age and his descent inspires me with feelings of affection and respect. Afflicted already by the recent loss of his wife, he was no less troubled on your account, fearing that the gang of barbarians and officers about the court might trump up some malicious charge against you.

[2] namque confirmat magistro militum Chilperico, victoriosissimo viro, relatu venenato quorumpiam sceleratorum fuisse secreto insurratum tuo praecipue machinatu oppidum Vasionense partibus novi principis applicari. si quid hinc tibi tuisque suspicionis incutitur, raptim doce recursu familiarium paginarum, ne vobis sollici- tudinis aut praesentiae meae opportunitas pereat, curae mihi peculiariter erit, si quid tamen cavendum existimabis, ut te faciat aut gratia impetrata securum aut explorata iracundia cautiorem. vale.

[2] According to his report, venomous tongues have been secretly at work, whispering in the ear of the ever-victorious Chilperic, our Master of the Soldiery, that your machinations are chiefly responsible for the attempt to win the town of Vaison for the new Emperor. If you are exposed to any suspicion on this score, inform me at once by return, that we may not lose any possible advantage which might accrue from my presence or the exertion of my interest. If in your opinion a real danger exists, I shall make it my special business either by conciliating the royal favour, to ensure your safety, or by discovering the extent of the king's anger to make you see the need for greater caution in future. Farewell.

Sidonius Thaumasto suo salutem

VII.

To his [kinsman] Thaumastus A.D. 474-5

[1] Indagavimus tandem, qui apud tetrarcham nostrum germani tui et e diverso partium novi principis amicitias criminarentur, si tamen fidam sodalium sagacitatem clandestina delatorum non fefellere vestigia, hi nimirum sunt, ut idem coram positus audisti, quos se iamdudum perpeti inter clementiores barbaros Gallia gemit, hi sunt, quos timent etiam qui timentur. hi sunt, quos haec peculiariter provincia manet, 1 inferre calumnias deferre personas, afferre minas auferre substantias.

[1] AT last we have discovered who the villains are who have accused your brother before our tetrarch for siding with the partisans of the new Emperor — unless, indeed, the stealthy steps of the informers have deceived the proved sagacity of our friends. They are the wretches, as you yourself have heard me say upon the spot, whom Gaul endures with groans these many years, and who make the barbarians themselves seem merciful by comparison. They are the scoundrels whom even the formidable fear. These are the men whose peculiar province it seems to be to calumniate, to denounce, to intimidate, and to plunder.

[2] hi sunt, quorum laudari audis in otio occupationes in pace praedas, inter arma fugas inter vina victorias, hi sunt, qui causas morantur adhibiti impediunt praetermissa fastidiunt admoniti obhviscuntur locupletati, hi sunt, qui emunt lites vendunt inter-cessiones, deputant arbitros iudicanda dictant dictata convellunt, attrahunt litigaturos protrahunt audiendos, trahunt addictos retrahunt transigentes. hi sunt, quos si petas etiam nullo adversante beneficium, piget promittere pudet negare paenitet praestitisse.

[2] These are they who in quiet times make parade of their affairs, in peace of their ample spoils, in war of their evasions, over their cups of their victories. These are the creatures who will spin out a case if they are called in, and block its progress if they are kept out; who grow offensive if reminded of their duty, and if they once pocket your fee, forget their obligation. These are the fellows who buy themselves a lawsuit to sell their mediation; who control the appointment of arbitrators, dictate their sentence, and tear it up whenever it suits them to do so; who incite litigants to sue, and hold the hearing in suspense; who hale off the convicted, and force back into the court those who would fain escape by settlement. These are the men who, asked a favour opposed by none, will promise with reluctance what shame forbids them to refuse, and moan if they have to keep their word.

[3] hi sunt, quorum comparationi digitum tollerent Narcissus Asiaticus, Massa

Marcellus, Carus Parthenius, Licinus et Pallas, hi sunt, qui invident tunicatis otia stipendia paludatis, viatica veraedariis 2 mercatoribus nundinas, munuscula legatis portoria quadruplatoribus, praedia provincialibus flamoniam municipibus, arcanis pondera mensuras allectis salaria tabulariis, dispositiones numerariis praetorianis sportulas, civitatibus indutias vectigalia publicanis, reverentiam clericis originem nobilem, consessum prioribus congressum aequalibus, cinctis iura discinctis privilegia, scholas instituendis mercedes instituentibus litteras institutis.

[3] These are they at whose appearance the world's great scoundrels would confess themselves surpassed, Narcissus, Asiaticus, Massa, Marcellus, Carus, Parthenius, Licinus, Pallas, and all their peers. These are they who grudge quiet folks their peace, the soldier his pay, the courier his fare, the merchant his market, the ambassador his gifts, the farmer of tolls his dues, the provincial his farm, the municipality its flamen's dignity, the controllers of revenue their weights, the receivers their measures, the registrars their salary, the accountants their fees, the bodyguards their presents, towns their truces, taxgatherers their taxes, the clergy the respect men pay them, the nobles their lineage, superiors their seats in council, equals equality, the official his jurisdiction, the ex-official his distinctions, scholars their schools, masters their stipends, and finished pupils their accomplishments.

[4] hi sunt, qui novis opibus ebrii, ut et minima cognoscas, per utendi intemperantiam produnt imperitiam possidendi; nam libenter incedunt armati ad epulas, albatii ad exequias, pelliti ad ecclesias, pullati ad nuptias, castorinati ad litanias. nullum illis genus hominum ordinum temporum cordi est. in foro Scythae, in cubiculo viperae, in convivio scurrae, in exactionibus Harpyiae, in contentionibus statuariae, in quaestionibus bestiarum, in tractatibus cocleae, in contractibus trapezitae; ad intellegendum saxei, ad iudicandum lignei, ad suscensendum flammei, ad ignoscendum ferrei, ad amicitias pardi, ad facetias ursi, ad fallendum vulpes, ad superbiendum tauri, ad consumendum minotauri.

[4] These are the upstarts drunken with new wealth 4 (I spare you no sordid detail), who by their intemperate use betray their unfamiliarity with riches. They like to march under arms to a banquet, they will attend a funeral in white, and wear mourning at a marriage festival; they go to church in furs, and hear a litany in beaver. No race of men, no rank, no epoch is ever to their liking. In the market they behave like Scythians; in the chamber they are vipers, at feasts buffoons. While they are harpies in exaction, in conversation you might as well talk to statues, or address a question to brute beasts. In negotiation slow as snails, they are sharp as money-lenders at a contract. In comprehension they are stones, in judgement stocks; swift as flame in anger, hard as iron in forgiveness, pards in friendship, bears in humour, foxes in deceit, overbearing as bulls, fierce as Minotaurs in destruction.

[5] spes firmas in rerum motibus habent, dubia tempora certius amant, et ignavia pariter conscientiaque trepidantes, cum sint in praetoriis leones, in castris lepores, timent foedera, ne discutiantur, bella, ne pugnent, quorum si nares afflaverit uspiam robiginosi aura marsupii, confestim videbis illic et oculos Argi et manus Briarei et Sphingarum unguet et periuria Laomedontis et Ulixis argutias et Sinon's fallacias et fidem Polymestoris et pietatem Pygmalionis adhiberi.

[5] They believe in the unsettlement of affairs; the more troubled the time the firmer their faith in its advantage. Cowardice and a bad conscience destroy their nerves; they are lions in the palace and hares in camp; they dread treaties for fear of having to disgorge, and war for fear of having to fight. Let them but scent from afar a rusty purse, and you will see them fix on it the eyes of Argus, Briareus' hands, the Sphinx's claws; they will bring into play the perjuries of Laomedon, the subtleties of Ulysses, Sinon's wiles; they will stick to it with the staunchness of Polymestor and the loyalty of a Pygmalion.

[6] his moribus obruunt virum non minus bonitate quam potestate praestantem. sed quid faciat unus, undique venenato vallatus interprete? quid, inquam, faciat, cui natura cum bonis, vita cum malis est? ad quorum consilia Phalaris cruentior Mida cupidior, Ancus iactantior Tarquinius superbior, Tiberius callidior Gaius periculosior, Claudius socordior Nero impurior, Galba avarior Otho audacior, Vitellius sumptuosior Domitianus truculentior redderetur.

[6] Such are the morals with which they hope to crush a man both powerful and good. And what can one man do, encompassed on every side by slanderers whose venomous lips distort each word he says? What should he do when nature meant him for honest company, but fortune cast him among thieves whose evil communications would make Phalaris more bloodthirsty, Midas more covetous, Ancus vainer, Tarquin haughtier, Tiberius craftier, Gaius more dangerous, Claudius more slothful, Nero more corrupt, Galba more avaricious, Otho more reckless, Vitellius more prodigal, Domitian more ferocious?

[7] sane, quod principaliter medetur afflic- tis, temperat Lucumonem nostrum Tanaquil sua et aures mariti virosa susurronum faece completas opportunitate salsi sermonis eruderat. cuius studio [factum 1] scire vos par est nihil interim quieti fratrum communium apud animum communis patroni iuniorum Cibratarum venena nocuisse neque quicquam deo propitiante nocitura, si modo, quamdiu praesens potestas Lugdunensem Germaniam regit, nostrum suumque Germanicum praesens Agrippina moderetur. vale.

[7] But we have one consolation in our trouble; fair Tanaquil restrains our Lucumon: she waits her chance, and rids his ears by a few coaxing words of all the poison with which the whisperers have filled them. You ought to know that we owe it to her interest if up till now the mind of our common patron has

not been poisoned against our brothers by these younger Cibyrites; God willing, it never will be, while the present power holds Lyons for the German race, and our present Agrippina exerts her moderating influence on her Germanicus. Farewell.

Sidonius Secundino suo salutem

VIII.

To his friend Secundinus c. A.D. 477

[1] Diu quidem est, quod te hexametris familiaris inservientem stupentes praedicantesque lectita-bamus. erat siquidem materia iucunda, seu nupti- ales tibi thalammorum faces sive perfossae regis ictibus ferae describerentur. sed triplicibus trochaeis nuper in metrum hendecasyllabum compaginatis nihil, ne tuo quidem iudicio, simile fecisti,

[1] WHAT a long time it is since we used to read your masterly hexameters with outspoken admiration! Your verse was equally full of life, whether you were celebrating a wedding, or the fall of great beasts before the prowess of kings. But even you yourself would admit that you have never done anything better than your last poem in triple trochaics constructed in hendecasyllabic metre.

[2] deus bone, quid illic inesse fellis 1 leporis piperataeque facundiae minime tacitus inspexi! nisi quod ferventis fulmen ingenii et eloquii salsa libertas plus personis forte quam causis impediabantur; ut mihi non figuratius Constantini domum vitamque videatur vel pupugisse versu gemello consul Ablabius 2 vel momordisse disticho tali clam Palatinis foribus appenso: Saturni aurea saecula quis requirat? sunt haec gemmea, sed Neroniana. quia scilicet praedictus Augustus isdem fere temporibus extinxerat coniugem Faustam calore balnei, filium Crispum frigore veneni.

[2] What fine malice I found in it; what style, what pungent eloquence! it was impossible for me to keep my enthusiasm to myself. As for your subjects, you were fearless; only the necessity for respecting persons seemed to check somewhat the lightning of your genius and the free course of your irony. I think the Consul Ablabius never thrust more brilliantly at the family life of Constantine with a couplet, or gave more stinging point to the famous distich secretly appended to the palace gates:

‘Who wants back Saturn and his golden age?
We have the diamond age — Neronian.’

You remember that, when this was written, Constantine had done to death his consort Fausta in a hot bath and his son Crispus with cold poison.

[3] tu tamen nihilo segnius operam saltim facietis satirarum coloribus intrepidus impende, nam tua scripta nostrorum vitiis proficientibus tyrannopolitarum 1 locupletabuntur. non enim tam mediocriter intumescunt quos nostra iudicia saeculi 2 culpa 3 fortunatos putant, ut de nominibus ipsorum quandoque reminiscendis sit posteritas laboratura: namque improborum probra aequae ut

praeconia bonorum immortalia manent, vale.

[3] I would not have you deterred by anything from your bold and vivid use of satire. You will find the flourishing vices of our tyrant-ridden citizens a rich mine to exploit. For the folk whom we set down as fortunate according to the lights of our age or our locality comport themselves with such an arrogance that the future will not readily forget their names. The infamy of vice and the praise of virtue are both alike eternal. Farewell.

Sidonius Aquilino suo salutem

IX.

To his friend Aquilinus c. A.D. 477

[1] In meo aere duco, vir omnium virtutum capacissime, si dignum tu quoque putas, ut quantas habemus amicitiarum causas, tantas habeamus ipsi amicitias, avitum est quod reposco; testes mihi in praesentiarum avi nostri super hoc negotio Apollinaris et Rusticus advocabuntur, quos laudabili familiaritate coniunxerat litterarum dignitatum, periculorum conscientiarum similitudo, cum in Constantino inconstantiam, in Iovino facilitatem, in Gerontio perfidiam, singula in singulis, omnia in Dardano crimina simul execrarentur.

[1] I FIND it certainly to my advantage, friend capable of every virtue, and I trust you will feel the same, that we should have as many ties to bind us as we have reasons for being united. Such ties are hereditary in our families; I do but recall the experience of the past. Let me summon as my witnesses our grandfathers Rusticus and Apollinaris, whom like fortunes and aversions united in a noble friendship. They had a similar taste in letters, their characters were alike; they had enjoyed similar dignities and undergone the same dangers. They were equally agreed in detesting the inconstancy of Constantine, the irresolution of Jovinus, the perfidy of Gerontius; both singling out the fault proper to each person, and both finding in Dardanus the sum of all existing vices.

[2] aetate, quae media, patres nostri sub uno contubernio, vixdum a pueritia in totam adulescentiam evecti, principi Honorio tribuni notariique militavere tanta caritate peregrinantes, ut inter eos minima fuerit causa concordiae, quod filii amicorum commemorabantur.¹ in principatu Valentiniani imperatoris unus Galliarum praefuit parti, alter soliditati; sed ita se quodam modo tituli amborum compensatione fraterna ponderaverunt, ut prior fuerit fascium tempore 2 qui erat posterior dignitate.

[2] If we come down to the years between their time and our own, we find our fathers brought up together from their tender youth until they came to manhood. In Honorius' reign, as tribunes and secretaries, they served abroad together in such close comradeship that among all the grounds of their agreement the fact that their own fathers had been friends appeared to be the least. Under Valentinian, one of the two ruled all Gaul, the other only a region of it; even so they managed to balance their dignities with a fraternal equilibrium; the one who held the lower rank had seniority in office.

[3] ventum ad nos id est ventum est ad nepotes, quos nil decuerit plus cavere, quam ne parentum antiquorumque nostrorum per nos forte videatur antiquata dilectio, ad hoc in similem familiaritatem praeter hereditariam praerogativam

multifaria opportunitate compellimur; aetas utrius- que 1 non minus iuncta quam patria; unus nos exercuit ludus, magister instituit; una nos laetitia dissolvit, severitas cohercuit, disciplina formavit.

[3] And now the old tradition comes down to us grandsons, whose dearest care it should be to prevent the affection of our parents and our forefathers from suffering any diminution in our persons. But there are ties of all kinds, over and above that of this hereditary friendship, which needs must bring us close together; we are linked by equality of years no less than by identity of birthplace; we played and learned together, shared the same discipline and relaxation, and were trained by the same rule.

[4] de cetero, si deus annuit, in annis iam senectutis initia pulsanibus, simus, nisi respuis, animae duae, animus unus, imbuamusque liberos invicem diligentes 2 idem velle nolle, refugere sectari, hoc patrum vero iam supra vota, si per Rusticum Apollinaremque proavorum praedicabilium tam reformatur corda quam nomina, vale,

[4] So then, for what remains of life now that our years touch upon the threshold of age, let us under the providence of God be two persons with but a single mind; and let us instil into our sons the same mutual regard: let us see that the objects which they desire and refuse, pursue or shun, are the same. It would indeed crown our vows if the boys who bear the honoured names of Rusticus and Apollinaris renewed within their breasts the hearts of those illustrious ancestors. Farewell.

Sidonius Sapaudo suo salutem

X.

To his friend Sapaudus (No indication of date)

[1] Si quid omnino Pragmatius illustris, hoc inter reliquas animi virtutes optime facit, quod amore studiorum te singulariter amat, in quo solo vel maxume animum advertit veteris peritiae diligentiaeque resedissee vestigia, equidem non iniuria tibi fautor est; nam debetur ab eo percopiosus litteris honor.

[1] AMONG all the virtues of the illustrious Pragmatius, I place this first, that his enthusiasm for letters inspires him with an ardent admiration for you. He finds in you the last traces of the antique industry and accomplishment; and it is only right that he should show you favour, since few men owe a greater debt to literature than he.

[2] hunc olim perorantem et rhetorica sedilia plausibili oratione frangentem socer eloquens ultro in familiam patriciam adscivit, licet illi ad hoc, ut sileam de genere vel censu, aetas venustas pudor patrocinaerentur. sed, ut comperi, erubescere iam etiam 1 tunc vir serius et formae dote placuisse, quippe cui merito ingenii suffecisset adamari. et vere 2 optimus quisque morum praestantius pulchritudine placet; porro autem praetervolantia corporis decora currentis aevi profectu defectuque labascunt. hunc quoque manente sententia Galliis post praefectus Priscus Valerianus consiliis suis tribunalibusque sociavit, iudicium antiquum perseverantissime tenens, ut cui scientiae obtentu iunxerat subolem, iungeret et dignitatem.

[2] When he was a young man his persuasive eloquence won such applause in the schools of rhetoric, that Priscus Valerianus, himself reputed for his oratorical skill, made him his son-in-law, and adopted him into his patrician family. Besides his youth, his birth and means, Pragmatius had good looks, and an engaging modesty which enlisted people's sympathy. Even at that age he was of a serious disposition and felt the shame of making his way by a handsome face when he would have been better content to attract by his qualities of mind and character. And indeed a beautiful nature is the best key to men's hearts; bodily charm is transient; as years advance and life wanes, it falls away. When Priscus Valerianus was made Prefect of the Gauls, his opinion of his adopted son remained unaltered, indeed he clung to it with pertinacity. He associated him with himself in council-chamber and court, resolved that the accomplishments which had been admitted to share his family life should also share in the enhancement of his dignity.

[3] tua vero tam clara, tam spectabilis dictio est, ut illi divisio Palaemonis gravitas Gallionis, abundantia Delphidii Agroecii disciplina, fortitudo Alcimi Adelphii teneritudo, rigor Magni dulcedo Victorii non modo non superiora

sed vix aequiperabilia scribant, sane ne videar tibi sub hoc quasi hyperbolico rhetorum catalogo blanditus quippiam gratificatusque, solam tibi acrimoniam Quintiliani pompamque 1 Palladii comparari non ambigo 2 sed potius adquiesco.

[3] Your own style is so admirable and lucid, that far from surpassing it, the great orators, with all their qualities, can hardly attain its level — not the logical Palaemon, the austere Gallic, the opulent Delphidius, the methodical Agroecius, the virile Alcimius, the charming Adelphius, the rigid Magnus, the agreeable Victorius. It is far from my desire to cajole or flatter you with this hyperbolic list of rhetors, but in my opinion only Quintilian in his force and his intensity, or Palladius with his splendid manner, can fairly be compared with you; and even that comparison I should not urge — I should merely yield it acquiescence.

[4] quapropter si quis post vos Latiae favet eruditioni, huic amicitiae gratias agit et sodalitati vestrae, si quid hominis habet, tertius optat adhiberi, quamquam, quod est gravius, non sit satis ambitus iste fastidium vobis excitaturus, quia pauci studia nunc honorant, simul et naturali vitio fixum est radicatumque pectoribus humanis, ut qui non intellegunt artes non mirentur artifices, vale.

[4] If after you there shall be any other adept of Roman eloquence, he will be deeply grateful to that friendship with Valerianus, and if he is half a man, will long to be admitted as a third to your society. Such a wish could never prove a source of annoyance to you, since there are now, alas! so few who have any respect for polite studies. And it is a defect rooted and fixed in human nature, to think little of the artist when you know nothing of the art. Farewell.

Sidonius Potenti No suo salutem

XI.

To his friend Potentinus c. A. D. 467

[1] Multum te amamus; et quidem huiusce dilectionis non est erroneus aut fortuitus affectus. namque ut sodalis tibi devinctior fierem, iudicavi, est enim consuetudinis meae, ut eligam ante, post diligam, quatenus, inquis, in me tibi probanda placuere?

[1] I AM your devoted friend, and my devotion was born neither of caprice nor error. Before I linked myself to you in close friendship, I pondered well; it is my habit to choose first, and give my heart afterwards. 'But what on earth ', you will say, 'did you see to like in me?'

[2] dicam libenter et breviter, quorum unum fieri gratia, alterum charta compellit. veneror in actionibus tuis, quod multa bono cuique imitabilia geris, colis ut qui sollertissime; aedificas ut qui dispositissime; venaris ut qui efficacissime; pascis ut qui exactissime; iocaris ut qui facetissime; iudicas ut qui aequisime; suades ut qui sincerissime; commoveris ut qui tardissime; placaris ut qui celerrime; redamas ut qui fidelissime.

[2] I will answer gladly and in two words: gladly, for you are my friend; briefly, because my space is small. What I respect in your career is this; you do so many things that every reasonable man would like to imitate. You cultivate your estates as an expert; you build with the utmost method, you are an unerring hunter, your hospitality is perfection, your wit is of the first order, your judgements are absolutely fair; you are sincere in persuasion, very slow to wrath, very quickly appeased, very loyal after reconciliation.

[3] haec omnia exempla vivendi iam hinc ab annis puberibus meus Apollinaris si sequitur, gaudeo; certe ut sequatur, admoneo, in quo docendo instituendoque, modo sub ope Christi disposita succedant, plurimum laetor maximam me formulam vitae de moribus tuis mutuaturum. vale.

[3] I shall rejoice if when he grows up my young Apollinaris copies these several qualities; it shall not be for want of urging on my part if he fails. Let Christ but grant me success in my plans for his training and instruction, and it will not be my least satisfaction to have borrowed from your character the chief ensample of life which I set before him. Farewell.

Sidonius Calminio suo salutem

XII.

To his friend Calminius A. D. 474

[1] Quod rarius ad vos a nobis pagina meat, non nostra superbia sed aliena impotentia facit, neque super his quicquam planius quaeras, quippe cum silentii huius necessitatem par apud vos metus interpretetur, hoc solum tamen libere gemo, quod turbine dissidentium partium segreges facti mutuo minime fruimur aspectu, neque umquam patriae sollicitis offerris obtutibus, nisi forsitan cum ad arbitrium terroris alieni vos loricae, nos propugnacula tegunt, ubi ipse in hoc solum captivus adducens, ut pharetras sagittis vacuare, lacrimis oculos implere cogaris, nobis quoque non recusantibus, quod tua satis aliud moliuntur vota quam iacula.

[1] It is no foolish pride of mine, but this alien dominance which makes my letters so few and far between; do not expect me to speak out; your own fears, similar to mine, explain the need for silence. One thing, however, I may freely lament, that sundered as we are by this whirlwind of warring forces, we have practically no chance of meeting one another. Alas! your harassed country never sees you except when the alien's formidable command bids you hide yourself in armour, while we on our side are covered by our ramparts. At such time you are led against your native land, an unwilling captive, to empty your quiver against us while your eyes fill with tears. We bear you no ill will; we know that your prayers are otherwise directed than your missiles.

[2] sed quia interdum etsi non per foederum veritatem, saltem per indutiarum imaginem quaedam spei nostrae libertatis fenestra resplendet, impense flagito, uti nos, cum maxime potes, affatu paginae frequentis impertias, sciens tibi in animis obsessorum civium illam manere gratiam, quae obliviscatur obsidentis invidiam, vale.

[2] But as from time to time, without ratification of any treaty some semblance of a truce opens for us a casement on our darkness, bright with hope of liberation, I entreat you to let us hear from you as often as you can; for be sure that our besieged citizens preserve the kindest thoughts of you and manage to forget the hateful part you play as their besieger. Farewell.

Sidonius Pannychio suo salutem

XIII.

To his friend Pannychius * A. D. 469

[1] Seronatum Tolosa nosti redire? si nondum, et credo quod nondum, vel per haec disce, iam Clausetiam pergit Euanthius iamque contractas operas cogit cruderare, si quid forte deiectu caducae frondis agger insorduit. certe si quid voraginosum est, ipse humo advecta scrobibus oppletis trepidus exaequat, utpote beluam suam de valle Tarnis ducaliter antecessurus, musculis similis inter saxosa vel brevia ballaenarum corpulentiam praeguber-nantibus.

[1] HAVE you heard that Seronatus is coming back from Toulouse? If you have not (and I hardly think you have), learn it from these presents. Evanthius is hurrying to Clausetia, making passable the parts of the road in the contractor's hands, and clearing it wherever it is choked with fallen leaves. When he finds any part of the surface full of holes, he rushes in a panic with spadefuls of soil and fills them with his own hands; his business is to conduct his monster from the valley of the Tarn, like the pilot-fish that leads the bulky whale through shoals and rocky waters.

[2] at ille sic ira celer, quod-piger mole, ceu draco e specu vix evolutus iam metu exdnguibus Gabalitanis e proximo infertur; quos singulos sparsos inoppidatos nunc inauditis indictionum generibus exhaurit, nunc flexuosa calumniarum fraude circumretit, ne tum quidem domum laboriosos redire permittens, cum tributum annuum datavere.

[2] But lo! the monster, swift to wrath and slow to move by reason of his bulk, no sooner appears like a dragon uncoiling from his cave, than he makes immediate descent upon the pallid folk of Javols, whose cheeks are pale with fear. They had scattered on all sides, abandoning their townships; and now he drains them dry by new and unparalleled imposts, or takes them in the mesh of calumny; even when they have paid their annual tribute more than once, he refuses to let these unhappy victims return to their homes.

[3] signum et hoc certum est imminenti adventus, quod catervatim, quo se cumque converterit, vincti trahuntur vincula trahentes; quorum dolore laetatur, pascitur fame, praecipue pulchrum arbitratus ante turpare quam punire damnandos; crinem viris nutrit, mulieribus incidit; e quibus tamen si rara quosdam venia respexerit, hos venalitas solvit, vanitas illos, nullos misericordia, sed explicandae bestiae tali nec oratorum princeps Marcus Arpinas nec poetarum Publius Mantuanus sufficere possunt.

[3] The sure sign of his impending arrival in any district is the appearance of prisoners in troops, dragging their chains along. The anguish of these men is

joy to him; their hunger is his food; and he finds his peculiar pleasure in subjecting them to ignominy before their sentence. He compels the men to grow long hair, and off cuts the hair of the women. If here and there a prisoner receives a pardon, it is through his vanity or his corruption, and never through his mercy. Not even the prince of orators or the prince of poets could describe so dire a creature: Marcus of Arpinum and Publius of Mantua would be impotent alike.

[4] proinde quia dicitur haec ipsa perniciēs appropinquare, cuius proditiōibus deus obviet, praeveni morbum providētiaē salubritate contraque lites iurgiosorum, si quae moventur, pactionibus consule, contra tributa securitatibus, ne malus homo rebus bonorum vel quod noceat vel quod praestet inveniāt. in summa, de Seronato vis accipere quid sentiam? ceteri affligi per suprascriptum damno verentur; mihi latronis et beneficia suspecta sunt. vale.

[4] This pest (whose treasons God confound!) is said to be now on his way; anticipate his onset by salutary precautions; if there is talk of suits, compound with the litigious enemy; provide yourself with guarantees against new imposts, and prevent this worst of men from compromising the affairs of worthy people by his favour or ruining them by his enmity. I will sum up in these words my opinion of Seronatus: others fear some crushing blow at the brigand's hands; to me his very benefits are suspicious. Farewell.

* Translated by Hodgkin, ii. 338; and Fertig, i. p. 20.

Sidonius Apro suo Salutem.

XIV.

To his friend Aper A.D. 472-3

[1] Calentes 1 nunc te Baiae et scabris cavernatim ructata pumicibus aqua sulphuris atque iecorosis ac phthisiscentibus languidis medicabilis piscina delectat? an fortasse montana sedes circum castella et in eligenda sede perfugii quamdam pateris ex munitionum frequentia difficultatem? quicquid illud est, quod vel otio vel negotio vacas, in urbem tamen, nisi fallimur, rogationum contemplatione revocabere.

[1] ARE you taking your ease in your sunny Baiae, where the sulphurous water rushes from hollows of the porous rock, and the baths are so beneficial to those who suffer either in the lungs or liver? Or are you ‘camped among the mountain castles’, looking for a place of refuge, and perhaps embarrassed by the number of strongholds you find to choose from? Whatever the cause of your delay, whether you are making holiday or going about your business, I feel sure that the thought of the forthcoming Rogations will bring you back to town.

[2] quarum nobis sollemnitatem primus Mamertus pater et pontifex reverentissimo 2 exemplo, utilissimo experimento invenit instituit invexit. erant quidem prius, quod salva fidei pace sit dictum, vagae tepentes infrequentesque utque sic dixerim oscitabundae supplicationes, quae saepe interpellantum prandiorum obicibus hebetabantur, maxime aut imbres aut serenitatem deprecaturae; ad quas, ut nil amplius dicam, figulo pariter atque hortuloni non oportuit convenire.

[2] It was Mamertus our father in God and bishop who first designed, arranged, and introduced the ceremonial of these prayers, setting a precedent we should all revere, and making an experiment which has proved of the utmost value. We had public prayers of a sort before, but (be it said without offence to the faithful) they were lukewarm, irregular, perfunctory, and their fervour was destroyed by frequent interruption for refreshment; and as they were chiefly for rain or for fine weather, to say the least of it, the potter and the market-gardener could never decently attend together!

[3] in his autem, quas suprafatus summus sacerdos nobis et protulit pariter et contulit, ieiunatur oratur, psallitur fletur. ad haec te festa cervicum humiliatarum et sternacium civium suspiriosa contubernia peto; et, si spiritalem animum tuum bene metior, modo citius venies, quando non ad epulas sed ad lacrimas evocaris. vale.

[3] But in the Rogations which our holy father has instituted and conferred

upon us, we fast, we pray with tears, we chant the psalms. To such a feast, where penitential sighs are heard from all the congregation, where heads are humbly bowed, and forms fall prostrate, I invite you; and if I rightly gauge your spirit, you will only respond the quicker because you are called in place of banquets to a festival of tears. Farewell.

Sidonius Ruricio suo salutem

XV.

To his friend Ruricius (No indication of date)

[1] Officii sermone praefato bybliopolam nostrum 1 non gratiose sed iudicialiter expertus insinuo, cuius ut fidem in pectore, sic in opere celeritatem circa dominum te 2 mihi sibiue communem satis abunde probavi, librum igitur hic ipse deportat heptateuchi, scriptum velocitate summa, summo nitore, quamquam et a nobis relectum et retractatum. defert volumen et prophetarum, licet me absente decursum, sua tamen cura manue de supervacuis sentiis cruderatum, nec semper illo contra legente, qui promiserat operam suam; credo, quia infirmitas fuerit impedimento, quominus pollicita compleret.

[1] THE usual salutations over, I at once urge upon your notice the claims of our bookseller, because I have made discriminating and unbiased trial of the man, proving him to my complete satisfaction at once loyal in sentiment and alert in service to our common master — yourself. He brings in person the manuscript of the Heptateuch all written out by his own hand with the utmost neatness and rapidity, though I read it through myself, and made corrections. He also brings a volume of the Prophets; this was edited by him in my absence, and with his own hand purged of corrupt additions. The scholar who had promised him assistance in reading out from another text, was only able to perform his task in part; I fancy illness prevented him from carrying out his undertaking.

[2] restat, ut exhortatio vestra seu sponsio famulum sic vel studentem placere vel meritum gratia competenti remuneretur; quae utique pro tali labore si solvitur, incipiet ad vestram respicere mercedem, sed cum hoc ego de sola gratia precer, vos quid mereatur aspiciate quem constat affectum domini magis ambire quam praemium, vale.

[2] It remains for you by encouragement or promise of your influence to show appropriate recognition of a servant who has done his best to satisfy, and deserves to succeed; and if this is in proportion to his arduous task, he will soon begin to look for his reward. All that I ask for the moment is your benevolence towards him; it is for you to decide what he deserves, though indeed I think the good opinion of his master is far nearer to his heart than any recompense. Farewell.

Sidonius Papianillae Suae salutem

XVI.

To [his wife] *Papianilla** A. D. 474

[1] Ravenna veniens quaestor Licinianus, cum primum tetigit Alpe transmissa Galliae solum, litteras adventus sui praevias misit, quibus indicat esse se gerulum codicillorum, quorum in adventu fratri etiam tuo Ecdicio, cuius aequae titulis ac meis gaudes, honor patricius accedit, celerrime, si cogites eius aetatem, si merita, tardissime, namque ille iam pridem suffragium dignitatis ineundae non solvit in lance sed in acie, aerariumque publicum ipse privatus non pecuniis sed manubiis locupletavit.

[1] THE moment the Quaestor Licinianus, coming from Ravenna, had crossed the Alps and set foot on Gaulish soil, he sent a message in advance to make it known that he was bearer of imperial letters patent conferring the title of Patrician on Ecdicius. I know that your brother's honours delight you no less than my own; considering his years, he has attained this one very early; considering his deserts, very late. For he earned the dignity he is now to receive long ago, by service in the field and not by purchase; and though only a private citizen, poured into the treasury no mere contribution, but sums like spoils of war.

[2] hoc tamen sancte Iulius Nepos, armis pariter summus Augustus ac moribus, quod decessoris Anthemii fidem fratris tui sudoribus obligatam, quo citior, hoc laudabilior absolvit; siquidem iste complevit, quod ille saepissime pollicebatur, quo fit, ut deinceps pro republica optimus quisque possit ac debeat, si quid cuiquam virium est, quia securus, hinc avidus impendere, quandoquidem mortuo quoque imperatore laborantium devotioni quicquid spoponderit princeps, semper redhibet principatus.

[2] Julius Nepos, true Emperor in character no less than prowess, has done nobly in keeping the pledged word of his predecessor Anthemius that the labours of your brother should be recognized; his action is all the more laudable for the promptitude with which he has fulfilled a promise reiterated so often by another. In future the best men in the State will feel able, nay, rather, will feel bound, to spend their strength with the utmost ardour for the commonweal, assured that even should the prince who promised die, the Empire itself will be responsible, and pay the debt due to their devotion and self-sacrifice.

[3] interea tu, si affectum tuum bene colligo, hisce compertis magnum solacium inter adversa maxima capis nec animum tuum a tramite communium gaudiorum vicinae quoque obsidionis terror exorbitat. novi enim probe ne meo quidem te, quem ex lege participas, sic honore laetatam, quia, licet sis

uxor bona, soror optima es. qua de re propitio deo 1 Christo ampliatus prosapiae tuae titulos ego festinus gratatoriis apicibus inscripsi, pariter absolvens sollicitudinem tuam, fratris pudorem; quem nil de propria dignitate indicaturum, si verecundum forte nescires, nec sic impium iudicares.

[3] Knowing your affectionate nature, I am convinced that even in the very midst of our adversities this news will bring great consolation, and that not even the imminent dread of siege will divert your mind from the path of a joy common to us all. For I am sure you were never quite so gratified by any of my own honours, in which you legally shared; good wife as you have always been, you are the best sister that man ever had. That is why I have not lost an instant in sending my letter of congratulation on this enhancement of dignity which Christ has permitted to your family. I satisfy alike your solicitude and your brother's modesty. He will be sure to say nothing of this promotion; but even if you did not know his unassuming nature, you would not blame him for lack of brotherly feeling.

[4] ego vero non tantum insignibus vestris, quae tu hactenus quanto liberius, tanto impatientius praestolabare (quamquam his quoque granditer), quantum concordia fruar; quam parem nostris suisque liberis in posterum exopto, votis 2 in commune deposcens, ut sicut nos utramque familiam nostram praefectoriam nanti etiam patriciam divino favore reddidimus, ita ipsi quam suscipiunt patriciam faciant consularem.

[4] As far as I am concerned, I derive great satisfaction from these new distinctions which you have awaited with unconcealed impatience; but I derive a greater yet from the brotherly union which exists between Ecdicius and myself. It is my ardent wish that our children and his may live in equal harmony; and I pray in our common name that just as we of this generation were born into prefectorian families, and have been enabled by divine favour to elevate them to patrician rank, so they in their turn may exalt the patrician to the consular dignity.

[5] Roscia salutatur, cura communis; quae in aviae amitarumque indulgentissimo sinu, quod raro nepotibus contingit alendis,³ et cum severitate nutritur. qua tamen tenerum non infirmatur aevum sed informatur ingenium, vale.

[5] Little Roscia, our joint care, sends you her love; she has the rare advantage of being brought up by her grandmother and her aunts, who temper their great indulgence with strictness, forming her character, yet not asking too much of her tender years. Farewell.

* Translated by Hodgkin, ii. 346-8.

Sidonius Eriphio suo salutem

XVII.

*To his friend Eriphius * A. D. 461-7*

[1] Es, Eriphi meus, ipse qui semper numquamque te tantum venatio civitas ager avocat, ut non obiter litterarum voluptate tenere; fitque eo studio, ut nec nostra fastidias, qui tibi, ut scribis, Musas olemus. quae sententia tamen large probatur vero carere, quamque 1 et 2 apparet aut ex ioco venire, si laetus es, aut ex amore, si serius, ceterum a iusto longe resultat, cum mihi assignas 3 quae vix Maroni vix 4 aut Homero competenter accommodarentur.

[1] You are the same man still, my dear Eriphius; the pleasures of the chase, the amenities of town or country are never allowed to lure you so far that in your hour the charm of letters will not win you back. That devotion it is which bids you tolerate even me, whom you are good enough to describe as redolent of the Muses. If you were in a frivolous mood when you wrote so, you jest at my expense; if in sober earnest, your regard for me has blinded your eyes, for it needs no demonstration to prove your judgement at fault. Really, you go much too far when you use of me expressions hardly appropriate to a Homer or a Virgil.

[2] haec relinquamus idque, unde causa, sermocinemur. dirigi ad te praecipis versus, quos viri amplissimi, soceri tui, precibus indulsi; qui contubernio mixtus aequalium vivit moribus ad iubendum obsequendum-que iuxta paratis, sed quia scire desideras et locum et causam, quo facilius intellegas rem perexiguam, tibi potius vitio verte, quod loquacior erit opere praefatio.

[2] I leave these kindly exaggerations, and pass to the proper subject of my letter. You bid me send you the verses which I was weak enough to compose at the request of your most distinguished father-in-law, who understands the art of so living with his fellows as to command or obey with equal ease. Blame yourself if words run away with me, and I relate an insignificant event at greater length than it deserves; you insist on a picture of the scene and all that occurred, since your illness prevented you from being with us.

[3] conveneramus ad sancti Iusti sepul- 1 quamque L: quāq P: quamquam TC: quanquam MF: namque coni. Luetjohann. 2 om. Wilamowitz. 3 assignat T. 4 vix seclud. Luetjohann. chrūm (sed tibi infirmitas impedimento, 1 ne tunc adesses); processio fuerat antelucana, sollemnitas anniversaria, populus ingens sexu ex utroque, quem capacissima basilica non caperet quamlibet cincta diffusis cryptoportibus. cultu peracto vigiliarum, quas alternante mulcedine monachi clericique psalmicines concelebraverant, quisque in diversa secessimus, non procul tamen, utpote ad tertiam praesto futuri, cum sacerdotibus res divina facienda;

[3] We had assembled at the tomb of S. Justus; the annual procession before daylight was over, attended by a vast crowd of both sexes which even that great church could not hold with all its cincture of galleries. After Vigils were ended, chanted alternately by the monks and clerics, the congregation separated; we could not go far off, as we had to be at hand for the next service at Tierce, when the priests were to celebrate the Mass.

[4] de loci sane turbarumque compressu deque numerosis luminibus inlatis nimis anhelis; simul et aestati nox adhuc proxima tecto 2 clausos vapore torruerat, etsi iam primo frigore tamen autumnalis Aurorae de-tescebat. itaque cum passim varia ordinum corpora dispergerentur, placuit ad conditorium Syagrii consulis civium primis una coire, quod nec impleto iactu sagittae separabatur. hic pars sub umbra palmitis adulti, quam stipitibus altatis cancellatimque pendentibus pampinus superducta texuerat, pars caespite in viridi sed floribus odore consedaramus.

[4] We felt oppressed by the crowding in a confined space, and by the great number of lights which had been brought in. It was still almost summer, and the night was so sultry that it suffocated us, imprisoned as we were in that steaming atmosphere; only the first freshness of the autumn dawn brought some welcome relief. Groups of the different classes dispersed in various directions, the principal citizens assembling at the monument of Syagrius, which is hardly a bowshot from the church. Some of us sat down under an old vine, the stems of which were trained trellis-wise and covered with leaves and drooping fronds; others sat on the grass odorous with the scent of flowers.

[5] verba erant dulcia iocosa fatigatoria; praeterea, quod beatissimum, nulla mentio de potestatibus aut de tributis, nullus sermo qui proderetur, nulla persona quae proderet.1 fabulam certe referre dignam relatu dignisque sententiis quisque potuisset: audiebatur ambitiosissime; nec erat idcirco non distincta narratio, quia laetitia permixta, inter haec otio diu 2 marcidis aliquid agere visum.

[5] The talk was enlivened with amusing jests and pleasantries; above all (and what a blessed thing it was!), there was not a word about officials or taxes, not an informer among us to betray, not a syllable worth betrayal. Every one was free to tell any story worth relating and of a proper tenor; it was a most appreciative audience; the vein of gaiety was not allowed to spoil the distinct relation of each tale. After a time, we felt a certain slackness through keeping still so long, and we voted for some more active amusement.

[6] mox bipertitis, erat ut aetas, acclamationibus efflagitata profertur his pila, his tabula, sphaerae primus ego signifer fui, quae mihi, ut nosti, non minus libro comes habetur, altera ex parte frater meus Domnicus, 3 homo gratiae summae, summi leporis, tesseras ceperat quatiebatque, quo velut classico ad pyrgum vocabat aleatores. nos cum caterva scholasticorum lusimus abunde,

quantum 4 membra torpore statarii laboris hebetata cursu salubri vegetarentur.

[6] We soon split into two groups, according to our ages: one shouted for the ball, the other for the board-game, both of which were to be had. I was the leader of the ball-players; you know that book and ball are my twin companions. In the other group, the chief figure was our brother Domnicus, that most engaging and attractive of men: there he was, rattling some dice which he had got hold of, as if he sounded a trumpet-call to play. The rest of us had a great game with a party of students, doing our best at the healthful exercise with limbs which sedentary occupations made much too stiff for running.

[7] hic vir inlustris Philomatius, ut est illud Mantuani poetae, ausus et ipse manu iuvenum temptare laborem, sphaeristarum se turmalibus constanter immiscuit, pulchre enim hoc fecerat, sed cum adhuc essent anni minores, qui cum frequenter de loco stantum medii currentis impulsu summovertetur, nunc quoque acceptus in aream tam pilae coram praetervolantis quam superiectae nec intercideret 1 tramitem nec caveret ac 2 per catastropham saepe pronatus aegre de ruinoso flexu se recolligeret, primus ludi ab accentu sese removit suspiriosus extis incalescentibus. namque et iecusculi fibra tumente pungebant exercitatum crebri dolores.

[7] And now the illustrious Filimatus sturdily flung himself into the squadrons of the players, like Virgil's hero 'daring to set his hand to the task of youth'; he had been a splendid player himself in his younger years. But over and over again he was forced from his position among the stationary players by the shock of some runner from the middle, and driven into the midfield where the ball flew past him, or was thrown over his head; and he failed to intercept or parry it. More than once he fell prone, and had to pick himself up from such collapses as best he could; naturally he was the first to withdraw from the stress of the game in a state of internal inflammation, out of breath from exercise and suffering sharp pains in the side from the swollen fibres of his liver.

[8] destiti protinus et ipse, facturus communione cessandi rem caritatis, ne vere- cundiam lassitudo fraterna pateretur, ergo, ut resedimus,¹ [et] 2 illum mox aquam ad faciem petere sudor admonuit: exhibita poscenti est, pariter et linteum villis onustum, quod pridiana squama politum casu sub ipsius aediculae valvis bipatientibus de ianitoris erecto trochleatim fune nutabat.

[8] Thereupon I left off too. It was done from delicacy; if I stopped at the same time, my brother would be spared a feeling of mortification at being so soon exhausted. Well, while we were sitting down, he found himself in such a perspiration that he called for water to bathe his face. They brought it, with a shaggy towel which had been washed after yesterday's use, and had been swinging on a line worked by a pulley near the doors of the porter's lodge.

[9] quo dum per otium genas siccant: 'vellem,' inquit, 'ad pannum similis officii aliquod tetrastichon mihi scribi iuberet.' 'fiat,' inquam. 'sed quod meum,' dixit,³ 'et nomen metro teneret.' respondi possibilia factu quae poposcisset. ait 4 et ipse: 'dicta ergo.' tunc ego arridens: 'ilico scias Musas moveri, si choro ipsarum non absque arbitris vacem.' respondit ille violenter et perurbane, ut est natura vir flammeus quidamque facundiae fons inexhaustus: 'vide, domine Solii, ne magis Apollo forte moveatur, quod suas alumnas solus ad secreta sollicitas.' iam potes nosse, quem plausum sententia tam repentina, tam lepida commovent.

[9] As Filimatus was leisurely drying his cheeks, he said: 'I wish you would dictate a pair of couplets in honour of a cloth which has done me such a noble turn.' 'Very well,' I replied. 'But you must get my name in,' he rejoined. I said that there would be no difficulty in that. 'Dictate away, then.' I smiled; 'I would have you know', I said, 'that the Muses are upset if I frequent their company before witnesses.' At this he burst out in his explosive but delightful way (you know his ardent nature, and what an inexhaustible flow of wit he has): 'Beware, my lord Sollius! Apollo may be still more upset if you tempt his pupils to secret interviews all alone.' You can imagine the applause aroused by a retort as neat as it was instantaneous.

[10] nec plus moratus mox suo scriba, qui pugillarem iuxta tenebat, ad me vocato subditum sic epigramma composui: Mane novo seu cum ferventia balnea poscunt seu cum venatu frons calefacta madet, hoc foveat pulcher faciem Filimatus udam, migret ut in bibulum vellus ab ore liquor. Epiphanius noster vix superscripta peraraverat, et nuntiatum est hora monente progredi episcopum de receptorio, nosque surreximus.

[10] I wasted no more time, but called up his secretary, who was at hand with his tablets, and dictated the following epigram:

'At dawn, or when the seething bath invites, or when the hot chase beads the brow, may goodly Filimatus with this cloth cherish his face till all the perspiration flows into the thirsty fleece.'

Our good friend Epiphanius the secretary had hardly taken down the lines, when they came to tell us that our time was up, and that the bishop was leaving his retreat; we therefore rose to go.

[11] da postulatae tu veniam cantilenae. illud autem ambo, quod maius est quodque me nuper in quendam dies bonos male ferentem parabolice seu figurate dictare iussistis quodque expeditum cras dirigetur, clam recensete; et, si placet, edentes fovete; si displicet, delentes ignoscitote. vale.

[11] You must not be too critical of verses written thus to order. It is another matter with the longer poem which some time ago you two asked me to write in a hyperbolical and figured style on the man who bore good fortune ill. I

shall send it off to-morrow for your private revision. If you both approve of it, you can then publish it under your auspices; if you condemn, you can tear it up and forgive me as best you can. Farewell.

* The greater part translated by Guizot, *Hist, de la civilisation en France*, ed. 1846, i. 95-7; and by Fertig, Part ii, pp. 39-40.

Sidonius Attalo suo salutem

XVIII.

To his friend Attalus (No indication of date)

Haeduae civitati te praesidere coepisse libens atque cum gaudio accepi, laetitiae causa quadri-partita est: prima, quod amicus; secunda, quod iustus es; tertia, quod severus; quarta, quod proximus, quo fit, ut nostris nostrorumque contractibus plurimum tibi velis debeas possis opitulari, igitur amplectens in familiari vetusto novum ius potestatis indeptae materiam beneficiis tuis iam diu quaero, quibus me tantum fidere agnosce, ut, etsi non invenio quae poscam, quaesiturus mihi videaris ipse quae tribuas. vale.

[1] I WAS delighted to hear that you have consented to preside over the destinies of Autun. I am glad for several reasons; first, you are my friend; second, you are a just man; third, you are not to be trifled with; fourth, you will be quite near us. You will now have not only the inclination to help our people and further their affairs, but the duty and the power of doing so. In my satisfaction at seeing an old acquaintance invested with new authority, I am already looking round for objects on which you may exercise your benevolence. For understand, I feel so sure of it, that if I fail to find anything to ask for, I shall expect you to make me a suggestion yourself. Farewell.

Sidonius Pudenti suo salutem

XIX.

To his friend Pudens c. A. D. 472

[1] Nutricis meae filiam filius tuae rapuit: facinus indignum quodque nos vosque inimicasset, nisi protinus scissem te nescisse faciendum, sed conscientiae tuae purgatione praelata 2 petere dignaris culpaе calentis impunitatem, sub condicione concedo: si stupratorem pro domino iam patronus originali solvas inquilinatu.

[1] THE son of your nurse has eloped with the daughter of mine. It is a shameful action, and one which would have destroyed our friendly relations, had I not learned at once that you knew nothing of the man's intention. But though you are thus acquitted in advance, you yet do not scruple to ask that this crying offence should be allowed to go unpunished. I can only agree on one condition: that you promote the ravisher from his original servile state, by changing your relation to him from that of master to that of patron.

[2] mulier autem illa iam libera est; quae tum demum videbitur non ludibrio addicta sed assumpta coniugio, si reus noster, pro quo precaris, mox cliens factus e tributario plebeiam potius incipiat habere personam quam colonariam. nam meam haec sola seu compositio seu satisfactio vel 1 mediocriter contumeliam emendat; qui tuis votis atque amicitiiis hoc adquiesco, si laxat libertas maritum, ne constringat poena raptorem. vale.

[2] The woman is already free; but she will only be regarded as a lawful wife instead of a mere concubine if our criminal, whose cause you espouse, ceases to be your dependant and becomes your client, assuming the status of a freeman in place of that of a *colonus*. Nothing short of these terms or these amends will in the least condone the affront. I only yield to your request and your protestation of friendship on condition that, if as ravisher he is not to be bond to Justice, Liberty shall make him a free bridegroom. Farewell.

Sidonius Pastori suo salutem

XX.

To his friend Pastor A. D. 461-7

[1] Quod die hesterno tractatui civitatis in concilio defuisti, ex industria factum pars melior accepit, quae suspicata est id te cavere, ne tuis umeris onus futurae legationis imponeretur, gratulor tibi, quod istis moribus vivis, ut necesse habeas electionem tui timere; laudo efficaciam, suspicio prudentiam, prosequor laude felicitatem; opto denique aequalia his, quos aequaliter amo.

[1] YOUR absence from yesterday's business of the Municipal Council is thought by most to have been intentional; they suspect that you wished to avoid the burden of an embassy which might be laid upon your shoulders. I congratulate you on being so eligible a person as to live in constant fear of being elected. Your efficiency commands my applause, your prudence my admiration, your happy fortune my congratulations;

[2] multi frequenter, quos execrabilis popularitas agit, civium maximos manu prensant deque consessu publico : abducunt ac sequestratis oscula impingunt, operam suam spondent, sed non petiti; utque videantur in negotii communis assertionem 1 legari, evectionem refundunt ipsosque sumptus ultro recusant et ab ambitu clam rogant singulos, ut ab omnibus palam regentur.

[2] in fine, I wish no better lot than yours to every friend I love as well. Many men are possessed by a detestable thirst for popularity; you see them take the chief citizens by the hand, lead them aside from a meeting, and embrace them in a corner, promising good offices for which no one asked; you see them, in the hope of nomination as public envoys, refusing the usual travelling-allowance, and insisting on going at their own charges; secretly canvassing every member in turn, so that when the council meets, they may be sure of a unanimous and public invitation.

[3] sic quoque, cum fatigatio gratuita possit libenter admitti, libentius tamen 2 atque amabilius 3 verecundi leguntur, idque cum expensa; tantum impudentia sese ingerentum ponderis habet, etiam fasci cum tributario nomine ipsorum nil superfunditur. proinde quamquam non te fefellit, quid boni quique meditarentur, redde te tamen exspectantium votis expetentumque caritatem proba, qui iam probasti pudorem, quod defuisti primum, modestiae adscribitur; ad ignaviam respicit secunda dilatio.

[3] The consequence is that though people are pleased enough to be served for nothing, they find it in the long run pleasanter to choose a more modest representative, even at the cost of paying all expenses; the self-assertion of the volunteer becomes too irksome, even though his tenure of office throws no

burden on the town. Since, then, the intentions of our best citizens are now no secret to you, acquiesce, and meet their wishes; you have given proof enough of modesty; test the warm feelings of those who invite you. Your failure to appear was put down to your discretion; a repetition of such conduct would expose you to the charge of indifference.

[4] praeterea tibi Arelatem 4 profecturo est venerabilis in itinere mater fratres amantes redamantisque patriae solum, ad quod et praeter occasionem voluptuose venit; tum domus propria, cuius actorem, vineam messem olivetum, tectum quoque ipsum, vel dum praeterveharis, inspicere res commodi est. quapropter, missus a nobis, et tibi pervenis; namque erit talis viae tuae causaeque nostrae condicio, ni fallor, atque opportunitas, ut pro beneficio civitati posse imputare quandocumque 1 videaris, quod tuos videris, vale.

[4] Remember, too, that if you do go to Arles, you will be able to greet your venerable mother and your affectionate brothers on the way; you will greet the natal soil that returns love for love, and is doubly delightful when unexpectedly revisited. Then think how convenient it will be to see your agent, and to get even a passing glimpse of your own home, your vines, your olives, your cornfields, and the house itself. Though our envoy, you will yet be travelling for your own pleasure; altogether, this journey on city business should suit you admirably, and you will be able to thank the community for an excellent chance of getting a sight of your own people. Farewell.

Sidonius Sacerdoti et Iustino Suis salutem

Victorius patruus vester, vir, ut egregius, sic undecumque doctissimus, cum cetera potenter, tum potentissime condidit versus, mihi quoque semper a parvo cura Musarum; nunc vos parenti venitis heredes, quam iure, tam merito: ilicet ego poetae proximus fio professione, vos semine, ergo iustissimum est, ut diem functo 2 sic quisque nostrum succedat, ut iungitur, ideoque patrimonia tenete, date carmina, valete.

XXI.

To his friends Sacerdos and Justinus (No indication of date)

YOUR uncle Victorius, whose varied learning and eminence we so revered, always wrote with power, especially when he wrote verse. As you know, I too have been the servant of the Muses from my youth up. You are your uncle's heirs no less in merit than in law. But by right of poetry I am as much his kin as you by right of blood; we ought all of us, therefore, to share in the succession according to our several affinities. So keep the property for yourselves, but hand the poems over to me. Farewell.

BOOK VI

Sidonius Domino Papae Lupo salutem

I.

To the Lord Bishop Lupus A. D. 472*

[1] Benedicatur 1 spiritus sanctus et pater dei omnipotentis, quod tu, pater patrum et episcopus episcoporum et alter saeculi tui Iacobus, de quadam specula caritatis nec de inferiore Hierusalem tota ecclesiae dei nostri membra superinspicias, dignus qui omnes consoleris infirmos quique merito ab omnibus consularis, et quid nunc ego dignum dignationi huic, putris et fetida reatu terra, respondeam?

[1] BLESSED be the Holy Spirit and Father of Almighty God that we have you, father of fathers, bishop of bishops and the second James of your age, to look down upon every member of the Church from the eminence of your charity, as it were from another Jerusalem exalted high as the first; you, the consoler of all the feeble, the counsellor of all men, whose trust you so well deserve. And what answer can I make to one thus venerated, I who am as vile dust foul with sin?

[2] colloquii salutaris tui et indigentiam patiens et timorem recordatione vitae plectibilis adducor, ut clamem tibi quod dixit domino tuus ille collega: exi a me, quia homo peccator sum, domine, sed si iste timor non temperetur affectu, vereor, ne Gerasenorum destituatur exemplo et discedas a finibus meis. quin potius illud, quod mihi conducibilis est, conleprosi mei te proposita condicione constringam, ut aiam tibi: si vis, potes me mundare, qua ille sententia non plus de Christo quid peteret prodidit, quam quid crederet publicavit,

[2] Suffering deep need of your salutary converse, yet standing in great awe, I am driven by the memory of my guilty life to cry to you, as once that great colleague of yours cried to the Lord: 'Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord.' But if my dread is not tempered by love, I fear that I may be abandoned like the Gerasenes, and that you may go forth from my borders. Rather, for my greater profit, will I seek to bind you with the conditional prayer of that other leper: 'If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean;' in which words he both declared his need and published abroad his faith.

[3] ergone cum sis procul ambiguo primus omnium toto, qua patet, orbe pontificum, cum praerogativae subiciatur, cum censurae tuae adtremat etiam turba collegii, cum in gravitatis vestrae comparisonem ipsa etiam grandaeavorum corda puerascant, cum post desudatas militiae Lirinensis excubias et in apostolica sede novem iam decursa quinquennia utriusque sanctorum ordinis quendam te conclamatissimum primipilarem spiritualia castra venerentur, tu nihilominus hastatorum antesignanorumque paulisper

contubernio seque-stratus ultimos calones tuos lixasque non despicias et ad extimos trahariorum, qui per insipientiam suam adhuc ad carnis sarcinas sedent, crucis diu portatae vexilla circumfers ac manum linguae porrigis in conscientia vulneratis?

[3] For though you are beyond all doubt first of all bishops in the wide world; though even the throng of your colleagues submits to the prerogative which you enjoy, and trembles at your adverse judgement; though the hearts of the oldest among them are as the hearts of little children compared with yours; though your hard vigils in the spiritual warfare at Lerins, and the nine lustres passed in your apostolic see have made you a veteran honoured in the camps of the Church, and the captain of our vanguard whom every soldier acclaims — yet you never hesitate to leave the first line awhile and those who fight before it; you do not despise camp-follower and servant, but to the meanest of the baggage-train, who for their ignorant simplicity still sit beside the loads of the flesh, you carry the standard of the cross which you have borne so long, and to their stricken souls extend the Word, as it were a hand of rescue.

[4] nosti, ut apparet, ex adversa acie sauciatos, dux veterane, colligere et peritissimus tubicen ad Christum a peccatis receptui canere; et euangelici pastoris exemplo non amplius laetaris, si permaneant sani, quam si non remaneant desperati. te ergo, norma morum, te, columna virtutum, te, si blandiri reis licet, vera, quia sancta, dulcedo, despicatissimi vermis ulcera digitis exhortationis contrectare non piguit; tibi avaritiae non fuit pascere monitis animam fragilitate ieiunam et de apotheca dilectionis altissimae sectandae nobis humilitatis propinare mensuram.

[4] They say, dear veteran leader, that you gather to you even the enemy's wounded, sounding the retreat from Sin to Christ after the manner of a consummate trumpeter, and like the Shepherd of the Gospel feel more joy over those who abandon the way of despair than over those who have never left the path of safety. O norm of all right conduct, column of all virtues, and (if a sinful man may dare to praise) fount of sweetness, truest because most holy, you did not shrink from touching with the finger of exhortation the sores of a most despicable worm; you did not grudge the food of admonition to a soul frail and fasting, or from the store-house of your deep love refuse me the measure of the humility I am now to pursue.

[5] sed ora, ut quandoque resipiscam, quantum 1 meas deprimat oneris impositi massa cervices.2 facinorum continuatione miser eo necessitatis accessi, ut is pro peccato populi nunc orare compellar, pro quo populus innocentum vix debet impetrare si supplicet. nam quis bene medelam aeger impertiat? quis febriens arroganti tactu pulsum distinguat incolumem? quis desertor scientiam rei militaris iure laudaverit? quis esculentus abstemium competenter arguerit? indignissimus mortalium necesse habeo dicere quod facere detrecto, et ad mea ipse verba damnabilis, cum non impleam quae moneo, 3 idem in me meam 4

cotidie cogor dictare sententiam.

[5] Pray for me, that I may know at length how vast the burden is that weighs upon my shoulders. Wretched man that I am, by the continuance of my transgressions brought to such a pass, that I must now intercede for the sins of the people — I for whom their own supplications, more innocent than mine, should hardly obtain the divine mercy. How shall a sick man give others medicine? How shall one in a fever presume to feel a pulse that beats more strongly than his own? What deserter has the right to sing the praise of military science? What lover of high living is fit to read a lecture to the abstemious? Yet I, the unworthiest of men, must preach what I cannot practise. Condemned out of my own mouth when I do not fulfil my own injunctions, I must daily pronounce sentence upon myself.

[6] sed si tu inter me et illum, cui concrucifigeris, dominum nostrum pro scelerum meorum populo, iunior mage quam minor Moyses, intercessor assistas, I non ulterius descendemus in infernum viventes nec per carnalium vitiorum incentiva flammati ad altare domini ignem diutius accendemus alienum; quia quamquam nos utpote reos gloriae libra non respicit, satis tamen superque gaudebimus, si precatu tuo levare valeamus interioris hominis nostri etsi non integrum ad remunerationem, certe vel cicatricatum pectus ad veniam, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[6] But if like a new Moses, not less, but of a later age, you intercede before Our Lord, with whom you are daily crucified, for all the multitude of my sins, I shall not living descend further into hell, nor longer, inflamed by the incentives of carnal sin, light alien flame on the altar of the Lord. For one guilty as I, there can be no glory to weigh down the scale; how abundantly shall I then rejoice if your prayers avail to restore my inward man, not indeed to perfect health and its reward, but to the healing of the heart's wounds, and pardon. Deign to keep me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

* Translated by Chaix, i. 449; and Germain, p. 103 f.

Sidonius Domino Papae Pragmatio salutem

II.

To the Lord Bishop Pragmatius A. D. 472

[1] Venerabilis Eutropia matrona, quod ad nos spectat, singularis exempli, quae parsimonia et humanitate certantibus non minus se ieiuniis quam cibis pauperes pascit et in Christi cultu pervigil sola in se compellit peccata dormire, maoribus orbitatis necessitate litis adiecta in remedium mali duplicis perfectionem vestrae consolationis expetere festinat, gratanter habitura, sive istud tibi peregrinatio brevis seu longum computetur officium.

[1] THE venerable matron Eutropia, known to me as a woman of the most exemplary merit, is in the greatest trouble. Frugality and charity dispute her days; her fastings feed the poor; so watchful is she in Christ's service, that sin is all in her which she allows to slumber. But as if the sorrow of her widowhood were not enough, she now finds herself threatened with a lawsuit. Her first instinct in her two-fold affliction is to obtain the perfect remedy of your consolation; if you only see her, she will be equally grateful, whether you regard her coming as a short journey or as a lasting proof of her respect.

[2] igitur praefata venerabilis fratris mei nunc iam presbyteri Agrippini, ne iniuriosum sit dixisse nequitiis, certe fatigatur argutiis; qui abutens inbecillitate matronae non desistit spiritalis animae serenitatem saecularium versutiarum flatibus turbidare; cui filii nec post multo nepotis amissi duae pariter plagae recentes ad diuturni viduvii vulnus adduntur.

[2] Now Eutropia is being harassed by the subtleties, to use no harsher word, of our venerable brother the presbyter Agrippinus. He is taking advantage of her woman's inexperience, and continually troubling the serene surface of her spiritual nature by windy gusts of worldliness. And all the while this poor woman is bleeding from two fresh wounds which time has added to the old deep wound of widowhood; for her son was first taken from her, and very soon afterwards her grandson also.

[3] tempta-vimus inter utrumque componere, nos maxume, quibus in eos novum ius professio vetustumque faciebant amicitiae, aliqua censes, suadentes quaepiam, plurima supplicantes; quodque miremini, in omnem concordiae statum promptius a feminea parte descensum 1 est. et quamquam se altius profuturum 2 filiae paterna iactaret praerogativa, nurui tamen magis placuit munificentiae socrualis oblatio.

[3] I did my best to compose this matter; a friendship of long standing gave me an old claim to be heard, and my sacred calling a new one; I let them know what I thought; I used persuasion where I could, and entreaty at every turn.

You may be surprised to learn that throughout the woman and not the man was the first to accept suggestions for agreement. And though the father boasts that in his paternal quality he is in the best position to serve his daughter's interests, the daughter herself prefers her mother-in-law's most generous proposals.

[4] iurgium interim semisopitum vestris modo sinibus infertur, pacificate certantes, et pontificalis auctoritate censurae suspectis sibi partibus indicite gratiam, dicite veritatem, sancta enim Eutropia, si quid vadimonio meo creditis, victoriam computat, si vel post damna non litiget. unde et suspicor vobis unam pronuntiandam domum discordiosam, licet inveniatis utramque discordem, memor nostri esse dignare, domine para.

[4] The dispute, only half appeased, is now to be carried before you. Pacify the adversaries by your episcopal authority, show their suspicious souls the truth, and bring about a reconciliation. You may take my word for it that the holy Eutropia will count it almost victory if even at the cost of heavy sacrifices she can escape from litigation. Though two families are parties to the quarrel, I fancy you will soon decide which of them deserves the name of quarrelsome. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius Domino Papae Leontio salutem

III.

To the Lord Bishop Leontius A. D. 472

[1] Etsi nullis hortatibus 1 primordia nostrae pro-fessionis animatis neque sitim ignorantiae hactenus saecularis ullo supernae rigatis imbre doctrinae, non ego tamen tantum mei memineris non sum, ut a meis ac tuis 2 praesumam partibus aequali officiorum lance certandum, nam cum nostra mediocritas aetate vitae, tempore dignitatis, privilegio loci, laude scientiae, dono conscientiae vestrae facile vincatur, nullum meremur, si par expectamus alloquium.

[1] You have not yet seen fit to encourage my first steps in our sacred profession, or to pour the rain of heavenly doctrine on the drought of my worldly ignorance; but I do not so far forget myself as to expect an equipoise in the courtesies which we render to each other. I am of small account; you are easily above me in years, in seniority, in the precedence enjoyed by your see, in your wide learning, in the treasure of your righteousness; if I expected you to notice every letter, I should deserve no notice at all.

[2] igitur non incusantes silentium vestrum sed loquacitatem nostram potius excusare nitentes commendamus apicum portitorem, cuius si peregrinationem prompto favore foveatis, grandis actionibus illius portus securitatis aperitur, negotium huic testamentarium est. latent eum propriarum merita chartarum: togatorum illic perorantium peritiam consulere perrexit, pro victoria computaturus, si se intellexerit iure superari, modo ne sibi suisque desidiaie vitio perperam cavissee culpetur. hunc eatenus commendare praesumo, ut, si eum instruere dignanter advocatio consulta fastidit, auctoritas coronae tuae dissimulantibus studeat excudere responsi celeritatem, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[2] I therefore make no imputation against your silence; these lines merely introduce the bearer, and give me the excuse for sending them. If on this journey he can only have the assurance of your prompt favour, a broad harbour of safety will be open to his affairs. His business relates to a will. He does not know the importance of his own documents; the object of his expedition is to get the advice of skilled counsel. He will think it the next best thing to winning his case if it is proved to be lost on its merits; his one desire is to avoid the charge of negligence, and of not sufficiently protecting family interests. My request on his behalf is simply this, that if the lawyers will not deign to give him proper advice, you should exert the authority of your sacred office to extract it from them without delay. Deign to keep me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius Domino Papae Lupo salutem

IV.

To the Lord Bishop Lupus c. A. D. 472

[1] Praeter officium, quod incomparabiliter eminenti apostolatu tuo sine fine debetur, etsi absque intermissione solvatur, commendo supplicum baiulorum pro nova necessitudine vetustam necessitatem,¹ qui in Arvernā regionem longum iter, his quippe temporibus, emensi casso labore venerunt, namque unam feminam de affectibus suis, quam forte Vargorum (hoc enim nomine indigenas latrunculos nuncupant) superventus abstraxerat, isto deductam ante aliquot annos isticque distractam cum non falso indicio comperissent, certis quidem signis sed non recentibus inquisivere vestigiis.

[1] I RENDER you the observance always due to the incomparable eminence of your apostolic life, still always due, however regularly paid. But I have a further object, to commend to your notice a long-standing trouble of the bearers, in whose case I have recently become interested. They have journeyed a great distance into Auvergne at this unfavourable season, and the journey has been undertaken in vain. A female relative of theirs was carried off during a raid of the Vargi, as the local bandits are styled. They received trustworthy information, and following an old but reliable clue, discovered that some years ago she had been brought here before being removed elsewhere.

[2] atque obiter haec eadem laboriosa, priusquam hi adessent, in negotiatoris nostri domo dominioque palam sane venumdata defungitur, quodam Prudente (hoc viro nomen), quem nunc Tricassibus degere fama divulgat, ignotorum nobis hominum collaudante contractum;¹ cuius subscriptio intra formulam nundinarum tamquam idonei adstipulatoris ostenditur. auctoritas personae, opportunitas praesentiae tuae inter coram positos facile valebit, si dignabitur, senem totius indagare violentiae, quae, quod gravius est, eo facinoris accessit, quantum portitorum datur nosse memoratu, ut etiam in illo latrocinio quendam de numero vianum constet extinctum.

[2] As a matter of fact, the unfortunate woman had been sold in open market before their arrival, and is now actually under the roof and the control of my man of affairs. A certain Prudens, rumoured to be now resident in Troyes, had attested the contract for the vendors, whose names are unknown to us; his signature is to be seen on the deed of purchase as that of a suitable witness of the transaction. By the fortunate fact of your presence, you will be able, if you think fit, to see the parties confronted, and use your personal influence to investigate the whole course of the outrage. I gather from what the bearers say, that the offence is aggravated by the death of a man upon the road as a

sequel to the abduction.

[3] sed quia iudicii vestri medicinam expetunt civilitatemque, qui negotium criminale parturiunt, vestrarum, si bene metior, partium pariter et morum est, aliqua indemni compositione istorum dolori, illorum periculo subvenire et quodam salubris sententiae temperamento hanc partem minus afflictam, illam minus ream et utramque plus facere securam; ne iurgii status, ut sese fert temporis locique qualitas, 1 talem descendat 2 ad terminum, quale coepit habere principium, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[3] But as the aggrieved parties who wish to bring this scandalous affair to light are anxious for the remedy of your judgement and for your neighbourly aid, it seems to me that it would no less become your character than your position to bring about an equitable arrangement, thus affording the one side some comfort in affliction, and saving the other from an impending danger. Such a qualified decision would be most beneficial to all concerned; it would diminish the misery of one party and the guilt of the other, while it would give both of them a greater feeling of security. Otherwise, in regions and times like these of ours, the last state of the dispute may well prove no better than the beginning. Deign to keep me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius Domino Papae Theoplasto salutem

Causam meam nesciens agit qui ad vos a me litteras portat; nam, dum votivi mihi fit genitus opportunus officii, beneficium praestat, quod se arbitratur accipere, sicuti nunc venerabilis Donidius dignus inter spectatissimos quosque numerari, cuius clientem puerosque commendo, profectos seu in patroni necessitate seu in domini, laborem peregrinantum qua potestis ope humanitate intercessionem tutamini; ac, si in aliquo amicus ipse per imperitiam novitatemque publicae conversationis videbitur minus efficax, vos hoc potius aspice, quid absentis causa, non quid praesentis persona mereatur. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa,

V.

To the Lord Bishop Theoplastus (No indication of date)

WHOEVER bears a letter of introduction from me to you unconsciously does my business; by conveying my dutiful regards at the proper moment, he renders me a service at least as great as that which he considers himself to receive. This is the case with the venerable Donidius, who is deservedly to be numbered among the most admirable of mankind. I now recommend to you his client and servants, who have undertaken this journey for the benefit of their patron and master. Pray take the weary travellers under your protection; do all you can to help them by your support, your hospitality, and your intercession. And if our good friend, through inexperience and unfamiliarity with public affairs, should in any matter betray his inefficiency, consider the cause of an absent man, rather than the personality of his representative. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius Domino Papae Eutropio salutem

VI.

To the Lord Bishop Eutropius A. D. 472

[1] Postquam foedifragam gentem redisse in sedes suas comperi neque quicquam vianibus insidiarum parare, nefas credidi ulterius officiorum l differre sermonem, ne vester affectus quandam vitio meo duceret ut gladius inpolitus de curae raritate robiginem. unde misso in hoc solum negotii gerulo litterarum, quam vobis sit corpusculi status in solido quamve ex animi sententia res agantur, sollicitus inquirō, sperans, ne semel mihi amor vester indultus aut interiecti itineris longitudine aut absentiae communis diuturnitate tenuetur, quia bonitas conditoris habitationem potius hominum quam caritatem fratribus claudit angustiis.

[1] As soon as I learned that the treaty-breaking nation had withdrawn within its borders, and that travellers were in no further danger of insidious attack, I held it a disgrace to delay the presentation of my respects, for fear your friendship might grow rusty from my neglect, like a sword which is not properly kept bright. My sole object in sending this letter is to satisfy my anxiety as to your health and the success of your affairs; it is my hope that neither the distance which divides us nor the long intervals between our meetings may ever diminish the friendship once accorded me; it is the homes of men which the Creator confines within narrow limits, not their mutual affections.

[2] restat, ut vestra beatitudo compunctorii salubritate sermonis avidam nostrae ignorantiae pascat esuriem. est enim tibi nimis usui, ut exhortationibus tuis interioris hominis maciem saepenumero mysticus adeps et spiritalis arvina distendat. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[2] And now I hope your Beatitude will feed my starving ignorance with sharp and salutary discourse; your exhortations have a way of causing mystic increase and spiritual growth in the emaciated inward man. Deign to hold me in your remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius Domino Papae Fonteio salutem

VII.

To the Lord Bishop Fonteius A. D. 472

[1] Si aliquid ad inchoandam gratiam compendii posteris tribuit necessitudo praemissa seniorum, ego quoque ad apostolatus tui notitiam pleniorum cum praerogativa domesticae familiaritatis accedo, nam sic te familiae meae validissimum in Christo semper patronum fuisse reminiscor, ut amicitias tuas non tam expetendas mihi quam repetendas putem, his adicitur, quod indignissimo mihi impositum sacerdotalis nomen officii conflagrare me ad precumstrarum praesidia compellit, ut adhuc ulcerosae conscientiae nimis huiusmodi vulnera vestro saltem cicatricentur oratu.

[1] IF a previous friendship between the older members of two families helps the younger in their turn to know each other better, then indeed by virtue of such preexisting ties I enjoy a great advantage in now seeking your Lordship's more intimate acquaintance. I well remember how powerful a patron in Christ you always were to my family, so that I regard myself less as making a new acquaintance, than as renewing an old one. I will add that the title of bishop imposed on my extreme unworthiness compels me to seek the covert of your intercession, that the gaping wounds of a seared conscience may at least be closed by your healing prayers.

[2] quapropter me meosque commendans et excusans litteras seriores granditer obsecro, ut intercessione consueta, cuius viribus immane polletis, clericalis tirocinii in nobis reptantia rudimenta tueamini, ut, si quid dignabitur de morum pravitate nostrorum immutabilis dei mutare clementia, totum id suffragiorum vestrorum patrocinio debeamus, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[2] While, therefore, I commend to you myself and those who are dear to me, at the same time apologizing for not writing sooner, I implore you to sustain my first steps as a novice in this office by those availing supplications for which you are so widely renowned. So shall I owe all to your mediation, if the immutable mercy of God deign but to change the wickedness of this heart of mine. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius Domino Papae Graeco salutem

VIII.

To the Lord Bishop Graecus c. A. D. 472

[1] Apicum oblato pauperem vitam sola mercandi actione sustentat; non illi est opificium quaestui, militia commodo, cultura compendio; ob hoc ipsum, quod mercennariis prosecutionibus et locaticia fatigatione cognoscitur, fama quidem sua sed facultas crescit aliena, sed tamen quoniam illi fides magna est, etsi parva substantia, quotiens cum pecuniis quorumpiam catapli recentis nundinas adit, creditoribus bene credulis sola deponit morum experimenta pro pignore.

[1] THE bearer of this is one who ekes out a bare living by commerce; he gains no profit or other advantage from any handicraft or employment, nor does he make anything from the cultivation of land. He has come to be favourably known as an agent and trader; but a good name is all he gets; the pecuniary advantage goes to others. Though his means are small, the general confidence in him is so great that if he wants to raise money for the purchase of a cargo, people are confiding enough to trust him on no greater security than their experience of his good faith.

[2] inter dictandum mihi ista suggesta sunt, nec ob hoc dubito audita fidenter asserere, quia non parum mihi intumos agunt 2 quibus est ipse satis intumus. huius igitur teneram frontem, dura rudimenta commendo; et, quia nomen eiusdem lectorum nuper albus accepit, agnoscitis profecturo civi me epistulam, clerico debuisse formatam; quem propediem non iniuria reor mercatorem splendidum fore, si hinc ad vestra obsequia festinans frigoribus fontium civicorum sapientiae fontem meracioris 1 anteferat. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[2] It is true that I only learned these facts while actually writing these lines, but that does not make me hesitate to assert them with some assurance, for the sources of the information are common acquaintances of his and mine. I recommend him to you, then, on the ground of his youth and the arduous life he has led. As his name is now entered in the roll as Reader, you will see that I have had to give him in addition to an ordinary introduction as citizen, a canonical letter as a clerk. I think I am right in looking forward to his brilliant success as a merchant if he is quick to take advantage of your patronage; but he must definitely prefer the fount of commerce to the icy springs of a municipal career.* Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

* The passage is corrupt.

Sidonius Domino Papae Lupo salutem

IX.

To the Lord Bishop Lupus c. A. D. 472

[1] Vir iam honestus Gallus, quia iussus ad coniugem redire non distulit, litterarum mearum obsequium, vestrarum reportat effectum, cui cum pagina, quam miseratis, reseraretur, actutum compunctus ingemuit destinataeque non ad me epistolam sed in se sententiam iudicavit, itaque confestim iter in patriam spoondit adornavit arripuit, quem nos propter hanc ipsam paenitudinis celeritatem non increpare sed consolatorie potius compellere cura-vimus, quia vicinaretur innocentiae festinata correctio.

[1] THE bearer Gallus, made an honest man by returning at once to his wife as he was bidden, conveys my greeting in this letter, and by doing so proves the efficacy of your own. For when I opened your missive in his presence, he was seized with instant compunction, and saw in it not so much a communication for me as a condemnation of himself. The result was that he immediately promised to go back, made his preparations at once, and was off without delay. At sight of so rapid a repentance, I could not confine myself altogether to rebuke; I gave him a few words of consolation, for so spontaneous an amendment is the next best thing to unbroken innocence.

[2] neque enim quisquam etiam sibi bene conscius plus facere praesumpsit, si quis tamen vestrae correptionis orbitam non reliquit, quippe cum ea ipsa, quae legimus, parentis verba censurae maxuma 1 emendationis incitamenta sint.2 nam quid potest esse castigationis huiusce tenore pretiosius, in qua forte peccato animus aeger repperit intrinsecus remedium, cum non valeret extrinsecus invenire convicium?

[2] A man with a perfect conscience could hardly have done more, always supposing him to keep within the range of your admonishment; for even such words of gentle censure as I read out to him are in themselves a most powerful incentive to reform. What, indeed, could be more valuable than a reprimand aiding the sick mind to discover within itself a remedy which the sharp reproach of others could never find?

[3] quod superest, obsecramus, ut crebra oratione, per quam vitiis omnibus immane dominamini, nos quoque, sicut euangelicos magos remeasse manifestum est, vel iam nunc per aliam viam morum in beatorum patriam redire faciatis, paene omiseram, quod minime praetereundum fuit: agite gratias Innocentio, spectabili viro, qui, ut praeceperatis, naviter morem gessit iniunctis. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[3] It remains for me to ask a place in those frequent prayers by which you so

mightily triumph over every kind of vice; that as the Wise Men of the Gospel returned to their own country by a different way, so by a new way of life you may lead me home to the land of the blessed. I had almost forgotten to mention the point which I could least have afforded to omit. Convey my thanks to the respected Innocentius for so promptly obeying your injunctions. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius Domino Papae Censorio salutem

X.

To the Lord Bishop Censorius A.D. 473*

[1] Gerulum litterarum levitici ordinis honestat officium, hic cum familia sua depraedationis Gothicae turbinem vitans in territorium vestrum delatus est ipso, ut sic dixerim, pondere fugae; ubi in re ecclesiae, cui sanctitas tua praesidet, parvam sementem semiconfecto caespiti advena ieiunus iniecit, cuius ex solido colligendae fieri sibi copiam exorat.

THE bearer is one privileged to hold the rank of deacon. Flying with his family from the whirlwind of the Gothic devastations, he was carried, as it were by the sheer momentum of his flight, into your territory. Immigrant and destitute as he was, he hurriedly sowed a half-tilled plot on Church lands in your holiness's diocese, and now begs permission to take the whole harvest for himself. The poor fellow is a stranger whose means are as narrow as his outlook; but if you treat him with the indulgence often granted to the humbler among the faithful, that is, if you remit him the glebe dues, he will think he has done as well as if he were yet at work upon his native soil.

[2] quem si domesticis fidei deputata humanitate foveatis, id est, ut debitum glabrae cano-nem non petatur, tantum lucelli praestitum sibi computat (peregrini hominis ut census, sic animus angustus), ac si in patrio solo rusticaretur. huic si legitimam, ut mos est, solutionem perexiguae segetis indulgeas, tamquam opipare viaticatus cum gratiarum actione remeabit. per quem si me stilo solitae dignationis impertias, mihi fraternitatieque istic sitae pagina tua veluti polo lapsa reputabitur, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[2] If only you show him the liberality usually accorded to the faithful, and abandon your strictly lawful claim on his most exiguous crop, he will be full of gratitude, and set off home royally furnished for the road. Should you take the opportunity of his return to send me one of your usual gracious letters, all the brethren, and I myself, will regard it almost as a letter fallen from heaven. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

* Translated by Hodgkin, ii. 371.

Sidonius Domino Papae Eleutherio salutem

XI.

To the Lord Bishop Eleutherius c. A.D. 472

[1] Iudaeum praesens charta commendat, non quod mihi placeat error, per quem pereunt involuti, sed quia neminem ipsorum nos decet ex asse damnabilem pronuntiare, dum vivit; in spe enim adhuc absolutionis est cui suppetit posse converti.

[1] I HEREWITH commend a Jew to you, not because I approve a sect pernicious to those involved in its toils, but because we ought to regard none of that creed as wholly lost so long as life remains to them. For while there is any possibility of converting them, there is always a hope of their redemption.

[2] quae sit vero negotii sui series, ipse rectius praesentanea coram narratione patefaciet. nam prudentiae satis obviat epistulari formulae debitam concinnitatem plurifario sermone porrigere. sane quia secundum vel negotia vel iudicia terrena solent huiuscemodi homines honestas habere causas, tu quoque potes huius laboriosi, etsi impugnas perfidiam, propugnare personam, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[2] The nature of his business will be best explained by himself when admitted to your presence; for it would be imprudent to allow discursive talk to exceed the brevity proper to a letter. In the transactions and the disputes of this present world, a Jew has often as good a cause as any one; however much you may attack his heresy, you can fairly defend him as a man. Deign to hold us in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius Domino Papae Patienti salutem

XII.

To the Lord Bishop Patiens A.D. 474*

[1] Aliquis aliquem, ego illum praecipue puto suo vivere bono, qui vivit alieno quique fidelium calamitates indigentiamque miseratus facit in terris opera caelorum. ‘quorsum istaec?’ 1 inquis, te ista 2 sententia quam maxume, papa beatissime, petit, cui non sufficit illis tantum necessitatibus opem ferre, quas noveris, quique usque in extimos terminos Galliarum caritatis indage porrecta prius soles indigentum respicere causas quam inspicere personas.

[1] ONE man deems happiness to consist in one thing, a second in another; my own belief is that he lives most to his own advantage who lives for others, and does heaven’s work on earth by pitying the poverty and misfortune of the faithful. You may wonder at what I aim in these remarks. At yourself, most blessed father, for my sentiments refer especially to you, who are not content to succour only the distress which lies within your cognizance, but push your inquiries to the very frontiers of Gaul, and without respect of persons, consider each case of want upon its merits.

[2] nullius obest tenuitati debilitatque, si te expetere non possit, nam praevenis manibus illum, qui non valuerit ad te pedibus pervenire, transit in alienas provincias vigilantia tua et in hoc curae tuae latitudo diffunditur, ut longe positorum consoletur angustias; et hinc fit, 3 ut, quia crebro te non minus absentum verecundia quam praesentum querimonia movet, saepe terseris eorum lacrimas, quorum oculos non vidisti.

[2] Does poverty or infirmity prevent a man from making his way to you in person? He loses nothing; your free hand anticipates the needs of those whose feet are unable to bring them to you. Your watchful eye ranges over other provinces than your own; the spreading tide of your benevolence bears consolation to the straitened, however far away. And so it happens that you often wipe tears from eyes which you have never seen, because the reserve of the absent touches you no less than the complaints of those near at hand.

[3] omitto illa, quae cotidie propter defectionem 4 civium pauperatorum inquietis toleras excubiis precibus expensis. omitto te tali semper agere temperamento, sic semper humanum, sic abstemium iudicari, ut constet indesinenter regem praesentem prandia tua, reginam laudare ieiunia, omitto tanto te cultu ecclesiam tibi creditam convenustare, ut dubitet inspector, meliusne nova opera consurgant an vetusta reparentur,

[3] I say nothing of your daily labour to relieve the need of your impoverished fellow countrymen, of your unceasing vigils, your prayers, your charity. I pass

over the tact with which you combine the hospitable and the ascetic virtues, so that the king is never tired of praising your breakfasts and the queen your fasts. I omit your embellishment of the church committed to your care until the spectator hardly knows which to admire most, the new fabric which you erect, or the old which you restore.

[4] *omitto per te plurimis locis basilicarum fundamenta consurgere, ornamenta duplicari; cumque multa in statu fidei tuis dispositionibus augeantur, solum haereticorum numerum minui, teque quodam venatu apostolico feras Fotinianorum mentes spiritualium praedicationum cassibus implicare, atque a tuo barbaros iam sequaces, quotiens convincuntur verbo, non exire vestigio, donec eos a profundo gurgite erroris felicitis-simus animarum piscator extraxeris.*

[4] I do not mention the churches that rise in so many districts under your auspices, or the rich additions to their ornaments. I dismiss the fact that under your administration the faithful are increased and multiplied, while heretics alone diminish. I shall not tell how your apostolic chase for souls involves the wild Photinians in the spiritual mesh of homily; or how barbarians once converted by your eloquence pursue your track until, like a thrice-fortunate fisher of men, you draw them up at last out of the profound gulfs of error.

[5] *et horum aliqua tamen cum reliquis forsitan communicanda collegis; illud autem deberi tibi quodam, ut iuris-consulti dicunt, praecipui titulo nec tuus poterit ire pudor infitias, quod post Gothicam depopulationem, post segetes incendio absumptas peculiari sumptu inopiae communi per desolatas Gallias gratuita frumenta misisti, cum tabescentibus fame populis nimium contulisses, si commercio fuisset species ista, non muneris. 1 vidimus angustas tuis frugibus vias; vidimus per Araris et Rhodani ripas non unum, quod unus impleveras, horreum.*

[5] It may be true that some of these good deeds are not peculiar to you, and are shared by colleagues; but there is one which is yours, as lawyers say, as a first charge, and which even your modesty cannot deny; it is this, that when the Gothic ravages were over, and the crops were all destroyed by fire, you distributed corn to the destitute throughout all the ruined land of Gaul at your own expense, though it would have been relief enough to our starving peoples if the grain had come to them, not as a free gift, but by the usual paths of commerce. We saw the roads encumbered with your grain-carts. Along the Saône and Rhone we saw more than one granary which you had entirely filled.

[6] *fabularum cedant figmenta gentilium et ille quasi in caelum relatus pro reperta spicarum novitate Triptolemus, quem Graecia sua, caementariis pictoribus significibusque 2 illustris, sacravit templis formavit statuis effigiavit imaginibus, illum dubia fama concinnat 3 per rudes adhuc et Dodonigenas*

populos duabus vagum navibus, quibus poetae deinceps formam draconum deputaverunt, ignotam circumtulisse sementem, tu, ut de mediterranea taceam largitate, victum civitatibus Tyrrheni maris erogaturus granariis tuis duo potius flumina quam duo navigia complesti.

[6] The legends of the heathen are eclipsed; Triptolemus must yield his pride of place, whom his fatherland of Greece deified for his discovery of corn; Greece, famed for her architects, her sculptors and her artists, who consecrated temples, and fashioned statues, and painted effigies in his honour. A doubtful story fables that this son of Ceres came wandering among peoples savage and acorn-fed, and that from two ships, to which poetry later assigned the form of dragons, he distributed the unknown seed. But you brought supplies from either Mediterranean shore, and, if need were, you would have sought them among the cities of the Tyrrhenian sea; your granaries filled not two paltry ships, but the basins of two great rivers.

[7] sed si forte Achaicis Eleusinae superstitionis exemplis tamquam non idoneis religiosus laudatus offenditur, seposita mystici intellectus reverentia venerabilis patriarchae Ioseph historicalem diligentiam comparemus, qui contra sterilitatem septem uberes annos insecuturam facile providit remedium, quod praevidit. secundum tamen moralem sententiam nihil iudicio meo minor est qui in superveniente simili necessitate non divinat et subvenit.

[7] If you disapprove, as unsuited to your profession, a comparison drawn from the Achaean superstition of Eleusis, I will recall instead the historic prescience of the patriarch Joseph, who by his foresight provided a remedy for the famine which had to follow the seven lean years; I omit for the moment his mystic and typical significance. But I hold that man morally as great, who copes with a similar disaster without any warning in advance.

[8] quapropter, etsi ad integrum conicere non possum, quantas tibi gratias Arelatenses 1 Reiensis, 2 Avennicus Arausionensis quoque et Albensis, Valentinaeque nec non et Tricastinae urbis possessor exsolvat, quia difficile est eorum ex asse vota metiri, quibus noveris alimoniam sine asse col- latam, Arverni tamen oppidi ego nomine uberes perquam gratias ago, cui ut succurrere meditarere, non te communio provinciae, non proximitas civitatis, non opportunitas fluvii, non oblatio pretii adduxit.

[8] I cannot exactly tell the sum of gratitude which all the people owe you, inhabitants of Arles and Riez, Avignon, Orange, Viviers, Valence, and Trois Châteaux; it is beyond my power to count the total thanks of men who were fed without having to count out a penny. But for the city of Clermont I can speak, and in its name I give you endless thanks; all the more, that your help had no obvious inducement; we did not belong to your province; no convenient waterway led to us, we had no money to offer.

[9] itaque ingentes per me referunt grates quibus obtigit per panis tui abundantiam ad sui sufficientiam pervenire, igitur si mandati officii munia satis videor implesse, ex legato nuntius ero. ilicet scias volo: per omnem fertur Aquitaniam gloria tua; amaris laudans, desideraris excoleris, omnium pectoribus, omnium votis, inter haec temporum mala bonus sacerdos, bonus pater, bonus annus es quibus operae pretium fuit fieri famem suam periculo, si aliter esse non poterat tua largitas experimento, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[9] Measureless gratitude I give you on their behalf; they owe it to the abundant largess of your grain that they have now their own sufficiency once more. If now I have properly fulfilled the duty entrusted to me, I will cease to be the mouthpiece of others, and speak out of my own knowledge. I would have you know that your glory travels over all Aquitaine; all pray for your welfare, their hearts go out to you in love and praise, in longing and loyal devotion. In these evil times you have proved yourself a good priest, a good father, and as good as a good year to men who would have deemed it worth while to risk starvation if there had been no other means of discovering the measure of your generosity. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

* Partly translated by Fertig, Part ii, p. 24.

BOOK VII

Sidonius Domino Papae Mamerto salutem

I.

To the Lord Bishop Mamertus A.D. 474

[1] Rumor est Gothos in Romanum solum castra movisse: huic semper irruptioni nos miseri Arverni ianua sumus, namque odiis inimicorum hinc peculiaria fomenta subministramus, quia, quod necdum terminos suos ab Oceano in Rhodanum Ligeris alveo limitaverunt, solam sub ope Christi moram de nostra tantum obice patiuntur, circumiectarum vero spatia tractumque regionum iam pridem regni minacis importuna devoravit impressio.

[1] RUMOUR has it that the Goths have occupied Roman soil; our unhappy Auvergne is always their gateway on every such incursion. It is our fate to furnish fuel to the fire of a peculiar hatred, for, by Christ's aid, we are the sole obstacle to the fulfilment of their ambition to extend their frontiers to the Rhone, and so hold all the country between that river, the Atlantic, and the Loire. Their menacing power has long pressed us hard; it has already swallowed up whole tracts of territory round us, and threatens to swallow more.

[2] sed animositati nostrae tam temerariae tamque periculosae non nos aut ambustam murorum faciem 1 aut putrem sudium cratem aut propugnacula vigilum trita pectoribus confidimus opitulatura; solo tantum 2 invectarum te auctore rogationum palpamur auxilio, quibus inchoandis instituendisque populus Arvernus, etsi non effectum pari, affectu certe non impari coepit initiari, et ob hoc circumfusus necdum dat terga terroribus.

[2] We mean to resist with spirit, though we know our peril and the risks which we incur. But our trust is not in our poor walls impaired by fire, or in our rotting palisades, or in our ramparts worn by the breasts of the sentries, as they lean on them in continual watch. Our only present help we find in those Rogations which you introduced; and this is the reason why the people of Clermont refuse to recede, though terrors surge about them on every side. By inauguration and institution of these prayers we are already new initiates; and if so far we have effected less than you have, our hearts are affected equally with yours.

[3] non enim latet nostram sciscitationem, quod 1 primis temporibus harumce supplicationum institutarum civitas caelitus tibi. credita per cuiusque modi 2 prodigiorum terriculamenta vacuabatur. name modo scaenae 3 moenium publicorum crebris terrae motibus concutiebantur; nunc ignes saepe 4 flammati caducas culminum cristas superiecto favillarum monte tumulabant; nunc stupenda foro cubilia collocabat audacium pavenda mansuetudo

cervorum: cum tu inter ista discessu primorum populariumque statu urbis exinanito ad nova celer veterum Ninivitarum exempla decurristi, ne divinae admonitioni tua quoque desperatio conviciaretur.

[3] For it is not unknown to us by what portents and alarms the city entrusted to you by God was laid desolate at the time when first you ordained this form of prayer. Now it was earthquake, shattering the outer palace walls with frequent shocks; now fire, piling mounds of glowing ash upon proud houses fallen in ruin; now, amazing spectacle! wild deer grown ominously tame, making their lairs in the very forum. You saw the city being emptied of its inhabitants, rich and poor taking to flight. But you resorted in our latter day to the example shown of old in Nineveh, that you at least might not discredit the divine warning by the spectacle of your despair.

[4] et vere iam de deo tu minime poteris absque peccato post virtutum experimenta diffidere, nam cum vice quadam civitas conflagrare coepisset, fides tua in illo ardore plus caluit; et cum in conspectu pavidæ plebis obiectu solo corporis tui ignis recussus in tergum fugitivos flexibus sinuaretur, miraculo terribili novo invisitato 5 affuit flammae cedere per reverentiam, cui sentire defuit per naturam.

[4] And, indeed, you of all men had been least justified in distrusting the providence of God, after the proof of it vouchsafed to your own virtues. Once, in a sudden conflagration, your faith burned stronger than the flames. In full sight of the trembling crowd, you stood forth all alone to stay them, and lo! the fire leapt back before you, a sinuous beaten fugitive. It was miracle, a formidable thing, unseen before and unexampled; the element which naturally shrinks from nothing, retired in awe at your approach.

[5] igitur primum nostri ordinis viris et his paucis iudicis ieiunia interdicis flagitia, supplicia prædicis remedia promittis; exponis omnibus nec poenam longinquam esse nec veniam; doces denuntiatae solitudinis minas orationum frequentia esse amoliendas; mones assiduitatem furentis incendii aqua potius oculorum quam fluminum posse restingui; mones minacem terrae motuum conflictationem fidei stabilitate firmandam.

[5] You therefore first enjoined a fast upon a few members of our sacred order, denouncing gross offences, announcing punishment, promising relief. You made it clear that if the penalty of sin was nigh, so also was the pardon; you proclaimed that by frequent prayer the menace of coming desolation might be removed. You taught that it was by water of tears rather than water of rivers that the obstinate and raging fire could best be extinguished, and by firm faith the threatening shock of earthquake stayed.

[6] cuius confestim sequax humilis turba consilii maioribus quoque suis fuit incitamento, quos cum non piguisset fugere, redire non puduit, qua devotione

placatus inspector pectorum deus fecit esse obsecrationem vestram vobis saluti, ceteris imitationi, utrisque praesidio, denique illic deinceps non fuere vel damna calamitati vel ostenta formidini. quae omnia sciens populus iste Viennensibus tuis et accidisse prius et non accessisse posterius vestigia tam sacro-sanctae informationis amplectitur, sedulo petens, ut conscientiae tuae beatitudo mittat orationum suarum suffragia quibus exempla transmissit.

[6] The multitude of the lowly forthwith followed your counsel, and this influenced persons of higher rank, who had not scrupled to abandon the town, and now were not ashamed to return to it. By this devotion God was appeased, who sees into all hearts; your fervent prayers were counted to you for salvation; they became an ensample for your fellow citizens, and a defence about you all, for after those days there were neither portents to alarm, nor visitations to bring disaster.

We of Clermont know that all these ills befell your people of Vienne before the Rogations, and have not befallen them since; and therefore it is that we are eager to follow the lead of so holy a guide, beseeching your Beatitude from your own pious lips to give us the advocacy of those prayers now known to us by the examples which you have transmitted.

[7] et quia tibi soli concessa est, post avorum memoriam vel confessorem Ambrosium duorum martyrum repertorem, in partibus orbis occidui martyris Ferreoli solida translatio adiecto nostri capite Iuliam, quod istinc turbulento quondam persecutori manus rettulit cruenta carnificis, non iniurium est, quod pro compensatione deposcimus, ut nobis inde veniat pars patrocinii, quia vobis hinc rediit pars patroni, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa,

[7] Since the Confessor Ambrose discovered the remains of Gervasius and Protasius, it has been granted to you alone in the West to translate the relics of two martyrs — all the holy body of Ferreolus, and the head of our martyr Julian,, which once the executioner's gory hand brought to the raging persecutor from the place of testimony. It is only fair, then, in compensation for the loss of this hallowed relic, that some part of your patronage should come to us from Vienne, since a part of our patronal saint has migrated thither. Deign to hold us in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius Domino Papae Graeco salutem

II.

To the Lord Bishop Graecus c. A. D. 472*

[1] Oneras, consummatissime pontificum, verecundiam meam, multifaria laude cumulando si quid stilo rusticante peraravero. atque utinam reatu careat, quod apicum primore congressu quamquam circumscriptus veritati resultantia tamen et diversa conexui; ignorantiae siquidem meae callidus viator imposuit, nam dum solum mercatoris praetendit officium, litteras meas ad formatae vicem, scilicet ut lector, elicuit, sed quas aliquam gratiarum actionem continere decuisset. namque, ut post comperi, plus Massiliensium benignitate provectus est, quam status sui seu per censum seu per familiam forma pateretur.

[1] You overwhelm me, most consummate of all bishops, by the praises showered on any unpolished lines which I happen to write. Short though my first letter was, I wish I could acquit myself of blame for having told you a whole string of things irreconcilable with fact; the truth is that a crafty traveller imposed upon my innocence. Ostensibly a trader, he persuaded me to give him a canonical letter as Reader; and this ought certainly to have contained some statement of his indebtedness to others. For it appeared, on subsequent inquiry, that by the generosity of the people of Marseilles, he set out better equipped than one so moderately favoured in birth and fortune had reason to expect.

[2] quae tamen ut gesta sunt si quispiam dignus relator evolveret, fierent iucunda memoratu, sed quoniam iubetis ipsi,² ut aliquid vobis a me laetum copiosumque pagina ferat, date veniam, si hanc ipsam tabellarii nostri hospitalitatem comicis salibus comparandam salva vestrarum aurium severitate perstringamus, ne secundo insinuatam non ³ nunc primum nosse videamur, simul et, si moris est regularum ⁴ ut ex materia omni usurpentur principia dicendi, cur hic quoque quodcumque mihi sermocinatur materia longius quaeratur expetaturque, nisi ut sermoni nostro sit ipse pro causa, cui erit noster sermo pro sarcina?

[2] It makes quite a good story, if I only wielded a pen able to do justice to its humours. But as you have asked me for a long and diverting letter, permit me to relate the manner in which this messenger of ours exploited the hospitality of your city. It shall be told in a light vein, but I shall be careful to say nothing to offend the severity of your ears. You will see that on this occasion I really do know the man whom I introduce to your notice for the second time. Usage permits a writer to find his subject-matter wherever he can; why, then, should I go far afield, when the man who is to bear my letter can himself provide the

theme of it?

[3] Arverni huic patria; parentes natalibus non superbis sed absolutis, et sicut nihil illustre iactantes, ita nihil servile metuentes, contenti censu modico sed eodem vel suffi-ente vel libero; militia illis in clericali potius quam in Palatino decursa comitatu, pater istius granditer frugi et liberis parum liberalis quique per nimiam parsimoniam iuveni filio plus prodesse quam placere maluerit. quo relicto tunc puer iste vos petiit nimis expeditus, quod erat maximum conatibus primis impedimentum; nihil est enim viatico levi gravius.

[3] The bearer, then, is a native of Clermont, born of humble but free parents, people who made no pretence of social standing, but were above all fear of degradation to the servile state, and satisfied with means, moderate indeed, but unencumbered and amply sufficient for their needs; it was a family which had chiefly held offices under the Church, and had not entered the public service. The father was a most estimable man, but not free-handed with his children; he preferred to serve his son's advantage, instead of ensuring him pleasant times in his youth. The result was, that the prisoner escaped to you a little too lightly equipped; and this was no small impediment at the outset of his adventure, for a light purse is the heaviest encumbrance on a journey.

[4] attamen primus illi in vestra moenia satis secundus introitus, sancti Eustachii, qui vobis decessit, actutum dicto factoque gemina benedictio; hospitium brevi quaesitum, iam Eustachii cura facile inventum, celeriter aditum, civiliter locatum. iam primum crebro occurso 1 excolere vicinos, identidem ab his ipse haud aspernanter resalutari. agere cum singulis, prout aetatis ratio permetteret: grandaevos obsequiis, aequaevos officiis obligare.

[4] Nevertheless he made his first entry into your city under the most favourable auspices. Your predecessor St.Eustachius received him with a twofold blessing in word and deed. He wanted a lodging; one was forthcoming without difficulty on the prelate's commendation. He rented the rooms in due form, entering on his tenancy without delay, and at once set about making the acquaintance of his neighbours by saluting them as often as possible and being civilly greeted in return. He treated all as befitted their several ages; respectful to the old, he was always obliging those of his own years.

[5] pudicitiam prae ceteris sobrietatemque sectari, quod tam laudandum in iuventute quam rarum, summatibus deinceps et tunc comiti civitatis non minus opportunis quam frequentibus excubiis agnosci innotescere familiarescere, sicque eius in dies sedulitas maiorum sodalitatibus promoveri; fovere boni quique certatim, votis omnes plurimi consiliis, privati donis cincti 2 beneficiis adiuvaré; perque haec spes opesque istius raptim saltuatimque cumulari.

[5] He was consistently temperate and moral, showing qualities as admirable as they are rare at his time of life. He was assiduous in paying court to your chief personages, and even to the Count of the city himself; alive to every chance, he began by receiving nods, went on to acquaintance, and ended in intimacy. By this systematic cultivation of important friendships, he rapidly got on in the world; the best people competed for his company. Every one wished him well; there were plenty to offer him good advice. Private individuals made him presents, officials helped him by their influence. In short, his prospects and his resources rose by leaps and bounds.

[6] forte accidit, ut deversorio, cui ipse successerat, quaedam femina non minus censu quam moribus idonea vicinaretur, cuius filia infantiae iam temporibus emensis necdum tamen nubilibus annis appropinquabat, huic hic blandus (siquidem ea aetas infantulae, ut adhuc decenter) nunc quaedam frivola, nunc ludo apta virgineo scruta donabat; quibus isti parum grandibus causis plurimum virgunculae animus copulabatur.

[6] It chanced that near the house where he lodged there resided a lady whose disposition and income were all that he could have desired; she had a daughter, not quite marriageable, but no longer a child. He began to attract the girl by pleasant greetings, and by giving her (as, at her age, he quite properly could) the various trifles and trinkets which delight a maiden's fancy; by such light links he succeeded in closely attaching her heart to his own.

[7] anni obiter thalamo pares: quid morer multis? adolescens, solus tenuis peregrinus, filius familias et e patria patre non solum non volente verum et ignorante discedens, puellam non inferiorem natalibus, facultatibus superiorem, medio episcopo, quia lector, solacio comitis, quia cliens, socru non inspiciente substantiam, sponsa non despiciente personam, uxorem petit, impetrat, ducite conscribuntur tabulae nuptiales; et si qua est istic municipioli nostri sub-urbanitas, matrimonialibus illic inserta documentis mimica largitate recitatur.

[7] Time passed; she reached the age of marriage. You already guess what happened. This young man, without visible relations or substance, a foreigner, a minor who had left home without his father's leave or knowledge, demands the hand of a girl equal to himself in birth, and superior in fortune. He demands, and, what is more, he obtains; he is recognized as suitor. For the bishop actively supported his Reader, and the Count encouraged his client; the future mother-in-law did not trouble to investigate his means; the bride approved his person. The marriage contract was executed, and some little suburban plot or other at Clermont was put into settlement and read out with much theatrical parade.

[8] peracta circumscriptione legitima et fraude sollemni levat divitem coniugem pauper adamatus et diligenter quae ad socerum 1 pertinerant

rimatis convasatisque, non parvo etiam corollario facilitatem credulitatemque munificentiae socrualis 2 emungens receptui in patriam cecinit praestigiator invictus, quo profecto mater puellae pro hyperbolicis instrumentis coepit actionem repetundarum velle proponere et tunc demum de mancipiorum sponsaliciae donationis paucitate maerere, quando iam de nepotum numerositate gaudebat. ad hanc placandam noster Hippolytus perrexerat, cum litteras meas prius obtulit.

[8] This legal trick and solemn swindle once over, the pauper lover carried off the wealthy bride. He promptly went into all his wife's father's affairs, and got together some nice little pickings for himself, aided all through the imposture by the credulity of his easy-going and free-handed mother-in-law; then, and not till then, this incomparable charlatan sounds the retreat and vanishes into Auvergne. After he had gone, the mother thought of bringing an action against him for the absurd exaggerations in the contract. But it was rather late for her to begin lamenting the exiguity of his settlement, when she was already rejoicing at the prospect of a wealth of little grandchildren. It was with the object of appeasing her that our Hippolytus went to Marseilles when he brought you my first letter of introduction.

[9] habetis historiam iuvenis eximii, fabulam 1 Miletiae 2 vel Atticae parem, simul et ignoscite praeter aequum epistularem formulam porrigenti, quam ob hoc stilo morante produxi, ut non tamquam ignotum recipietis quem civem beneficiis reddidistis, pariter et natura comparatum est, ut quibus impendimus studium praestemus affectum, vos vero Eustachium pontificem tunc ex asse digno herede 3 decessisse monstrabit, si ut propinquis testamenti, sic clientibus patrocini legata solvatis.

[9] That is the story of this accomplished young man, as good in its way as any out of Attic Comedy or Milesian fable. Excuse the excessive length of my letter; I have dwelt upon every detail that you might be fully informed in regard to the person whom your generosity has made a citizen of your town; and besides, one naturally has a kindly feeling for those in whom one has taken active interest. You will prove yourself in everything the worthy successor of Eustachius if you expend upon his clients the personal interest he would like to have been able to bequeath them, as you have already paid his relations the legacies mentioned in his will.

[10] ecce parui et oboedientis officium garrulitate complevi, licet qui indocto negotium prolixitatis iniungit, aegre ferre non debeat, si non tam eloquentes epistulas recipit quam loquaces. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[10] And now I have obeyed your commands to the full, and talked to the limit of my obligation; remember that one who imposes on a man of small descriptive powers a subject calling for great detail, must not complain if the response betrays the gossip rather than the skilled narrator. Deign to hold me

in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

* The greater part translated by Hodgkin, ii. 328-30. Cf. VI, viii above,

Sidonius Domino Papae Megethio salutem

III.

To the Lord Bishop Megethios After A.D. 472

[1] Diu multumque deliberavi, quamquam mihi animus affectu 1 studioque 2 parendi sollicitaretur, 3 an destinarem, sicuti iniungis, contestatiunculas, quas ipse dictavi, vicit ad ultimum sententia, quae tibi obsequendum definiebat. igitur petita transmisi: et quid modo dicemus? grandisne haec oboedientia? puto, grandis est; grandior impudentia tamen, hac enim fronte possemus fluminibus aquas, silvis ligna transmittere; hac [enim] 4 temeritate Apellen periculo, caelo Phidian, 5 malleo Polyclitum muneraremur. 6

[1] I HAVE considered long and carefully whether I ought to send you those short treatises of mine, for which you ask. It required thought, though my affectionate desire to please you strongly prompted me at once to comply; but at last I have decided in your favour, and forward what you want. Is not this a great proof of docility? great indeed; but of impudence a yet greater. It is almost as bad as bringing water to a river, or wood to a forest; as audacious as offering a pencil to Apelles, a chisel to Phidias, or a mallet to Polyclitus.

[2] dabis ergo veniam praesumptioni, papa sancte facunde venerabilis, quae doctissimo examini tuo naturali garrulitate deblaterat. habet consuetudo nostra pro ritu, ut etsi pauca edit, multa conscribat, veluti est canibus innatum, ut, etsi non latrant, tamen hirriant. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[2] I beg you, therefore, venerable friend, you whose sanctity is only equalled by your eloquence, to pardon the presumption which submits to your critical judgement these products of an irrepressible pen. I am always writing, though I publish very little; much as a dog will keep on snarling, though he may never break into an open bark. Deign to keep me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius Domino Papae Fonteio salutem

IV.

To the Lord Bishop Fonteius After A.D. 472

[1] Insinuare quoscumque iam paveo, quia commendatis nos damus verba, vos munera; tamquam non principalitas sit censenda beneficii, quod a me peccatore digressis sanctae communionis portio patet, testis horum est Vindicius noster, qui segnius domum pro munificentiae vestrae fasce remeavit, quoquo loco est, constanter affirmans, cum sitis opinione magni, gradu maximi, non tamen esse vos amplius dignitate quam dignatione laudandos.

[1] I AM getting quite afraid of introducing people to you, for whereas I only give them words, you give them presents, as if it were not already the height of privilege for a man to leave my sinful company for a conversation so holy as yours. I cite in evidence my friend Vindicius, who is so laden with your generous gifts that he has returned by slower stages than he went, proclaiming everywhere that high as your repute may be, supreme as your position, your true title to praise lies less in your high office than in the voluntary respect of men.

[2] praedicat melleas sanctas et floridas, quae procedunt de temperata communione, blanditias; nec tamen ex hoc quicquam pontificali deperire personae, quod sacerdotii fastigium non frangitis comitate, sed flectitis. quibus agnitis sic inardesco, ut tum me sim felicissimum iudicaturus, cum mihi coram posito sub divina ope contigerit tam securum de deo suo pectus licet praesumptiosis, artis tamen fovere complexibus.

[2] He dilates upon your piety, upon the sweetness and affable charm of a familiarity never too familiar; he declares that your episcopal dignity in no way suffers, and that in you the priestly character, like a tall tree, may bend but is never broken. After hearing all these eulogies I shall never be quite happy until God suffers me to clasp in my close presumptuous embrace a heart so wholly stayed upon Him.

[3] accipite confitentem: suspicio quidem nimis severos et imbecillitatis meae conscius aequanimiter fero asperos mihi; sed, quod fatendum est, hisce moribus facilius humilitate submittimur quam familiaritate sociamur.1 in summa, viderit, qua conscientiae dote turgescat, qui se ambientibus rigidum reddit; ego tamen morum illius aemulator esse praelegerim, 2 qui etiam longe positorum incitare in se affectat affectum.

[3] For I will make you a small confession. I can admire a man of an austere nature, and because I am very conscious of my own weakness can even

tolerate harsh treatment from him; but I feel that one only submits to people of such temperament, one cannot really like them. In my opinion, the man who is always stern to those about him had best be very sure that his conscience is good enough to justify his pride; and for myself, I prefer to take as my model one who knows how to attract the devotion even of those who live leagues away.

[4] *illud quoque mihi inter maxima granditer cordi est, quod apostolatus vestri patrocinium copiosum verissimis dominis animae meae, Simplicio et Apollinari, intermina intercessione conferre vos comperi. si verum est, rogo, ut non habeat vestra caritas finem; si falsum est, peto, ut non differat habere principium, praeterea commendo gerulum litterarum, cui istic, id est in Vasionensi oppido, 3 quiddam necessitatis exortum sanari vestrae auctoritatis reverentiaeque 4 pondere potest, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.*

[4] Great as your other good deeds have been, nothing that I have heard delights me more than the news that the stream of your episcopal favour flows, with your unceasing prayers, towards the true lords of my heart, Simplicius and Apollinaris. If this be true, I pray that your kind deeds may never have an end; if false, that they may have immediate beginning. I commend the bearer to your notice. A troublesome business has arisen for him at Vaison, which the weight of your revered authority can doubtless bring to a favourable issue. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius Domino Papae Agroecio salutem

V.

To the Lord Bishop Agroecius A. D. 472

[1] Biturigas decreto civium petitus adveni: causa fuit evocationis titubans ecclesiae status, quae nuper summo viduata pontifice utriusque professionis ordinibus ambiendi sacerdotii quoddam classicum cecinit, fremit populus per studia divisus; pauci alteros, multi sese non offerunt solum sed inferunt, si aliquid pro virili portione secundum deum consulas veritatemque, omnia occurrunt levia varia fucata, et (quid dicam?) sola est illic simplex impudentia.

[1] A PUBLIC resolution of the citizens has called me to Bourges. The reason for the summons is the tottering condition of the Church, which has just been widowed of her bishop; members of both orders have been intriguing for the vacant see, just as if some bugle had sounded for the fray. The people are excited, and divided into factions; while only a few are ready to propose others, there are many who do not so much propose as impose themselves. To a man determined, as far as in him lies, to obey God and keep fast the truth, everything here seems frivolous, unstable, and sophisticated; one might say that the only genuine thing left is impudence.

[2] et nisi me immerito queri iudicaretis, dicere auderem tam praecipitis animi esse plerosque tamque periculosi, ut sacrosanctam sedem dignitatemque affectare pretio oblato non reformident, remque iam dudum in nundinam mitti auctionemque potuisse, si quam paratus invenitur emptor, venditor tam desperatus inveniretur. proin quaeso, ut officii mei novitatem pudorem necessitatem expecta- tissimi 1 adventus tui ornes contubernio, tuteris auxilio.

[2] You may think these laments exaggerated; but I scarcely hesitate to affirm that there are many here who harbour thoughts so rash and ruinous that they are ready to offer ready money for this holy see and all its dignity; the sale might before now have been effected in open market if the greed of the would-be purchasers had found response in vendors equal in audacity. I entreat you, therefore, to crown my hopes by giving me the honour of your presence under the same roof, and lending my diffidence, my embarrassment, and my inexperience the shelter of your high protection.

[3] nec te, quamquam Senoniae caput es, inter haec dubia subtraxeris intentionibus medendis Aquitanorum, quia minimum refert, quod nobis est in habitatione divisa provincia, quando in religione causa coniungitur, his accedit, quod de urbibus Aquitanicae primae solum oppidum Arvernum Romanorum 2 reliquum partibus bella fecerunt, quapropter in constituendo

praefatae civitatis anti-stite provincialium collegarum deficimur numero, nisi metropolitanorum reficiamur assensu.

[3] At a time of such perplexity, do not refuse your help in healing the dissensions of the people of Aquitaine; it is true that you are at the head of the Sénonais, but that is of small consequence; though we live in different provinces, we are bound by a single religious bond. Besides, Clermont is the last of all the cities in Aquitania Prima which the fortune of war has left to Rome; the number of provincial bishops is therefore inadequate to the election of a new prelate at Bourges, unless we have the support of the metropolitans.

[4] de cetero quod ad honoris vestri spectat praerogativam, nullus a me hactenus nominatus, nullus adhibitus, nullus electus est; omnia censurae tuae salva inlibata solida servantur. tantum hoc meum duco, vestras invitare personas expectare voluntates laudare sententias, et cum in locum statumque pontificis quisque sufficitur, ut a vobis praeceptum, a me procedat obsequium.

[4] Rest assured that I have in no way encroached on your prerogatives. As yet I have neither nominated, summoned, nor preferred a candidate; I have left the matter absolutely intact for your decision. All that I take upon myself is to invite you hither, to await your good pleasure, to acquiesce in your opinion, and when the throne is filled, to render the proper deference to your commands.

[5] sed si, quod tamen arbitror minime fore, precibus meis apud vos malesuadus obstiterit interpres, poteritis praesentiam vestram potius excusare quam culpam; sicut e diverso, si venitis, ostenditis, quia terminus potuerit poni vestrae quidem regioni, sed non potuerit caritati. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[5] I do not for a moment suspect that any bad adviser will dissuade you from acceding to this request; but should that prove to be the case, you will hardly acquit yourself of blame, though it is easy to find reasonable excuses for not undertaking so long a journey. On the other hand, your coming will prove that though there may be limits to your diocese, your brotherly love is without bounds. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius Domino Papae Basilio salutem

VI.

To the Lord Bishop Basilus A.D. 472-3

[1] Sunt nobis munere dei novo nostrorum temporum exemplo amicitiarum vetera iura, diuque est quod invicem diligimus ex aequo, porro autem, quod ad communem conscientiam pertinet, tu patronus: quamquam hoc ipsum praesumptiose arroganterque loquar; 2 namque iniquitas mea tanta est, ut mederi de lapsuum eius assiduitate vix etiam tuae supplicationis efficacia queat.

[1] GOD has permitted us to give this generation a new example of what old friendship means; ours indeed is an attachment of long duration, and equal strength upon both sides. But our respective positions are by no means equal: you are the patron and I the client; perhaps, indeed, I presume too far in saying even so much. For so great is my unworthiness, that even the proven efficacy of your intercession can hardly make good my backsliding.

[2] igitur, quia mihi es tam patrocínio quam dilectione bis dominus, pariter et quod memini probe, quo polleas igne sensuum, fonte verborum, qui viderim Modaharium, civem Gothum, haereseos Arianae iacula vibrantem quo tu spiritualium testimoniorum mucrone confoderis, servata ceterorum tam reverentia quam pace pontificum non iniuria tibi defleo, qualiter ecclesiasticas caulas istius aetatis 1 lupus, qui peccatis pereuntium saginatur animarum, clandestino morsu necdum intellecti dentis arrodatur.

[2] Because you are doubly my lord and master, firstly as my protector, secondly as my friend; because I so well remember (was I not by?) the flow of your eloquence, springing from that fervent zeal of yours, when you pierced with the point of your spiritual testimonies Modaharius the Goth as he brandished the darts of Arian heresy against you; because of all this, I need fear no charge of disrespect towards other pontiffs when I pour into your ears my grief at the ravages of the great wolf of our times, who ranges about the ecclesiastical fold battenning upon lost souls, and biting right and left by stealth and undetected.

[3] namque hostis antiquus, quo facilius insultet balatibus ovium destitutarum, dormitantum prius incipit cervicibus imminere pastorum, neque ego ita mei in eminens non sum, ut nequaquam me hunc esse reminiscar, quem longis adhuc abluenda fletibus conscientia premit; cuius stercora tamen sub ope Christi quandoque mysticis orationum tuarum rastris eruderabuntur. sed quoniam supereminet privati reatris verecundiam publica salus, non verebor, etsi carpat zelum in me fidei sinister interpres, sub vanitatis invidia causam prodere veritatis.

[3] For that old enemy begins by threatening the shepherds' throats, knowing it the best way to ensure his triumph over the bleating and abandoned sheep. I am not so far oblivious of my own career as to ignore that I am one whose conscience has yet to be washed clean by many tears; but by God's grace my foulness shall at last be cleared away with the mystic rake of your intercession. But since consideration for the public safety must come before everything, even a man's sense of his own unworthiness, I shall not hesitate to proclaim the cause of truth, disregarding all insinuations about my vanity, or doubts as to the sincerity of my faith.

[4] Evarix, rex Gothorum, quod limitem regni sui rupto dissolutoque foedere antiquo vel tutatur armorum iure vel pro- movet, nec nobis peccatoribus hic accusare nec vobis sanctis hic discutere permissum est. quin potius, si requiras, ordinis res est, ut et dives hic purpura byssoque veletur et Lazarus hic ulceribus et paupertate feriat; ordinis res est, ut, dum in hac allegorica versamur Aegypto, Pharaon incedat cum diademate, Israelita cum cophino; ordinis res est, ut, dum in hac figuratae Babylonis fornace decoquimur, nos cum Ieremia spiritalem Ierusalem suspiriosis plangamus ululatus et Assur fastu regio tonans sanctorum sancta proculcet.

[4] Neither a saint like you can fitly here discuss, nor a sinner like myself indict, the action of Euric the Gothic king in breaking and bearing down an ancient treaty to defend, or rather extend by armed force the frontiers of his kingdom. It is the rule here below, for Dives to be clothed in purple and fine linen, and for Lazarus to bear the lash of sores and poverty. So long as we walk in this allegoric land of Egypt, it is the rule that Pharaoh shall go with a diadem on his head, and the Israelite with the carrier's basket. It is the rule that while we are burned in the furnace of this symbolic Babylon we must sigh and groan like Jeremiah for the spiritual Jerusalem, while Assur thunders in his royal pomp and treads the Holy of Holies beneath his feet.

[5] quibus ego praesentium futurarumque beatitudinum vicissitudinibus inspectis communia patientius incommoda fero; primum, quod mihi quae merear introspectanti, quaecumque adversa provenerint, leviora reputabuntur; dein quod certum scio maximum esse remedium interioris hominis, si in hac area mundi variis passionum flagellis trituretur exterior.

[5] Yet when I compare the transient joys of this world with those which are to come, I find it easier to endure calamities which no mortal may escape. For, firstly, when I consider my own demerits, all possible troubles seem lighter than those which I deserve; and then know well that the best of cures for the inward man is for the outward man to be threshed by the flails of suffering.

[6] sed, quod fatendum est, praefatum regem Gothorum, quamquam sit ob virium merita terribilis, non tam Romanis moenibus quam legibus Christianis insidiaturum pavesco. tantum, ut ferunt, ori, tantum pectori suo catholici

mentio nominis acet, ut ambigas ampliusne suae gentis an suae sectae teneat principatum, ad hoc armis poteris acer animis alacer annis hunc solum patitur errorem, quod putat sibi tractatum consiliorumque successum tribui pro religione legitima, quem potius assequitur pro felicitate terrena.

[6] I must confess that formidable as the mighty Goth may be, I dread him less as the assailant of our walls than as the subverter of our Christian laws. They say that the mere mention of the name of Catholic so embitters his countenance and heart that one might take him for the chief priest of his Arian sect rather than for the monarch of his nation. Omnipotent in arms, keen-witted, and in the full vigour of life, he yet makes this single mistake — he attributes his success in his designs and enterprises to the orthodoxy of his belief, whereas the real cause lies in mere earthly fortune.

[7] propter quod discite cito catholici status valetudinem occultam, ut apertam festinetis adhibere medicinam. Burdigala, Petrogorii, Ruteni, Lemovices, Gabalitani, Helusani, Vasates, Convenae, Auscenses, multoque iam maior numerus civitatum summis sacerdotibus ipsorum morte truncatus nec ullis deinceps episcopis in de-functorum officia suffectis, per quos utique minorum ordinum ministeria subrogabantur, latum spiritualis ruinae limitem traxit, quam fere constat sic per singulos dies morientum patrum proficere defectu, ut non solum quoslibet haereticos praesentum verum etiam haeresiarchas priorum temporum potuerit inflectere: ita populos excessu pontificum orbatos tristis intercisae fidei desperatio premit.

[7] For these reasons I would have you consider the secret malady of the Catholic Church that you may hasten to apply an open remedy. Bordeaux, Périgueux, Rodez, Limoges, Javols, Eauze, Bazas, Comminges, Auch, and many another city are all like bodies which have lost their heads through the death of their respective bishops. No successors have been appointed to fill their places, and maintain the ministry in the lower orders of the Church; the boundaries of spiritual desolation are extended far and wide. Every day the ruin spreads by the death of more fathers in God; so pitiful is her state, that the very heresiarchs of former times, to say nothing of contemporary heretics, might well have looked with pity on peoples orphaned of their pontiffs and oppressed by desperation at this catastrophe of their faith.

[8] nulla in desolatis cura dioecesibus 1 [parochiisque]. 2 videas in ecclesiis aut putres culminum lapsus aut valvarum cardinibus avulsis basilicarum aditus hispidorum veprium fruticibus obstructos. ipsa, pro dolor, videas armenta non modo semipotentibus iacere vestibulis sed etiam herbosa viridantium altarium latera depasci. sed iam nec per rusticas solum solitudo parochias: ipsa insuper urbanarum ecclesiarum conventicula rarescunt.

[8] Diocese and parish lie waste without ministers. You may see the rotten roofs of churches fallen in, the doors unhinged and blocked by growing

brambles. More grievous still, you may see the cattle not only lying in the half-ruined porticoes, but grazing beside altars green with weeds. And this desolation is not found in country parishes alone; even the congregations of urban churches begin to fall away.

[9] *quid enim fidelibus solacii superest, quando clericalis non modo disciplina verum etiam memoria perit? equidem cum clericus quisque defungitur, si benedictione succidua non accipiat dignitatis heredem, in illa ecclesia sacerdotium moritur, non sacerdos, atque ita quid spei restare pronunties, ubi facit terminus hominis finem religionis? altius inspicite spiritalium damna membrorum: profecto intellegitis, quanti subrepti sunt 3 episcopi, tantorum vobis populorum fidem periclitaturam. taceo vestros Crocum Simpliciumque collegas, quos cathedris sibi traditis eliminatos similis exilii cruciat poena dissimilis, namque unus ipsorum dolet se non videre quo redeat; alter se dolet videre quo non redit.*

[9] What comfort remains to the faithful, when not only the teaching of the clergy perishes, but their very memory is lost out of mind? When a priest departs this life, not merely the holder of the sacred office dies, but the office itself dies with him, unless with his failing breath he gives his blessing to a successor. What hope remains when the term of a man's life implies the end of religion in his parish? If you examine more closely the ills of the body spiritual, you will soon perceive that for every bishop snatched from our midst, the faith of a population is imperilled. I need not mention your colleagues Crocus and Simplicius, removed alike from their thrones and suffering a common exile, if different punishments. For one of them laments that he cannot see whither he is to return; the other that he sees only too clearly where he is to return no more.

[10] *tu sacratissimorum pontificum, Leontii Fausti Graeci, urbe ordine caritate medius inveniris; per vos mala foederum currunt, per vos regni utriusque pacta condicionesque portantur, agite, quatenus haec sit amicitiae 1 concordia 2 principalis, 3 ut episcopali ordinatione permissa populos Galliarum, quos limes Gothicae sortis incluserit, teneamus ex fide, etsi non tenemus ex foedere, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.*

[10] You for your part have about you the most holy bishops Faustus, Leontius, and Graecus, environed by the city, your order and their fraternal love. To you these miserable treaties are submitted, the pacts and agreements of two kingdoms pass through your hands. Do your best, as far as the royal condescension suffers you, to obtain for our bishops the right of ordination in those parts of Gaul now included within the Gothic boundaries, that if we cannot keep them by treaty for the Roman State, we may at least hold them by religion for the Roman Church. Deign to bear me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius Domino Papae Graeco salutem

VII.

To the Lord Bishop Graecus A.D. 474-5*

[1] Ecce iterum Amantius, nugigerulus noster, Massiliam suam repetit, aliquid, ut moris est, de manubiis civitatis domum reportaturus, si tamen . . . aut 1 catapulus arriserit. per quem ioculariter plura garrire, si pariter unus idemque valeret animus exercere laeta et tristia sustinere, siquidem nostri hic nunc est infelicis anguli status, cuius, ut fama confirmat misera minus 2 fuit sub bello quam sub pace condicio.

[1] HERE is Amantius, the usual bearer of my trifles; off once more to his Marseilles, to bring home a little profit out of the city, if he is fortunate in his business at the port. I could use the opportunity of his journey to gossip gaily on, if a mind that bears a load of sorrow could at the same time think of cheerful things. For the state of our unhappy region is miserable indeed. Every one declares that things were better in war-time than they are now after peace has been concluded.

[2] facta est servitus nostra pretium securitatis alienae. Arvernorum, pro dolor, servitus, qui, si prisca replicarentur, audebant se quondam fratres Latio dicere et sanguine ab Iliaco populos computare. si recentia memorabuntur, hi sunt, qui viribus propriis hostium publicorum arma remorati sunt; cui saepe populo Gothus non fuit clauso intra moenia formidini, cum vicissim ipse fieret oppugnatoribus positus intra castra terrori. hi sunt, qui sibi adversus vicinorum aciem tam duces fuere quam milites; de quorum tamen sorte certaminum si quid prosperum cessit, vos secunda solata sunt, si quid contrarium, illos adversa fregerunt, illi amore rei publicae Seronatum barbaris provincias propinantem non timuerunt legibus tradere, quem convictum deinceps res publica vix praesumpsit occidere.

[2] Our enslavement was made the price of security for a third party; the enslavement, ah! the shame of it! of those Arvernians who by old tradition claimed brotherhood with Latium and descent from the sons of Troy; who in our own time stood forth alone to stay the advance of the common enemy; who even when closely beset so little feared the Goth that they sallied out against his leaguer, and put the fear of their valour into his heart. These are the men whose common soldiers were as good as captains, but who never reaped the benefit of their victories: that was handed over for your consolation, while all the crushing burden of defeat they had to bear themselves. These are the patriots who did not fear to bring to justice the infamous Seronatus, betrayer of imperial provinces to the barbarian, while the State for which they risked so much had hardly the courage on his conviction

to carry out the capital sentence.

[3] hoccine meruerunt inopia flamma, ferrum pestilentia, pingues caedibus gladii et macri ieiuniis proeliores? propter huius tam 1 inclitae pacis expectationem avulsas muralibus rimis herbas in cibum traximus, crebro per ignorantiam venenatis graminibus infecti, quae indiscretis foliis sucisque viridantia saepe manus fame concolor legit? pro his tot tantisque devotionis experimentis nostri, 1 quantum audio, facta iactura est?

[3] And this is to be our reward for braving destitution, fire, sword, and pestilence, for fleshing our swords in the enemy's blood and going ourselves starved into battle. This, then, is the famous peace we dreamed of, when we tore the grass from the crannies in the walls to eat; when in our ignorance we often by mistake ate poisonous weeds, indiscriminately plucking them with livid hands of starvation, hardly less green than they. For all these proofs of our devotion, it would seem that we are to be made a sacrifice.

[4] pudeat vos, precamur, huius foederis, nec utilis nec decori, per vos legationes meant; vobis primum pax quamquam principe absente non solum tractata reseratur, verum etiam tractanda committitur, veniabilis sit, quaesumus, apud aures vestras veritatis asperitas, cui convicii invidiam dolor eripit, parum in commune consulitis; et, cum in concilium convenitis, non tam curae est 2 publicis mederi periculis quam privatis studere fortunis; quod utique saepe diuque facientes iam non primi comprovincialium coepistis esse, sed ultimi.

[4] If it be so, may you live to blush for a peace without either honour or advantage. For you are the channel through which negotiations are conducted. When the king is absent, you not only see the terms of peace, but new proposals are brought before you. I ask your pardon for telling you hard truths; my distress must take all colour of abuse from what I say. You think too little of the general good; when you meet in council, you are less concerned to relieve public perils than to advance private fortunes. By the long repetition of such acts you begin to be regarded as the last instead of the first among your fellow provincials.

[5] at quousque istae poterunt durare praestigiae? non enim diutius ipsi maiores nostri hoc nomine gloriabuntur, qui minores incipiunt non habere, quapropter vel consilio, quo potestis, statum concordiae tam turpis incidite. adhuc, si necesse est, obsideri, adhuc pugnare, adhuc esurire delectat, si vero tradimur, qui non potuimus viribus obtineri, invenisse vos certum est quid barbarum suaderetis 1 ignavi.

[5] But how long are these feats of yours to last? Our ancestors will cease to glory in the name of Rome if they have no longer descendants to bear their memory. Oh, break this infamous peace at any cost; there are pretexts enough

to your hand. We are ready, if needs must, to continue the struggle and to undergo more sieges and starvations. But if we are to be betrayed, we whom force failed to conquer, we shall know beyond a doubt that a barbarous and cowardly transaction was inspired by you.

[6] *sed cur dolori nimio frena laxamus? quin potius ignoscite afflictis nec imputate maerentibus. namque alia regio tradita servitium sperat, Arverna supplicium, sane si medicari nostris ultimis non valetis, saltem hoc efficitur prece sedula, ut sanguis vivat, quorum est moritura libertas; parate exulibus terram, capiendis redemptionem, viaticum peregrinaturis. si murus noster aperitur hostibus, non sit clausus vester hospitibus, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.*

[6] But it little avails to give the rein to passionate sorrow; you must make allowance for us in our affliction, nor too nicely weigh the language of despair. The other conquered regions have only servitude to expect; Auvergne must prepare for punishment. If you can hold out no help in our extremity, seek to obtain of Heaven by your unceasing prayers that though our liberty be doomed, our race at least may live. Provide land for the exile, prepare a ransom for the captive, make provision for the emigrant. If our own walls must offer an open breach to the enemy, let yours be never shut against your friends. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

* Partly translated by Fertig, Part ii, p. 16.

Sidonius Domino Papae Euphronio salutem

VIII.

To the Lord Bishop Euphronius A. D. 472

[1] Quandoquidem me clericalis officii vincula ligant, felicissimum mediocritatis meae statum pronuntiarem, si nobis haberentur quam territoria vicina tam moenia, de minimis videlicet rebus coronam tuam maximisque consulerem, fieretque actionum mearum quasi cuiuspiam fluvii placidus 1 cursus atque inoffensus, si e tractatu 2 tuo veluti ex saluberrimo fonte manaret. procul dubio tunc ille non esset aut spumosos per iactantiam aut turbidus per superbiam aut caenosus per conscientiam aut praeceps per iuventutem, quin potius in illo squalidum si quid ac putre sorderet, totum id ad-mixta consilii tui vena dilueret.

[1] I AM now held in the bonds of my clerical duty, but I should regard my undistinguished position as a veritable blessing if only the walls of our cities were as near as the borders of their territories. If that might only be, I should consult your holiness on all things small and great; my activities would flow like a placid and untroubled stream, could they but rise from your converse as from a life-giving spring. They should never know the froth of vain conceit, or the turbid course of pride, or the muddiness of a bad conscience, or the falls of headstrong youth; if defilement and corruption were found in them, they should be washed clean by the clear vein of your counsel.

[2] sed quoniam huiusmodi votis spatia sunt longa interposita praepedimento, sedulo precor, ut consulentem de scrupulo incursae ambiguitatis expedias et, quia Simplicium, spectabilem virum, episcopum sibi flagitat populus Biturix ordinari, quid super tanto debeam negotio facere, decernas. huius es namque vel erga me dignationis vel erga reliquos auctoritatis, ut si quid fieri voles (voles autem quicquid aequissimum est), non suadere tam debeas quam iubere.

[2] But alas! the distance that divides us prevents the fulfilment of these desires; I therefore beg you to send a representative to advise on a perplexing question which has arisen here. The inhabitants of Bourges demand the consecration of the admirable Simplicius as their bishop; I want your decision in the matter. Your consideration for me, and your authority over others, are such that you need never press your views; you have simply to indicate your will, which is sure to coincide with justice.

[3] de quo tamen Simplicio scitote narrari plurima bona, atque ea quidem a plurimis bonis, quae testimonia mihi prima fronte conloquii non satis grata, quia satis gratiosa, iudicabantur. at postquam aemulos eius nihil vidi amplius quam silere, atque eos maxime, qui fidem foveant Arianorum, neque

quippiam nominato, licet necdum nostrae professions, illicitum opponi, animum adverti exactis-simum virum posse censi, de quo civis malus loqui, bonus tacere non posset.

[3] I must tell you that of Simplicius all good is spoken, and by the best men in the city. At first I was inclined to view this testimony with little favour; it seemed to me to suggest favouritism. But when I observed that his rivals could find nothing better to do than to hold their tongues, especially those of the Arian persuasion; when I saw that no irregularity could be alleged to his discredit, though he is only a candidate and not yet in orders, I came to the conclusion that a man against whom the bad citizen could say nothing and on whose behalf the good could never say enough must be regarded as almost a perfect character.

[4] sed cur ego istaec 1 ineptus adieci, tamquam darem consilium qui poposci? quin potius omnia ex vestro nutu arbitrio litterisque disponentur sacerdotibus, popularibus manifestabuntur. neque enim ita desipimus in totum, ut evocandum te primum, si venire possibile est, deinde, si quid sequius, 2 certe consulendum decerneremus, nisi in omnibus obsecuturi. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[4] But how foolish I am to make these comments, as if I were giving advice in place of asking it! The clergy will act in accordance with the decision contained in your letter; the people will acclaim it in the same spirit. We are not altogether irrational; we should not have decided to secure, if possible, your present aid, or if not, your advice, unless we had made up our minds to follow your counsel in all things. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius Domino Papae Perpetuo salutem

IX.

To the Lord Bishop Perpetuus A. D. 472*

[1] Desiderio spiritualium lectionum, quarum 3 tibi tam per authenticos quam per disputatores byblio-theca fidei catholicae 4 perfamiliaris est, etiam illa, quae maxime 5 tuarum scilicet aurium minime digna sunt occupare censuram, noscere cupis; siquidem iniungis, ut orationem, quam 1 video 2 ad plebem Biturigis in ecclesia sermocinatus, tibi dirigam; cui non rhetorica partitio, non oratoriae minae, 3 non grammaticales figurae congruentem decorem disciplinamque supeditaverunt.

[1] YOUR ardour for religious books has given you a most intimate acquaintance with everything written for the Catholic faith, whether by the Canonical authors or by the controversialists. You are even curious about productions unworthy the honour of your attention; for instance, you now wish me to send a copy of my public address delivered in the church at Bourges, an oration without the orthodox rhetorical divisions, or emphasis, or figures of speech to lend it a proper style and dignity.

[2] neque enim illic, ut exacte perorantibus mos est, aut pondera historica aut poetica schemata scintillasve controversialium clausularum libuit aptari. nam cum me partium seditiones studia varietates in diversa raptarent, sic dictandi mihi materiam suggerebat iniuria, quod tempus occupatio subtrahebat. etenim tanta erat turba competitorum, ut cathedrae unius numerosissimos candidatos nec duo recipere scamna potuissent, omnes placebant sibi, omnes omnibus displicebant.

[2] It has none of the qualities of a finished eloquence; the weight of historical allusion, the enrichment of poetical quotation, the sparkling points of dialectic had all to be abandoned. I was distracted by the rancorous intrigues of the various factions; my mission occupied all my time; the abuses before my eyes were the one and only subject for my pen. So great was the company of the competitors, that two benches would not have held the candidates for the single vacant throne. And every one of these was as pleased with himself as he was critical of all his rivals.

[3] neque [enim] 4 valuissemus aliquid in commune consulere, nisi iudicii sui faciens plebs lenita iacturam sacerdotali se potius iudicio subdidisset, presbyterorum sane paucis angulatim fringultientibus, porro autem palam ne mussitantibus quidem, quia plerique non minus suum quam reliquos ordines pertimescebant. igitur, dum publice totos singuli cavent, factum est, ut omnes non aspernanter audirent quod deinceps ambienter exponerent. 1

[3] If the people had not grown reasonable, and subordinated their judgement to that of the bishops, there would have been little chance of effecting anything. As it was, one saw small groups of priests whispering together in corners, though not a word was uttered openly, most of them being just as afraid of their own order as of every other. The result was that every one was suspicious of his neighbour; all were induced to hear our proposals without too much difficulty, and afterwards to explain them in their turn to others.

[4] itaque paginam sume subditis voluminibus ad-iunctam, quam duabus vigiliis unius noctis aestivae Christo teste dictatam plurimum vereor ne ipsi amplius lectioni, quae hoc de se probat, quam mihi credas, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa. CONTIO

[4] Here, then, I append the address. It was written in two vigils of a single summer night, under no eyes but those of Christ; my haste is, I fear, too obvious from internal evidence for you to need my assurance that it existed.

ADDRESS.*

[5] Refert historia saecularis, dilectissimi, quendam philosophorum discipulis advenientibus prius tacendi patientiam quam loquendi monstrasse doctrinam et sic incipientes quosque inter disputantium consecutaneorum cathedras mutum sustinuisse quinquennium, ut etiam celeriora quorumpiam ingenia non liceret ante laudari quam deceret agnosci. ita fiebat, ut eosdem post longam taciturnitatem locutos quisque audire coeperat, non taceret 2 quia, donec scientiam natura combiberit, non maior est gloria dixisse quod noveris quam siluisse quod nescias.

[5] Secular history relates, beloved brethren, that a certain philosopher used to teach new pupils the discipline of keeping silence before the art of speaking. They had to sit through five mute years listening to the disputations of their fellow students echoing all round them, and not even the quickest brains were allowed to anticipate the proper hour of recognition. When, after that long repression these pupils spoke at last, the audience could not repress applause; for until the mind is steeped with knowledge there is less credit in displaying what you know than in holding your peace on things of which you are ignorant.

[6] at nunc mediocritatem meam manet longe diversa condicio, cui per suspiriosas voragines et flagitiorum volutabra gradienti professionis huiusce pondus impactum est; et prius quam ulli bonorum reddam discentis obsequium, cogor debere ceteris docentis officium, adicitur huic impossibilitati pondus pudoris, quod mihi peculiariter paginae decretalis oblatu pontificis eligendi mandastis arbitrium coram sacrosancto et pontificatu maximo dignissimo papa; qui cum sit suae provinciae caput, sit etiam mihi usu institutione, facundia privilegio, tempore aetate praestantior, ego deque

coramque metropolitano verba facturus, et provincialis et iunior, pariter fero inmeriti verecundiam, procacis invidiam.

[6] Far other is the position of the indifferent orator who now addresses you. While he yet walked among lamentable pitfalls and wallowing-places of sin, the heavy charge of the sacred calling was laid upon him; and without ever having himself rendered a disciple's duty to a master of repute, he has himself to play the teacher of other men. That task is in itself impossible enough; it is made heavier by the diffidence which I feel at having been selected by your decretal letter to choose you a bishop, while all the time I see before me a saintly prelate worthy of the highest of pontifical thrones, one who stands at the head of his province, and is my superior in everything, in experience, in training, in eloquence, in prestige, in seniority, and in years. Speaking thus as a junior and provincial bishop, before one metropolitan on the election of another, I am doubly embarrassed by my lack of qualification, and by the odium of presumption which I may well incur.

[7] sed quoniam vestro sic libitum errori, ut ipse prudentia carens prudentem vobis, in cuiusque personam bona multa concurrant, sub ope Christi episcopum exquiram, noveritis huiusmodi assensu multum me honoris, plus oneris excipere, primore loco grandem publicae opinionis sarcinam penditote, quod iniunxistis incipienti consummata iudicia atque ab hoc rectum consilii tramitem postulatis,¹ in quo recolitis adhuc nuper erratum, igitur quia vobis id fuit cordi, obsecro, ut quales nos fide creditis, tales intercessione faciatis atque dignemini humilitatem nostram orationibus potius in caelum ferre quam plausibus.

[7] The responsibility, however, rests on you, since you have been rash enough to impose upon one deficient in wisdom the task of finding you, with God's aid, a bishop wiser than himself, and combining in a single person a host of different virtues: you must be well aware that honourable though the task may be, it is yet more clearly onerous. I would have you in the first instance reflect to what a crushing burden of criticism you subject me, requiring a perfected judgement from a beginner, and right guidance from one who hitherto has shown you nothing but his fallibility. Since, however, this has been your will, I entreat your prayers, that I may really become all that you now suppose me to be, and that if I am to be exalted to the skies, it may be not by your plaudits but by your supplications.

[8] primum tamen nosse vos par est, in quas me obloquiorum Scyllas et in quos linguarum, sed humanarum, latratus quorundam vos infamare conantum turbo coniecerit. est enim haec quaedam vis malis moribus, ut innocentiam multitudinis devenustent scelera paucorum, cum tamen e diverso bonorum raritas flagitia multorum nequeat excusare virtutibus communicatis.

[8] But first you ought to know on what Scylla-rocks of slander, on what

barking mouths (alas! that they should be human) I have been driven by the tempestuous fury of those who seek to bring you into discredit. Evil manners have this power: they allow the offences of the few to disfigure the innocence of the multitude, whereas the good are too rare to communicate their virtues to the many, and so to palliate their crimes.

[9] si quempiam nomina-vero monachorum, quamvis illum, Paulis Antoniis, Hilarionibus Macariis conferendum, sectatae anachoreseos praerogativa comitetur, aures ilico meas incondita tumultu circumstrepitas 1 ignobilium pumilionum murmur everberat conquerentum: 'hic qui nominatur,' inquit, 'non episcopi, sed potius abbatis complet officium et intercedere magis pro animabus apud caelestem quam pro corporibus apud terrenum iudicem potest.' sed quis non exacerbescat, cum videat sordidari virtutum sinceritatem criminatione vitiorum?

[9] If I name a monk to you, were his austerities to rival those of a Paul, an Antony, a Hilarion, or a Macarius, my ears will at once be deafened by the confused outcries of ignoble pygmies who will object in these terms: 'The man you nominate is trained not for a bishop's but for an abbot's work, and better fitted to intercede for souls before the celestial Judge than for their bodies before the judges of this world.' Now who could keep his patience, hearing singleness of heart besmirched by such imputation of imaginary defects?

[10] si eligimus humilem, vocatur abiectus: si proferimus erectum, superbire censetur; si minus institutum, propter imperitiam creditur inridendus: si aliquatenus doctum, propter scientiam clamatur inflatus; si severum, tamquam crudelis horretur: si indulgentem, facilitate culpatur; si simplicem, despicitur ut brutus: si acrem, vitatur ut calidus; 1 si diligentem, superstitiosus decernitur: si remissum, neglegens iudicatur; si sollertem, cupidus: si quietum, pronuntiatur ignavus; si abstemium producimus, avarus accipitur: si eum qui prandendo pascat, edacitatis impetitur: si eum qui pascendo ieiunet, vanitatis arguitur.

[10] If we choose one distinguished for humility, he will be called an abject; if, on the other hand, we propose a man with self-respect, he will be set down as arrogant; if our choice be one of small learning, his ignorance will make him fair game; if he be erudite, he will be declared conceited. If he is austere, all will shrink from an inhuman creature; if indulgent, they will blame his lenience. If he is simple, he will be an oaf; if clever, a sly fellow. Is he diligent? he must be superstitious. Is he easy-going? he stands convicted of negligence. Does he love a quiet life? he is a coward. If our candidate is abstemious, he becomes a skinflint; if charitable with hospitality, a glutton; if with fasting, one vain of his austerities.

[11] libertatem pro improbitate condemnant: verecundiam pro rusticitate

fastidiunt; rigidos ob austeritatem non habent caros: blandi apud eos communione vilescunt. ac sic, utrolibet genere vivatur, semper hic tamen bonarum partium mores pungentibus linguis maledicorum veluti bicipitibus hamis inuncabuntur. inter haec monasterialibus disciplinis aegre subditur vel popularium cervicositas vel licentia clericorum.

[11] A free manner will argue vice; a modest one contemptible rusticity. They dislike the stern man for his severity, and depreciate the affable for making himself cheap. And so, whichever of two virtues may adorn his life, he will be caught on the two-barbed hook of the malicious tongues whose points pierce all good qualities. Besides all this, the people in their perversity, and the clergy in their love of licence, are equally averse from the idea of monastic discipline.

[12] si clericum dixerō, sequentes aemulantur, derogant antecedentes. nam ita ex his pauci, quod reliquorum pace sit dictum, solam clericatus diuturnitatem pro meritis autmant calculandam, ut nos in antistite consecrando non utilitatem velint eligere sed aetatem, tamquam diu potius quam bene vivere debeat accipi ad summum sacerdotium adipiscendum pro omnium gratiarum privilegio decoramento lenocinamento. et ita quipiam, in ministrando segnes in obloquendo celeres, in tractatibus otiosi in seditionibus occupati, in caritate infirmi in factione robusti, in aemulationum conservatione stabiles in sententiarum assertione nutantes, nituntur regere ecclesiam, quos iam regi necesse erit 1 per senectam.

[12] If, instead of a monk, I take a member of the secular clergy, his juniors will be consumed with a jealousy which his seniors will openly express. For among the clergy there are not a few — I may say this without offence to the rest — in whose eyes seniority counts before merit; they would like us to consider age alone and disregard efficiency, as if mere length of life were the one qualification for the highest office in the priesthood, and the prerogative, the amenity and charm of personal accomplishments were to count for nothing. On this principle a few individuals strive to direct the Church, though they are so old that they will soon need direction themselves — persons remiss in ministration, prompt in obloquy, indolent in affairs, busy in faction, weak in charity, sturdy in intrigue, steady in feud, vacillating in judgement.

[13] sed nec diutius placet propter paucorum ambitus multorum notare personas: hoc solum astruo, quod, cum nullum proferam nuncupatim, ille confitetur repulsam, qui profitetur offensam, sane id liberius dico, de multitudine circumstantium multos episcopales esse, sed totos episcopos esse non posse; et, cum singuli diversorum charismatum proprietate potiantur, sufficere omnes sibi, omnibus neminem.

[13] Enough: I will not stigmatize the many for the machinations of a few; I only add this, that I shall mention no names. Whoever looks aggrieved

proclaims his own discomfiture. I may freely admit that the multitude surrounding me to-day includes many of episcopal ability. But then, all cannot be bishops. Every man of them may be satisfied with his own particular gifts, but none has gifts to satisfy us all.

[14] si militarem dixero forte personam, protinus in haec verba consurgitur: ‘Sidonius ad clericatum quia de saeculari professione translatus est, ideo sibi assumere metropolitanum de religiosa congregatione dissimulat; natalibus turget, dignitatum fastigatur insignibus, contemnit pauperes Christi.’

[14] Suppose I were to nominate one who had followed an administrative career, I can imagine the storm of disapproval: ‘Sidonius was transferred to the Church out of the great world, and because of this is reluctant to accept a cleric as metropolitan; he looks down on every one from the height of his distinguished birth and the great offices he has held; he despises Christ’s poor.’

[15] quapropter in praesentiarum solvam quam non tam bonorum caritati quam maledicorum suspicioni debeo fidem (vivit 1 Spiritus Sanctus, omnipotens Deus noster, qui Petri voce damnavit in Simone mago cur opinaretur gratiam benedictionis pretio sese posse mercari) me in eo, quem vobis opportunum censui, nec pecuniae favere nec gratiae, sed statu satis superque trutinato personae temporis, provinciae civitatis, virum, cuius in consequentibus raptim vita replicabitur, competentissimum credidisse.

[15] Now therefore, in fulfilment of the trust imposed upon me, not so much through the esteem of the well disposed as through the suspicions of the slanderous (Almighty God liveth, the Holy Spirit, who by the voice of Peter condemned Simon Magus for thinking to buy for gold the glory of the blessing), I testify that in the man whom I have chosen as suited for your needs I have considered neither money nor influence; I have weighed to the last scruple every circumstance affecting his own person; the times in which we live, the respective needs of city and province, and I decide that the man most fitted for this office is he whose career I shall now briefly relate.

[16] benedictus Simplicius, hactenus vestri iamque abhinc nostri, modo per vos deus annuat, habendus ordinis comes, ita utrique parti vel actu vel professione respondet, ut et respublica in eo quod admiretur et ecclesia possit invenire quod diligit.

[16] He is Simplicius, on whom a blessing already rests. Hitherto a member of your order, but henceforth of ours, if God approve him through your voices, he answers by conduct and profession, so well satisfying the claims of both, that the State will find in him one to admire and the Church one to love.

[17] si natalibus servanda reverentia est, quia et hos non omittendos euangelista monstravit (nam Lucas laudationem Iohannis aggressus praestantissimum

computavit, quod de sacerdotali stirpe veniebat, et nobilitatem vitae praedicaturus prius tamen extulit familiae dignitatem): parentes ipsius aut cathedris aut tribunalibus praesederunt. inlustris in utraque conversatione prosapia aut episcopis floruit 2 aut praefectis: ita semper huiusce maioribus aut humanum aut divinum dictare ius usui fuit.

[17] If birth is still to command respect, as the Evangelist teaches (for St. Luke, beginning his eulogy of St. John, considers it of the highest moment that he sprang from a line of priestly tradition, and exalts the importance of his family before celebrating the nobility of his life), I will recall the fact that his relatives have presided alike over the Church and the tribunal. His family has been distinguished in either career by many bishops and prefects; it had become almost their hereditary privilege to administer the divine and human laws.

[18] si vero personam suam tractatu 1 consiliosiore pensemus, invenimus eam tenere istic inter spectabiles principem 2 locum, sed dicitis iure 3 Eucherium et Pannychium inlustres haberi superiores: quod hactenus eos esto putatos, sed praesentem iam modo ad causam illi ex canone non requiruntur, qui ambo ad secundas nuptias transierunt, si annos ipsius computemus, habet efficaciam de iuventute, de senectute consulum, si litteras vel ingenium conferamus, certat natura doctrinae.

[18] If we scrutinize rather more narrowly his personal qualifications, we shall find him conspicuous among the most respected. You may say that the illustrious Eucherius and Pannychius stand higher; they may have been so regarded, but on the present occasion they are excluded by the canon, because each of them has married again. Turning to his age, we find that he has at once the vigour of youth and the caution of maturity; comparing his talents with his acquirements, we see nature and learning rivalling each other.

[19] si humanitas requirenda est, civi clerico peregrino, minimo maximoque, etiam supra sufficientiam offertur, et suum saepius panem ille potius, qui non erat redditurus, agnovit, si necessitas arripiendae legationis incubuit, non ille semel pro hac civitate stetit vel ante pellitos reges vel ante principes purpuratos. si ambigitur quo magistro rudimentis fidei fuerit imbutus: ut proverbialiter loquar, domi habuit unde disceret.

[19] If we ask whether he is given to hospitality, we find him generous to a fault, lavishing his substance on all men small and great, whether they are clerics, laymen, or strangers, and entertaining those most of all who are least likely to return his kindness. When an embassy had to be undertaken, more than once he has represented his city before barbaric kings in furs, or Roman emperors in purple. If you ask from what master he learned the rudiments of the faith, I will make the proverbial response: 'the source of knowledge flowed for him at home.'

[20] postremo iste est ille, carissimi, cui in tenebris ergastularibus constituta multipliciter obserata barbarici carceris divinitus claustra patuerunt. istum, ut audivimus, tam socero quam patre postpositis ad sacerdotium duci oportere vociferabamini; quo quidem tempore plurimum laudis domum rettulit, quando honorari parentum maluit dignitate quam propria.

[20] Lastly, let us not forget, beloved brethren, that this is he whom the barbarians held in darkness and duress, and for whom God flung wide the prison gates with all their bolts and bars. This is the man whom, if report be true, you yourselves once with a single voice called to the priesthood before his father-in-law or father; but he returned home covered with glory because he preferred to be honoured in his parents' dignity rather than in his own.

[21] paene transieram, quod praeteriri non oportuerat. sub Moyse quondam, sicut psalmographus ait, 'in diebus antiquis,' ut tabernaculi foederis forma consurgeret, totus Israel in eremo ante Beselehelis pedes oblaticii symbolam coacervavit impendii. Salomon deinceps, ut templum aedificaret in Solymis, solidas populi vires in opere concussit, quamvis Palestinorum captivas opes et circumiectorum regum tributarias functiones australis reginae Sabaitis gazae cumula-erit. hic vobis ecclesiam iuvenis miles, tenuis solus, adhuc filius familias et iam pater extruxit, nec illum a proposita 1 devotione suspendit vel tenacitas senum vel intuitus parvulorum, et tamen fuit morum factura quae taceret;

[21] I had almost overlooked a point which should under no circumstances have been omitted. In the days of old time, as the Psalmist tells, all Israel heaped offerings at the feet of Bezaleel in the desert for the erection of the Tabernacle of the Covenant. Afterwards Solomon, to build his temple in Jerusalem, exhausted the whole strength of his people, though he had not merely the riches of Palestine and the tribute of surrounding kingdoms, but in addition the treasures of the Queen of Sheba at his command. But Simplicius built a church alone out of his own slender resources, when he was still a young official under paternal control, and already burdened with the expenses of a family. Neither consideration of his young children nor the steady opposition of his parents could divert him from the fulfilment of his vow; it was his way to do good works, and hold his peace about them.

[22] vir est namque, ni fallor, totius popularitatis ahenus; gratiam non captat omnium sed bonorum, non indiscreta familiaritate vilesceat sed examinata sodalitate pretiosus et a 2 bono viratu aemulis suis magis prodesse cupiens quam placere, severis patribus comparandus, qui iuvenum filiorum non tam cogitant vota quam commoda; in adversis constans in dubiis fidus in prosperis modestus, in habitu simplex in sermone communis, in contubernio aequalis in consilio praeexcellens; amicitias probatas enixe expetit, constanter retinet, perenniter servat; inimicitias indictas honeste exercet, tarde credit, celeriter deponit; maxime ambiendus, quia minime ambitiosus, non studet suscipere

sacerdotium, sed mereri.

[22] For unless I misread his character, he is one to whom all popularity is abhorrent; he does not court every man's good opinion, only that of the worthiest; it is not his custom to make himself common by indiscriminating familiarity, but rather to enhance his value by according his friendship only after the most careful thought. His is a manly nature which would rather help than please a rival, comparable in this to that of the stern father, who thinks more of his children's real advantage than of their present comfort. He is a man constant in adversity, loyal in danger, unassuming in prosperity; of simple tastes in dress, affable in conversation, never putting himself forward among his friends, but in discussion easily the first. A friendship of which he knows the worth he will pursue with ardour, hold with constancy, and never abandon; on the other hand, a declared hostility he pursues with honourable frankness, not believing in it till the last moment, and laying it down at the earliest. Extremely accessible just because he seeks nothing for himself, he desired not so much to assume the priest-hood as to prove himself worthy to hold it.

[23] dicit aliquis: 'unde tibi de illo tam cito tanta conperta sunt?' cui respondeo: prius Bituriges noveram quam Biturigas. multos in itinere multos in commilitio, multos in contractu multos in tractatu, multos in sua multos in nostra peregrinatione cognoscimus, plurima notitiae dantur et ex opinione compendia, quia non tam parvos terminos posuit famae natura quam patriae, quocirca si urbium status non tam murorum ambitu quam civium claritate taxandus est, non modo primum qui essetis, sed ubi essetis agnovi.

[23] But some one will say: 'How did you learn so much about him in so short a time?' My answer is that I made acquaintance with men of Bourges long before I knew their city. I have travelled with some and served with others; many I have met in affairs of business or in debate; many when either they or I were away from our several countries. Moreover, a short cut to knowledge of a man is given by the general opinion about him, since nature does not confine our reputations within such narrow limits as our abodes. If, then, a city is to be judged less by the circumference of its walls than by the merit of its inhabitants, I could not fail to discover, before your town was known to me, not only what manner of men you are, but where you stand in the world as well.

[24] uxor illi de Palladiorum stirpe descendit, qui aut litterarum aut altarium cathedras cum sui ordinis laude tenuerunt, sane quia persona matronae verecundam succinctamque sui exigit mentionem, constanter adstruxerim respondere illam feminam sacerdotiis utriusque familiae, vel ubi educta crevit vel ubi electa migravit, filios ambo bene et prudenter instituunt, quibus comparatus pater inde felicius incipit esse, quia vincitur.

[24] The wife of Simplicius belongs to the Palladian family, which alike in the schools and in the Church has occupied the chief seats with the approbation of its own order. To speak of a woman's life demands both delicacy and reticence; I will only say here that this lady has shown herself worthy of the ecclesiastical dignity enjoyed by her two families, both that in which she was born, and that into which she married. She is associated with her husband in the education of their sons on sound and careful principles; so that the father, comparing them with himself, is all the happier for the discovery that he is already being surpassed.

[25] et quia sententiam parvitas meae in hac electione valituram esse iurastis, siquidem non est validius dicere sacramenta quam scribere, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti Simplicius est, quem provinciae nostrae metropolitanum, civitati vestrae summum sacerdotem fieri debere pronuntio. vos autem de viro, quo I loquimur, si novam sententiam meam sequimini, secundum vestram veterem consonate.

[25] You have sworn to abide by my humble advice in this election; the spoken binds no less fast than the written word. I pronounce, then, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit that Simplicius is the man whom you are to choose as the head of the Church in your city, and as Metropolitan of our province. If you agree with this my new pronouncement, give it the applause which your old promise demands.

* Partly translated by Guizot, *Histoire de la civilisation en France*, ed. 1846, pp. 84 ff.

* Translated by Chaix, ii. 26 ff.

Sidonius Domino Papae Graeco salutem

X.

To the Lord Bishop Graecus A.D. 474

[1] Invideo felicitati consuetudinarii portitoris, a quo contigit 2 saepius vos videri, sed quid de Amantio loquar, cum ipsas quoque litteras meas aemuler, quae sacrosanctis reserabuntur digitis, inspiciuntur obtutibus? et ego istic inter semiustas muri fragilis clausus angustias belli terrore contigui desiderio de vobis meo nequaquam satisfacere permittor. atque utinam haec esset Arvernae forma vel causa regionis, ut minus excusabiles excusaremur.³

[1] I ENVY the fortune of my habitual messenger who has the chance of seeing you so often. Nor do I confine my envy to Amantius; I am jealous of the very letters opened by the hands, and perused by the eyes which I so much revere. Alas! penned as I am within the narrow enclosure of half-burned and ruinous walls, with the terror of war at the gates, I am never allowed to satisfy my longing to greet you again. Would that the state and prospects of Clermont were such as to make our excuses for not meeting less excusable!

[2] sed, quod est durius, per iniustitiae nostrae merita conficitur, ut excusatio nobis iusta non desit, quocirca salutatione praefata, sicut mos poscit officii, magno opere depono, ut interim remittatis occursionis debitum vel verba solventi. nam si commeandi libertas pace revocetur, illud magis verebor, ne adsiduitas praesentiae meae sit potius futura fastidio, memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[2] It is the hardest stroke of all that the very punishment of our old lapses from justice should become our justification. My salutations rendered, I now earnestly beg you to release me from my duty of paying you a visit; I must discharge the debt as well as I can by letter. If peace ever makes the roads secure again, your only fear need be that I shall present myself so often as to become in future a mere nuisance. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

XI.

Sidonius Domino Papae Auspicio salutem

XI.

To the Lord Bishop Auspicius A.D. 473

[1] Si ratio temporum regionumque pateretur, non per sola officia verborum amicitias semel initas excolere curarem, sed quoniam fraternae quietis voto satis obstrepit conflictantium procella regnorum, saltem inter discretos separatosque litterarum consuetudo sermonis iure retinebitur, quae iam pridem caritatis obtentu merito inducta veteribus annuit 1 exemplis, superest, ut sollicito veneratori culpam rarae occursionis indulgeas, qui 2 quo minus assidue conspectus tui sacrosancta contemplatione potiatur, nunc periculum de vicinis timet, nunc invidiam de patronis, sed de his ista: haec etiam 1 multa sunt.

[1] IF the state of our country and our times allowed me freedom, I should not keep up my friendships by the poor expedient of correspondence. But since the storms aroused by the shock of kingdoms confound all hopes of fraternal peace and quiet, let us retain in separation that constant exchange of letters so long ago devised for the solace of absent friends, and approved by the example of antiquity. You must forgive me who so reveres you the rarity of his visits; but the unbroken enjoyment of your sainted converse is denied him by the menace of formidable neighbours and by the delicacy of his relations with his own protectors. On these points I need say no more: I have already said too much.

[2] interim Petrum, tribunicium virum, portitorem nostri sermonis, insinuo, qui id ipsum sedulo exposcit, quique quid negotii ferat praesentaneo compendiosius potest intimare memoratu, cui, precor, quod in vobis opis est, intuitu paginae praesentis accedat, manente respectu nihilominus aequitatis, contra quam nec magis fami Uarium causas commendare consuevi. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[2] This letter introduces to you the bearer Peter, a man of tribunician rank; he personally pressed for the introduction, and will be better able to explain his business orally. I beg that the sight of this page from me may secure him your support, in so far as may be consistent with justice; it is not my custom to urge even my friends' claims unfairly. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius Ferreolo suo salutem

XII.

To his friend [Tonantius] Ferreolus c. A.D. 479

[1] Si amicitiae nostrae potius affinitatisque quam personae tuae tempus ordinem statum cogitarem, iure vobis in hoc opere, quantulumcumque. est, primae titulorum rubricae, prima sermonum officia dedicarentur. isset per avitas tibi stilus noster curules, patricias nihilominus infulas enumeraturus; non tacuisset triplices praefecturas et Syagrio tuo pro totiens mutatis praeconibus praeconia non negasset; patrem inde patruosque minime silendos percucurrisset.

[1] IF, disregarding our friendship and relations, I had considered only your rank and position, your name would have taken its proper place at the beginning of this small work, and the dedication would have been yours. My pen should have recounted the curule chairs of your ancestors and the *infulae* of their patrician dignity; it should not have omitted the twice repeated prefecture, or refused to herald with due praise your great Syagrius for three times changing the heralds of his office. It should have proceeded to celebrate your father and your uncles, whom it were impossible, indeed, to pass in silence;

[2] et quamlibet posset triumphalibus adoreis familiae tuae defetigari, non tamen eatenus explicandis antiquorum stemmatibus exinaniretur, ut ob hoc ad narrandam gloriam tuam fieret obtusior; qui, si etiam in scribendis maiorum tuorum virtutibus fuisset hebetatus, tuis denuo meritis cacuminaretur. I sed salutationem tibi publicam destinaturus non quid fuisses, sed quid nunc potius esses consideravit.

[2] and however worn by transcribing the long roll of your ancestral triumphs, it should not have been so spent by the unfolding of your genealogy as to grow too blunt for the record of your own achievements. Why even if the recital of your ancestral glories had dulled it, that of your great personal qualities would lend it a new point. In place of all this, it is determined to pay you here conspicuous homage and, leaving your past career to speak for itself, to consider rather what you are to-day.

[3] praetermisit Gallias tibi administratas tunc, cum maxume incolumes erant, praetermisit Attilam Rheni hostem, Thorismodum Rhodani hospitem, Aetium Ligeris liberatorem sola te dispositionum salubritate tolerasse, propterque prudentiam tantam providentiamque curram tuum provinciales cum plausum maximo accentu spontaneis subisse cervicibus, quia sic habenas Galliarum moderarere, ut possessor exhaustus tributario iugo relevaretur. praetermisit regem Gothiae ferocissimum innexum aifatu tuo melleo gravi, arguto

inuitato, et 1 ab Arelatensium portis quem Aetius non potuisset proelio te prandio removisse.

[3] It has passed over your administration of the Gauls when they were still at their greatest extent. It has been silent on the efficacy of your measures against Attila the enemy on the Rhine and Thorismond the guest of the Rhone, and on your support of Aetius the Liberator of the Loire. It has not related the dragging of your chariot by cheering provincials, whose fervent applause proclaimed their gratitude for the prudence and the foresight with which you handled the reins of power; since you ruled the Gauls with such wisdom that the exhausted proprietor was relieved from the unbearable yoke of taxes. It passed over the address with which you influenced the savage Gothic king by a language blending grace with gravity and astuteness, a language unfamiliar in his ears, causing him to withdraw from the gates of Arles by a banquet, where Aetius could not have succeeded by force of arms.

[4] haec omnia praetermisit, sperans congruentius tuum salve pontificum quam senatorum iam nominibus adiungi; censuitque iustius fieri, si inter perfectos Christi quam si inter praefectos Valentiniani constituerere. neque te sacerdotibus potius admixtum vitio vertat malignus interpret; nam grandis ordinum ignorantia tenet hinc aliquid derogaturos, quia, sicuti cum epulum festivitas publica facit, prior est in prima mensa conviva postremus ei, qui primus fuerit in secunda, sic absque conflictatione praestantior secundum bonorum sententiam computatur honorato maximo 2 minimus 3 religiosus, ora pro nobis.

[4] All this it forbore to dwell upon because it was my hope that you might more fitly find a place among the bishops than the senators; I deemed it more appropriate that your name should be found among the perfect of the Lord than among the prefects of Valentinian. Malice need not misconstrue your insertion among the priests; only great ignorance can hold that a man could lose rank thereby. Just as at a public banquet the last guest at the first table takes precedence of the first guest at the second, so in the opinion of all reasonable men the least of the religious is beyond dispute above the holder of the highest office. I ask your prayers on my behalf.

Sidonius Sulpicio suo salutem

XIII.

To his friend Sulpicius c. A. D. 470

[1] Himerius antistes, filius tuus, notus mihi hactenus parum vultu, satis opinione, quae quidem in bonam partem porrigebatur, Lugdunum nuper a Tricassibus venit, quo loci mihi raptim ac breviter inspectus sanctum episcopum Lupum, facile principem pontificum Gallicanorum, suae tam professionis magistrum quam dignitatis auctorem, morum nobis imitatione restituit.

[1] YOUR son Himerius the priest, of whom I had hitherto seen little but heard much, his reputation being wide, came to Lyons not long ago from Troyes, and there I had a hurried opportunity of forming an opinion of him. In character he reminds me of the sainted Lupus, the foremost of our Gallic bishops, master of his sacred profession, and author of his rank within it.

[2] deus bone, quae viro censura cum venustate, si quid vel 1 deliberet forte vel suadeat! abundat animi sale, cum consulitur, melle, cum consulit, summa homini cura de litteris, sed maxime religiosis, in quibus eum magis occupat medulla sensuum quam spuma verborum, tota illi actionum suarum intentio celeritas mora Christus est. quodque mirere vel laudes, nihil otiosum facit, cum nihil faciat non quietum.

[2] Just God! how charming is his way of enouncing his views, whether he is urging or debating any given course of action! With what point he speaks when asked his advice, with what sweetness when he has resort to that of others! He is an enthusiast for letters, above all for sacred literature, in which he ever avoids the froth of verbiage and chooses the substantial marrow. The end of his every action is Christ's service; if he accelerates or delays, it is for that. It is a thing at once wonderful and admirable, that although he is always tranquil he does nothing idle.

[3] ieiuniis delectatur, edulibus 1 adquiescit; illis adhaeret propter consuetudinem crucis, istis flectitur propter gratiam caritatis: summo utrumque moderamine, quia comprimit, quotiens prandere statuit, gulam, quotiens abstinere, iactantiam, officia multiplicat propria, vitat aliena; cumque ipsi vicissim deceat occurri, gratius habet, si sibi mutuus honos debeatur mage quam rependatur.

[3] Fasts are a joy to him, yet he does not abjure the social board; the way of the cross keeps him faithful to the first, love of his kind inclines him sometimes to the last. In either case he uses the utmost moderation; when he dines, he mortifies his appetite; when he fasts, it is without vainglory. On

others he showers favours, but is reluctant to accept theirs; and when his turn to receive an equivalent comes, prefers that the debt should remain unpaid.

[4] in convivio itinere consessu inferioribus cedit; quo fit, ut se illi voluptuosius turba postponat superiorum, sermonem maximo temperamento cum conloquente dispensat, in quo non patitur ullam aut verecundiam externus aut familiaris iniuriam, aut credulus invidiam aut curiosus repulsam aut suspiciosus nequitiam, aut peritus calumniam aut imperitus infamiam, simplicitatem columbae in ecclesia servat, in foro serpentis astutiam; bonis prudens, malis cautus, neutris callidus iudicatur.

[4] It is his way to give his inferiors precedence at table, or in council, or when travelling; this makes his superiors in rank delight to follow his example, and place themselves below him when they can. In intercourse with others he shows the utmost tact. The stranger is put at his ease; the feelings of a friend are never hurt. The over-credulous are not placed in false positions, nor are the curious rebuffed. Suspicion he meets without malice; he does not say hard things of knowledge, or treat ignorance with contempt. In the Church he has the simplicity of the dove, in the world the wisdom of the serpent. In his dealings with the good he has a name for prudence, with the bad for caution; but with neither does he resort to guile.

[5] quid plura? totum te nobis ille iam reddidit; totam tuam temperantiam religionem, libertatem verecundiam et illam delicatae mentis pudicissimam teneritudinem iucunda similitudine exscripsit. quapropter quantum volueris deinceps frui secreto, indulgere secessui, licebit indulgeas; quandoquidem nos in fratre meo Himerio avum nomine, patrem facie, utrumque prudentia iam tenemus. vale.

[5] Enough: he seemed to me your second self, reproducing in the most charming manner all your moderation, your piety, your frankness, your modesty, the supreme purity of a sensitive and delicate mind. So that in future you can enjoy your privacy, and retire from the world as much as ever you like, since my brother Himerius with his grandsire's name, his father's looks, and the sage qualities of both will always be at my disposal. Farewell.

Sidonius Philagrio suo salutem

XIV.

To his friend Philagrius c. A. D. 470

[1] Proxime inter summates viros (erat et frequens ordo) vestri mentio fuit. omnes de te boni in commune senserunt omnia bona, cum tamen singuli quique varia virtutum genera dixissent, sane cum sibi quipiam de praesentia tua, quasi te magis nossent, praeter aequum gloriarentur, incandui, quippe cum dici non aequanimiter admitterem virum omnium litterarum vicinantibus rusticis quam institutis fieri remotioribus notiozem.

[1] A SHORT while since at a large gathering of the principal persons here, some one mentioned your name. All were unanimous in sounding your praises, though one esteemed you for one quality and a second for another. Then certain individuals took on themselves to claim a more intimate acquaintance, on the ground that they saw you frequently. That made me flare up; I could not for a moment allow it to be said that one distinguished in all kinds of letters is better known by his countrified neighbours than by men of culture living a great distance away.

[2] processit in ulteriora contentio; et cum aliqui super hoc errore pervicaciter controversarentur (idiotarum siquidem est, sicut facile convinci, ita difficile compesci), con- stanter asserui, si eloquentibus amicis numquam agnitio contemplativa proveniat, esse asperum utcumque, tolerabile tamen, quia praevaleant ingenia sua, coram quibus imperitia civica peregrinatur, ad remotarum desideria provinciarum stilo adminiculante porrigere; per quem saepenumero absentum dumtaxat institutorum tantus colligitur affectus, quantus nec praesentanea sedulitate conficitur. igitur, si ita est, desistant calumniari communis absentiae necessitatem vultuum mage quam morum praedicatores.

[2] The discussion was carried further; some present argued the point with obstinacy, for it is characteristic of stupid people that they are easily proved wrong, but very hard to silence. I stood my ground, and maintained that it might indeed be trying for such a man's cultured friends to be deprived of his society, but that all the same it was endurable; their brains and their pens gave them access to the remotest province where the need of Culture was felt, while the unlettered fellow citizen was always a stranger within the gates. It was matter of frequent experience, I said, for men of education, separated by wide distances, to conceive for each other an esteem as great as any which can be produced by the most assiduous of personal relations. That being so, they had better leave off exaggerating the effect of unavoidable separations, for they only showed that they thought more of face than character.

[3] equidem si humana substantia rectius mole quam mente censenda est, plurimum ignoro, quid secundum corpulentiam per spatia quamvis porrecta finalem in homine miremur, quo nihil aeque miserum destitutumque nascendi condicio produxit, quippe cum praebeat tamquam ab adverso bovi pilus, apro saeta, volucris pluma vestitum (quibus insuper, ut vim vel inferant vel repellant, cornu dens unguis arma genuina sunt), membra vero nostra in hunc mundum sola censeas eiecta, non edita; cumque gignendis 1 artubus animalium ceterorum multifario natura praesidio quasi quaedam sinu patente mater occurrat, humana tantum corpora effudit, quorum inbecillitati quodammodo nover-caretur.

[3] People may argue, if they like, that matter, not mind, makes the man, but I am at a loss to find anything to wonder at in the human race, viewed corporeally, for its limits are so narrow, however wide its range of action; by the conditions of its birth, it is the most miserable and helpless of all that sees the light. The ox has his hairy coat, the boar his bristles, the bird its feathers; and in addition, these creatures have arms for offence and for defence in their horns and tusks and claws. But man's limbs are such poor things that they seem to have been flung at random into the world, not brought into it by intelligible laws. For other animals broad-bosomed Nature, like a true mother, provides all manner of protection; the human body she just casts forth, to give it thenceforward the stepmother's indifferent usage.

[4] nam 2 illud, sicuti ego censeo, qui animum tuum membris duco potiolem, non habet aequalitatem, quod statum nostrum supra pecudes veri falsique nescias ratiocinatio animae intellectualis evexit; cuius si tantisper summoveant dignitatem isti, qui amicos ludificabundi non tam iudicialiter quam oculariter intuentur, dicant velim in hominis forma quid satis praestans, quid spectabile putent.

[4] To me, who hold that your mind is greater than your body, the contrary supposition is untenable; it would be ridiculous, on that hypothesis, that man should be differentiated by possession of a reasoning mind from beasts unable to distinguish the true from the false. I should like to ask those who so absurdly judge friends by appearances instead of investigation, what remains when they have even in the slightest degree impaired the dignity of the human soul, what after that they find so eminent and admirable in man?

[5] proceritatemne? quasi non haec saepe congruentius trabibus aptetur. an fortitudinem? quae valentior in leoninae cervicis toris regnat, an decorem liniamentorum? quem crebro melius infigit 3 et argilla simulacris et cera picturis. an velocitatem? quae competentius canibus adscribitur. an vigilantiam? cui certat et noctua. an vocem? cui non cesserit asinus claritate, an industriam? cui pro suo modulo comparari nec formica formidat.

[5] Is it height? that, is often a quality more appropriate in a beam. Is it

strength? that reigns more mightily in the lion's sinewy neck. Grace of feature? the clay of the statue and the wax of the portrait hold its impress better. Is it speed? for that, dogs are more justly famed than we. Vigilance? for that prize the owl competes. Is it strength of voice? the ass's bray is loudest. Industry? therein, on its tiny scale, the ant fears no comparison.

[6] sed forsitan praeferunt vim videndi: tamquam non sit eminentior visus aquilarum, praeferunt audiendi efficaciam: tamquam sus hispidus non antistest auditu, praeferunt odorandi subtilitatem: tamquam non praecedat vultur olfactu. praeferunt gustandi discretionem: tamquam non plurimum hinc nos 1 cedamus 2 et simio. quid de tactu loquar, quinto sensu corporis nostri? quem sibi indifferenter tam philosophus quam vermiculus usurpant. taceo hic de appetitibus inlecebrosis, quos in coitu motui beluino carnis humanae voluptas inclinata communicat.

[6] Do they allege keenness of sight? how absurd! as if the eagle's vision were not far above that of man. Keenness of hearing? as if the coarse-skinned swine were not his rival. Keenness of scent? as if in that the vulture were not supreme. Discernment of taste? as if there we were not far behind the monkey. I need hardly trouble to speak of touch, our fifth sense; the philosopher shares it with the worm. Why speak of the carnal appetites? the man's lust is satisfied in the same way as that of the brute.

[7] ecce quam miseriam praeferunt excoluntque qui mihi, quod eis solo sis obtutu notior, turgidi insultant. ast ego illum semper Philagrius video, cuius si tacentis viderem faciem, Philagrius non viderem, unde illud simile vulgatum est, quod ait quidam in causa dispari sententia pari: 'filium Marci Ciceronis populus Romanus nonagnoscebat loquentem.' conclamata sunt namque 3 iudicio universali scientiae dignitas virtus praerogativa, cuius ad maximum culmen meritorum gradibus ascenditur.

[7] And this poor thing is the humanity, paraded and tricked out by fools who give themselves airs and flout me because they know you more or less by sight! But I have always before my eyes a Philagrius other than theirs, a Philagrius who would not be himself if I saw him and he did not speak. The whole argument recalls to me a certain well-known remark, made on a different kind of occasion, it is true, but nevertheless to our point: 'The son of Marcus Cicero was speaking, and Rome did not even know who he was.' For accomplishments of mind bring with them dignity, worth, and the pre-eminence recognized by universal consent, and by their means alone man gradually attains the heights of merit.

[8] primum etiam bestiale corpus, si iam forte formatum est, dignitate transcendit materiam informem; deinde formato praeponitur corpus animatum; tertio praecedit animam pecudis animus humanus, quia, sicut inferior est caro vitae, sic vita rationi, cuius assequendae substantiam nostram compotem

deus artifex, ferinam vero impotem fecit; ita tamen, quod in statu mentis humanae pollet bipertita condicio, nam sicut animae humanitus licet ratiocinantes, hebetes tamen pigrioresque prudentum acutarumque calcantur ingenio, ita si quae sunt, quae sola naturali sapientia vigent, hae peritarum se meritis super-veniri facile concedunt.

[8] First you have the animal frame, which by virtue of its form excels formless matter. Above that comes the body, possessing intelligence. And above the intelligence of beasts rises the mind of man. For as mere flesh is below life, so mere life is below reason, of which the Creator has made our substance alone capable, and not the substance of animals. Yet how variously conditioned is the human mind! There are souls which are rational indeed, but by reason of slowness and dull wits are spurned by others which see further and more clearly. In like manner, there are souls which, having only a natural understanding, accept the superiority of those more enlightened than themselves.

[9] quorum ego graduum differentiam observans illum Philagrium cordis oculo semper inspicio, cui me animus potentialiter notum morum similitudine facit, nam licet bonis omnibus placeas, nemo te plus valuit intrinsecus intueri quam qui forinsecus affectat imitari, sane qualiter studiorum tuorum consecratus sum, consequa paginae parte reserabitur.

[9] When I consider these gradations I always have before my mind's eye the Philagrius whom a similarity of tastes has made, potentially at least, my friend. However popular you may be, with the worthiest among us, no man has a clearer insight into your inner nature than he who strives outwardly to imitate you. And how closely I for my own part try to follow you in your inclinations, the rest of this letter shall reveal.

[10] amas, ut comperi, quietos; ego et ignavos, barbaros vitas, quia mali putentur; ego, etiamsi boni. lectioni adhibes diligentiam; ego quoque in illa parum mihi patior nocere desidiis, complex ipse 1 personam religiosi; ego vel imaginem, aliena non appetis; ego etiam refero ad quaestum, si propria non perdam, delectaris contuberniis eruditorum; ego turbam quamlibet magnam litterariae artis expertem maxumam solitudinem appello.

[10] They say you like quiet people; I go further, and like the idle. You shun barbarians because of the bad name they bear; I avoid them even when they bear a good one. You are ardent in study; I do not suffer a natural indolence to hold me back. You act up to your religion; I only seem to do so. You do not covet your neighbour's goods; I hold it sufficient gain not to lose my own.

[11] diceris esse laetissimus; ego quoque lacrimas omnes perire definio, quas quisque profuderit, nisi quotiens deo supplicat. humanissimus esse narrans; nostram quoque mensulam nullus, ut specum Polyphemi, hospes exhorruit,

summa clementia tibi in famulos esse perhibetur; nec ego torqueor, si mei, quotiens peccaverint, non totiens torquantur.

[11] You love the society of the learned; to me the bigger the crowd of the unlettered, the vaster is the solitude. You are said to be of a cheerful countenance; I hold that every tear shed on earth except in prayer is vain. You are reported to be given to hospitality; my poor table, like the cave of Polyphemos, rejects no possible guest. You are indulgent with your servants; it is no torture to me that mine are not tortured for each trivial fault committed.

[12] *ieiunandum alternis putas? non piget sequi, prandendum? non pudet praevenire, de cetero, si vos a me videri Christi munere datur, ita gaudeam tamquam cui de te nec minora subtracta sint. porro autem quae sint in te maiora iam satis novi. propter quae fieri facilius potest, ut et si quandoque faciem tuam coram positus inspexero, aliqua de te recens mihi laetitia potius quam sententia accedat, vale.*

[12] Is it your view that a man should fast on alternate days? I am with you. That he should dine? I am not ashamed to anticipate you there. If Providence would grant me a sight of you, I should be as delighted as only he can be to whom even your smaller traits are familiar; with your greater qualities I am of course thoroughly acquainted. So that if I ever do manage to see you face to face, I shall hardly know you any better than I do now, though I may gain a new pleasure in existence. Farewell.

Sidonius Salonio suo salutem

XV.

To his friend Salonius c. A. D. 470

[1] Quotiens Viennam venio, emptum maximo velim, ut te fratremque communem colonum civitatis habitatio plus haberet, qui mihi non amore solum verum etiam professione sociamini. sed et ille imputationem meam praetextu frequentatae suburbanitatis eludit, per quam efficitur, ut nobis nec praesens ipse nec reus sit, et tu habes quo te interim excuses, quod te diu possidet vix recepta possessio.

[1] EVERY time I go to Vienne, I would give a great deal if you and your brother stayed more frequently in the town, for we three are all united not only by the ties of friendship but by those of a common literary interest. But your brother eludes my reproaches by pretending the visits he has constantly to make to his suburban property, so that he is never present to stand on his own defence; you in your turn find a similar excuse, as one possessed by a newly-acquired possession.

[2] quicquid illud est, iam venite, hac deinceps condicione discessum impetraturi, ut aut vicissim redeatis aut † serius. I nam quamlibet ruri positi strenuos impleatis agricolas, tum vere propriam terram fecundabitis, si ecclesiam, quam plurimum colitis, plus colatis, vale.

[2] Be all this as it may, come this time, and I will let you go on condition that you both promise to come again, either in turn, or [together?] at some later time. You may live in the country and be model cultivators; but not till you give more labour yet to the Church which you love, will you bring increase to the true land of your souls. Farewell.

Sidonius Chariobaudo 1 Abbati salutem

XVI.

To Abbot Chariobaudo A.D. 477

[1] Facis, unice in Christo patrone, rem tui pariter et amoris et moris, quod peregrini curas amici litteris mitigas consolatoriis. atque utinam mei semper sic recorderis, ut sollicitudines ipsas angore 2 succiduo concatenatas, qui exhortator attenuas, intercessor incidas!

[1] IN alleviating by a letter of condolence the trouble of an absent friend, O my one patron in Christ, you have acted like your benevolent self. May your thoughts ever turn to me thus; may this interminable chain of anxieties which your exhortations have worn down be finally broken by your prayers.

[2] de cetero, libertos tuos causis quas iniunxeras expeditis reverti puto, quos ita strenue constat rem peregissee, ut nec eguerint adiuvari. per quos nocturnalem cucullum, quo membra confecta ieiuniis inter orandum cubandumque dignanter tegare, transmisi, quamquam non opportune species villosa mittatur hieme finita iamque temporibus aestatis appropinquantibus. vale.

[2] I think your freedmen have concluded the business on which you sent them, and are on their way home; they have done everything with such energy that they never required any assistance. I send you by them a cowl for nightwear, though I admit that the end of winter, with summer in sight, is not quite the right time to send you woollens. When you are exhausted by long fasting, it shall give you proper protection as you pass from your bed to Vigils and back again. Farewell.

Sidonius Volusiano Fratri salutem

XVII.

To his brother Volusianus A.D. 477

[1] Iubes me, domine frater, lege amicitiae, quam nefas laedi, iam diu desides digitos incudibus officinae veteris imponere et sancto Abrahae diem functo neniā sepulchralem luctuosis carminibus inscribere. celeriter iniunctis obsecundabo, cum tua tractus auctoritate, tum principaliter amplissimi viri Victorii comitis devotione praeventus, quem iure saeculari patronum, iure ecclesiastico filium excolo ut cliens, ut pater diligo; qui satis docuit, quae sibi aut qualis erga famulos Christi cura ferveret, cum torum circa decumbentis antistitis, non dignitatem minus quam membra curvatus ac supra vultum propinqua morte pallentem dolore concolor factus, quid viro vellet lacrimis indicibus ostenderet.

[1] You ask me, my lord brother, by the law of friendship which none may infringe, to set my long inactive fingers to the old forge. I am to write a sad funeral dirge for the sainted Abraham, newly departed this life. I shall not fail to obey, moved alike by your authority, and even more by the devotion of the noble Count Victorius, my patron according to the world, my son according to the Church, whom I honour as a client, and love as a father. He gave abundant proof of his ardent solicitude for the servants of Christ, when by the sick priest's couch he humbled his dignity and bent his body low above the dying, his own face sympathetically paling with that already colourless by the approach of death; while his tears betrayed his deep feeling for the friend he was to lose.

[2] et quia sibi maximas humandi funeris partes ipse praecepit, totum apparatus 1 supercurrentis impendii quod funerando sacerdoti competeret impertiens, saltem ad obsequium quae remanserunt verba conferimus, nihil aliud exaraturi stili scalpentis impressu quam testimonium mutuae dilectionis, ceterum viri mores gesta virtutes indignissime meorum vilitate dictorum ponderabuntur.

Abraham sanctis merito sociande patronis,
quos tibi collegas dicere non trepidem:
nam sic praecedunt, ut mox tamen ipse sequare;
dat partem regni portio martyrii:

[2] He has insisted on taking the funeral almost entirely upon himself and defraying all the expenses required for the due obsequies of a priest; to complete the honour due to the memory of the departed, I can only contribute these few words, confining my pen to a plain testimony of a mutual affection.

*'Abraham, worthy to stand beside the celestial patrons whom I shall not fear to call thy colleagues, since they are gone before on the path which thou shalt follow; a share in the martyr's glory gives a share in the kingdom of heaven. Born by Euphrates, for Christ thou didst endure the prison, chains, and hunger for five long years. From the cruel King of Susa thou didst fly, escaping alone to the distant land of the West. Marvels born of his holiness followed the steps of the confessor; thyself a fugitive, thou didst put to flight the spirits of evil. Wherever thy footsteps passed, the throng of Lemures cried surrender; the exile's voice bade the demons go forth into banishment. All sought thee, yet didst thou yield to no vain ambition; the honours acceptable in thy sight were those that brought the heaviest burdens. Thou didst shun the tumult of Rome and of Byzantium, and the walls of the city that warlike Titus breached. Not Alexandria held thee, not Antioch; thou spurnedst Byrsa, the famed home of Dido. Thou didst condemn the populous lands of Ravenna by the marshes, and the city named from the woolly swine. But this corner of earth was pleasing to thee, this poor retreat, this hut roofed with reeds. Here didst thou rear a sacred house to God, thou whose own frame was already itself His temple. Here ended thy wanderings, here thy life's course; now thy labours are rewarded by a twofold crown. Now dost thou stand in Paradise amid the thousands of the Saints, with Abraham for thy fellow wanderer. Now art thou entered into thine own land, from which Adam fell; now lies thy way clear to the sources of thy native stream.'

[5] natus ad Euphraten, pro Christo ergastula passus
et quinquennali vincula laxa fame,
elapsus regi truculento Susidis orae
occiduum properas solus ad usque solum,
sed confessorem virtutum signa sequuntur

[10] spiritibusque malis fers, fugitive, fugam.
quaque venis, Lemurum se clamat cedere turba:
daemones ire iubes exul in exilium.
expetere cunctis, nec te capit ambitus ullus;
est tibi delatus plus onerosus honor.

[15] Romuleos refugis Byzantinosque fragores
atque sagittifero moenia fracta Tito. [p. 392]
murus Alexandri te non tenet Antiochique;

spernis Elisae Byrsica tecta domus,
rura paludicolae temnis populosa Ravennae

[20] et quae lanigero de sue nomen habent.
angulus iste placet paupertinusque recessus
et casa, cui culmo culmina pressa forent,
aedificas hic ipse deo venerabile templum,
ipse dei templum corpore facte prius,

[25] finiti cursus istic vitaeque viaeque:
sudori superest dupla corona tuo.

iam te circumstant paradisi milia sacri;
Abraham iam te conperegrius habet;
iam patriam ingrederis, sed de qua decidit Adam;
[30] iam potes ad fontem numinis ire tui.

[3] Ecce, ut iniunxeras, quae restant sepulto iusta persolvimus; sed, si vicissim caritatis imperiis fratres amicos commilitones obsequi decet, ad vicem, quaeso, tu quoque quibus emines institutis discipulos eius aggredere solari fluctuantemque regulam [p. 394] fratrum destitutorum secundum statuta Lirinensium patrum vel Grinincensium festinus informa; cuius disciplinae si qui rebelles, ipse castiga; si qui sequeaces, ipse conlauda. [4] praepositus illis quidem videtur sanctus Auxanius, qui vir, ut nosti, pusculus iusto et corpore infirmus et verecundus ingenio eoque parendi quam imperandi promptior exigit te rogari, ut tuo ipse sub magisterio monasterii magister accedat et, si quis illum de iunioribus spreverit tamquam imperitum vel pusillanimum, per te unum sentiat utrumque non impune contemni, quid multa? vis ut paucis quid velim agnoscas? quaeso, ut abbas sit frater Auxanius supra congregationem, tu vero et supra abbatem. vale.

[3] With these lines I have paid, as you desired, the last observance due to him who is now laid to rest. But if it is the duty of those who yet live, of brothers, friends and comrades, to obey the commands of brotherly affection, I shall make you a request in my turn: I would beg you to use the principles with which you are so eminently endowed for the consolation of the dead man's followers, confirm by the discipline of Lerins or of Grigny the shaken rule of a brotherhood now cast adrift without a leader. If you find any insubordinate, see to it in person that they are punished; if any obedient, give them praise from your own lips. The holy Auxanius is presumed to be their head; but he, as you well know, is too infirm of body and of too diffident a character, and more fitted to obey than to command. He himself insists that you should be called in, that in succeeding to the headship of the house, he may have the support of your overheadship; for if any of the younger monks should treat him with disrespect, as one lacking alike in courage and experience, thanks to you, a joint rule would not be slighted with impunity. I say no more. If you would have my wishes in a few words, they are these; I desire brother Auxanius to be abbot over the rest, and you yourself to be above the abbot. Farewell.

* The verses are translated by Fertig, Part ii, p. 45.

Sidonius Constantio suo salutem

XVIII.

To his friend Constantius c. A. D. 479

[1] A te principium, tibi desinet, nam petitum misimus opus raptim electis I exemplaribus, quae ob hoc in manus pauca venerunt, quia mihi nil de libelli huiusce conscriptione meditantī hactenus incustodita nequeunt inveniri, sane ista pauca, quae quidem et levīa sunt, celeriter absolvi, quamquam incitatus semel animus necdum scripturire desineret, servans hoc sedulo genus temperamenti, ut epistularum [non]1 produceretur textus, si numerus breviaretur.

[1] 'WITH you my work began, with you it shall end.' I send the volume for which you asked, but the choice of letters has been rather hurried. I could only find comparatively few; I had not preserved any number, never having contemplated their appearance in this form. Few and trivial as they are, I was soon done with them; though when I had once started, I found the love of scribbling by no means dead within me, and that I was keen to balance any deficiency in their number by an addition to their length.

[2] pariter et censui librum, quem lector delicatissimus desiderares, et satis habilem nec parum excusabilem fore, si, quoniam te sensuum structurarumque levitas poterat offendere, membranarum certe fascibus minus onerare. commendo igitur varios iudicio tuo nostri pectoris motus, minime ignarus, quod ita mens pateat in libro velut vultus in speculo, dictavi enim quae-piam hortando, laudando plurima et aliqua suadendo, maerendo pauca iocandoque nonnulla.

[2] At the same time, I thought that if it was to attract so fine a critic, the book would be handier and need less apology if you had a smaller weight of parchment to deal with, since in parts there was a certain lightness of style and subject which might give you cause of offence. I therefore submit to your judgement these manifold emotions of my heart, well aware that a book as surely reflects a man's mind as a mirror his face. A few of the letters preach, a number congratulate; some offer advice, others consolation; not a few are humorous.

[3] et si me uspiam lectitavisti in aliquos concitatioem, scias volo Christi dextera opitulante numquam me toleraturum animi servitutem, compertissimum tenens bipertitam super his moribus hominum esse censuram, nam ut timidi me temerarium, ita constantes liberum appellant, inter quae ipse decerno satis illius iacere personam, cuius necesse est latere sententiam.

[3] If here and there you find that I show unexpected heat, I would have you know that while Christ is my defender I will never suffer my judgement to be enslaved; I know as well as any one that with regard to this side of my character there are two opinions: the timid call me rash, the resolute a lover of freedom; I myself strongly feel that the man who has to hide his real opinions cuts a very abject figure.

[4] ad propositum redeo, interea tu, si quid a lectionis sacrae continuatione respiras, his licebit neniis avocere. nec faciet materia ut immensa fastidium, quia cum singulae causae singulis ferme epistulis finiantur, cito cognitis in quae oculum intendens ante legere cessabis quam lecturire desistas. vale.

[4] To return to my original subject. If you ever allow yourself a rest from your unending studies in religious literature, these trivialities should afford you innocent distraction. There is here no interminable theme to weary you; each subject ends with its containing letter; you can see where you are at a glance, and have done before the inclination to read has died within you. Farewell.

BOOK VIII

Sidonius Petronio suo salutem.

I.

To his friend Petronius c. A. D. 480

1. Tu quidem pulchre (mos hic tuus, et persevera), vir omnium bonorum, qui uspiam degunt, laude dignissime, quod amicorum gloriae, sicubi locus, lenocinaris. hinc est quod etiam scrinia Arverna petis eventilari, cui sufficere suspicabamur, si quid superiore vulgatu protulissemus. itaque morem geremus iniunctis, actionem tamen stili eatenus prorogaturi, ut epistularum seriem nimirum a primordio voluminis inchoatarum in extimo fine parvi adhuc numeri summa protendat, opus videlicet explicitum quodam quasi marginis sui limbo coronatura.

[1] A MAN who makes it a principle, whenever he can, to encourage his friends along the path of glory deserves the gratitude of all good men everywhere: the practice is your honourable distinction; be true to it always. To no other cause can I ascribe this new request that I should turn out my cases at Clermont in the search for further letters. I should have thought the examples already published would have satisfied you; but I must needs obey, though I shall merely append a few at the end to supplement the original series, and crown the completed volume, as it were, by a marginal addition.

2. sed plus cavendum est, ne sera propter iam propalati augmenta voluminis in aliquos forsitan incidamus vituperones, quorum fugere linguas cote livoris naturalitus acuminatas ne Demosthenis quidem Ciceronisque sententiae artifices et eloquia fabra potuere, quorum anterior orator Demaden, citerior Antonium toleravere derogatores; qui lividi cum fuerint malitiae clarae, dictionis obscurae, tamen ad notitiam posterorum per odia virtutum decucurrerunt.

[2] I shall now have fresh reason to be on my guard against malignant critics, for adding in this way to a book which has already seen the light. How, indeed, could I hope to escape the edged tongues of the spiteful-born, when even a Demosthenes and a Cicero for all their masterly periods and their perfected eloquence were not permitted to go free? The first found his detractor in Demades, the second in Antonius, carpers both, whose malice was as clear as their diction was obscure, and who have come down to posterity simply through their hate of excellence.

3. sed quia hortaris, repetitis laxemus vela turbinibus et qui veluti maria transmisimus, hoc quasi stagnum pernavigemus. nam satis habeo deliberatum, sicut adhibendam in conscriptione diligentiam, ita tenendam in editione constantiam. demum vero medium nihil est: namque aut minimum ex hisce metuendum est aut per omnia omnino conticescendum. vale.

[3] But since the command has gone forth, I set my sail to the old winds; I have navigated oceans, and shall I not cross this quiet water? I have always been convinced that a man should give of his best in anything he writes, and then tranquilly face all criticism. There is no middle course; one must either care no jot for what the malignant say, or else hold one's peace altogether. Farewell.

Sidonius Iohanni suo salutem.

II.

To his friend Johannes A. D. 478

1. Credidi me, vir peritissime, nefas in studia committere, si distulissem prosequi laudibus quod aboleri tu litteras distulisti, quarum quodammodo iam sepulcrum suscitator fautor assertor concelebraris, teque per Gallias uno magistro sub hac tempestate bellorum Latina tenuerunt ora portum, cum pertulerint arma naufragium.

[1] I SHOULD hold myself guilty of something like a crime against polite learning, most accomplished of friends, were I for a moment to defer congratulation on your own success in deferring the decease of Literature. One might almost speak of her as dead and buried; it is your glory to have revived, supported and championed her, and in this tempest of war which has wrecked the Roman power, you are the sole master in Gaul who has brought the Latin tongue safely into port.

2. debent igitur vel aequaeui vel posterius nostri universatim ferventibus votis alterum te ut Demosthenem, alterum ut Tullium nunc statuis, si liceat, consecrare, nunc imaginibus, qui te docente formati institutique iam sinu in medio sic gentis invictae, quod tamen alienae, natalium vetustorum signa retinebunt: nam iam remotis gradibus dignitatum, per quas solebat ultimo a quoque summus quisque discerni, solum erit posthac nobilitatis indicium litteras nosse.

[2] Our contemporaries and our successors should all with one accord and fervent gratitude dedicate statues or portraits to you, as to a new Demosthenes or Tully; by your example they were formed and educated, and they shall preserve in the very midst of an invincible but alien race this evidence of their ancient birthright.

3. nos vero ceteros supra doctrinae tuae beneficia constringunt, quibus aliquid scribere assuetis quodque venturi legere possint elaborantibus saltem de tua schola seu magisterio competens lectorum turba proveniet. vale.

[3] Since old grades of rank are now abolished which once distinguished the high from the low, in future culture must afford the sole criterion of nobility. None is more deeply indebted to your learning than I; for like all authors professed, who write for posterity, I shall owe to your school and your teaching the certainty of an understanding audience. Farewell.

Sidonius Leoni suo salutem.

III.

To his friend Leo A. D. 478

1. Apollonii Pythagorici vitam, non ut Nicomachus senior e Philostrati sed ut Tascius Victorianus e Nicomachi schedio exscripsit, quia iusseras, misi; quam, dum parare festino, celeriter eiecit in tumultuarium exemplar turbida et praeceps et Opica translatio. neque mihi rem credito diuturnius elaboratam vitio veritas: nam dum me tenuit inclusum mora moenium Livianorum, cuius incommodi finem post opem Christi tibi debeo, non valebat curis animus aeger saltem saltuatim tradenda percurrere, nunc per nocturna suspiria, nunc per diurna officia districtus.

[1] I SEND you, at your request, the *Life of Apollonius the Pythagorean*, not in the transcription by Nicomachus the Elder, from Philostratus, but in that from Nicomachus himself by Tascius Victorianus. I was so eager to fulfil your wish, that the result is a makeshift of a copy, obscure and over-hurried, and rough as any version could be. Yet the work took me longer than I expected, and for this you must not blame me, for all the time I was a captive within the walls of Livia, release from which I owe, next to Christ, to you. My mind was sick with care and really unable to fulfil my task even in the most desultory manner; all kinds of hindrances prevented me — various obligations by day, my utter misery at night.

2. ad hoc, et cum me defetigatum ab excubiis ad deversorium crepusculascens hora revocaverat, vix dabatur luminibus inflexis parvula quies; nam fragor ilico, quem movebant vicinantes impluvio cubiculi mei duae quaequam Getides anus, quibus nil umquam litigiosius bibacius vomacius erit. sane, cum primum reduci aliquid otii fuit, inpolitum hunc semicrudumque et, ut aiunt, tamquam musteum librum plus desiderii tui quam officii mei memor obtuli.

[2] When the evening hour brought me at last to my quarters, ready to drop with fatigue, my heavy eyelids knew small repose; there were two old Gothic women established quite close to the window of my chamber, who at once began their chatter — quarrelsome, drunken, and disgusting creatures, whose like will not easily be seen again. As soon as my restoration to my own home gave me a little leisure, I dispatched the book with all its faults upon it, uncorrected, ill-digested, as you might say, an immature wine; in doing so, I thought more of your anxiety to have it, than of my own responsibilities.

3. quocirca seponere tantisper Pythicas lauros Hippocrenenque et illos carminum modos tibi uni tantum penitissime familiares, qui tamen doctis, ut es ipse, personis non tam fonte quam fronte sudantur. suspende perorandi illud quoque celeberrimum flumen, quod non solum gentilicium sed

domesticum tibi quodque in tuum pectus per succiduas aetates ab atavo Frontone transfunditur. seponere paucillulum conclamatissimas declamationes, quas oris regii vice conficis, quibus ipse rex inclitus modo corda terrificat gentium transmarinarum, modo de superiore cum barbaris ad Vachalin tremantibus foedus victor innodat, modo per promotae limitem sortis ut populos sub armis, sic frenat arma sub legibus.

[3] Now that your wish is gratified, forsake awhile Apollo's bays and the fount of Hippocrene; forget the measures of which you alone are absolute master, and which, in those who have only your learning without your eloquence, seem not so much to rise from a well-spring as to drip painfully from fevered brows. Stay the renowned stream of an eloquence peculiar to your race and line, which, flowing from your ancestor the great Fronto through successive generations, has now passed in due course into your breast. Lay aside awhile the universally applauded speeches composed for the royal lips, those famed deliverances with which the glorious monarch from his exalted place strikes terror into the hearts of tribes beyond the seas, or binds a treaty on the necks of barbarians trembling by the Waal, or throughout his newly extended realm curbs force itself by law as once he curbed his foes by force.

4. exuere utcumque continuatissimis curis et otium tuum molibus aulicis motibusque furare. historiam flagitatam tunc recognoscas opportune competenterque, si cum Tyaneo nostro nunc ad Caucasum Indumque, nunc ad Aethiopum gymnosophistas Indorumque bracmanas totus lectioni vacans et ipse quodammodo peregrinare.

[4] Shake off the burden of your endless cares and steal a little leisure from the affairs and agitations of the court. Not till you surrender yourself wholly to this book, and in imagination voyage with our Tyaneus to Caucasus and Ind, among the Gymnosophists of Ethiopia and the Brahmins of Hindostan, not till then shall you know the story you desired in its right hour and as it should be known.

5. lege virum fidei catholicae pace praefata in plurimis similem tui id est a divitiis ambitum nec divitias ambientem; cupidum scientiae continentem pecuniae; inter epulas abstemium, inter purpuratos linteatum, inter alabastra censorium; concretum hispidum hirsutum in medio nationum delibutarum atque inter satrapas regum tiaratorum murrhatos pumicatos malobathratos venerabili squalore pretiosum; cumque proprio nihil esui aut indutui de pecude conferret, regnis ob hoc, quae pererravit, non tam suspitioni, quam [fuisse] suspectui; et a fortuna regum sibi in omnibus obsecundante illa tantum beneficia poscentem, quae magis sit suetus oblata praestare quam sumere.

[5] Read, then, the life of a man who, but for his paganism, in many points resembled you, as one who did not pursue riches, but was pursued by the rich;

who loved knowledge and did not covet money; who was abstemious among the feasters and went in coarse linen among princes robed in purple; who was grave amid luxurious follies; whose hair was matted, whose face was rough and hirsute among smooth, anointed peoples; who was conspicuous in the dignity of his squalor among satraps of crowned monarchs exquisite in person and drenched with nard and myrrh; who abstained from animal flesh and would not clothe himself in wool, — for such abstinence, indeed, held more in honour than contempt in the Eastern kingdoms which he traversed. When royal treasures were placed at his disposal, he asked only the gifts he liked to offer others and would not keep himself.

6. *quid multis? si vera metimur aestimamusque, fors fuit an philosophi vitae scriptor aequalis maiorum temporibus accesserit, certe par saeculo meo per te lector obvenit. vale.*

[6] Why pursue the subject further? Unless I am much at fault, it may be doubted whether our ancestors' days produced a biographer fit to write so great a life; but of this there is no doubt at all, that in your person our own times have produced a student worthy to peruse it. Farewell.

Sidonius Consentio suo salutem.

IV.

To his friend Consentius c. A. D. 478

1. Umquamne nos dei nutu, domine maior, una videbit ille ager tuus Octavianus, nec tuus tantum quantum amicorum? qui civitati fluvio mari proximus hospites epulis, te pascit hospitibus, praeter haec oculis intuentum situ decorus, primore loco, quod domicilium parietibus attollitur ad concinentiam scilicet architectonicam fabre locatis; tum sacrario porticibus ac thermis conspicabilibus late coruscans; ad hoc agris aquisque, vinetis atque olivetis, vestibulo campo colle amoenissimus; iam super penum vel supellectilem copiosam thesauris bibliothecalibus large refertus, ubi ipse dum non minus stilo quam vomeri incumbis, difficile discernitur domini plusne sit cultum rus an ingenium.

[1] WILL Providence ever allow us to meet once more, honoured lord, on your estate of Octaviana — I call it yours, but it seems really to belong to your friends just as much as to you. Situated as it is near town and sea and river, it offers continual hospitality to all comers, and to yourself a regular succession of guests. How charming, too, is its first aspect, with its walls so cleverly designed in perfect architectural symmetry! how brilliant is the gleam of chapel colonnade and baths conspicuous near and far! Then there is the amenity of its fields and waters, its vines and olives, its approach, its beauty of hill and plain. Well stocked and furnished with abundance, it has also a large and copious library; when the master is there, dividing his interests between pen and plough, one might be in doubt whether his mind or his estate enjoys the finer culture.

2. igitur hic tu, quantum recorder, citos iambos, elegos acutos ac rotundatos hendecasyllabos et cetera carmina musicos flores thymumque redolentia, nunc Narbonensibus cantitanda, nunc Biterrensibus, ambigendum celerius an pulchrius elucubrasti, apud aequaevos gratiam tuam, famam apud posteros ampliaturus. certe mihi, quotiens tui versus a meditationis incude tamquam adhuc calidi deferebantur, sic videbatur, qui, etsi non bene scribo, bene iudico.

[2] No wonder this was the chosen place (unless my memory deceives me) where you have produced the swift iambics, the pointed elegiacs, the rounded hendecasyllables, and all the other verses fragrant with thyme and flowers of poesy to be sung by every one at Béziers and Narbonne! These poems, no less remarkable for speed of composition than for charm of style, make you beloved of your contemporaries and must increase your fame among those who shall come after us. I have always been convinced of it myself every time a new poem of yours has been brought me, as it were hot from the composer's

anvil, and though I may be an indifferent writer, I am no such despicable critic.

3. sed, quod fatendum est, talibus studiis anterior aetas iuste vacabat seu, quod est verius, occupabatur; modo tempus est seria legi, seria scribi deque perpetua vita potius quam memoria cogitari nimiumque meminisse nostra post mortem non opuscula sed opera pensanda.

[3] My earlier life might not improperly find time for such pursuits, and in fact it did so. But now I only read and write of serious things, for now it is high time to think rather of eternal life than of posthumous renown, and to remember that after death our good works, and not our literary work, will be weighed in the balance.

4. quae quidem ad praesens non ita loquor, quasi tu non utraque laudanda conficias aut, si adhuc durat in sermone laetitia, non custodiatur in actione censura, sed ut qui Christo favente clam sanctus es, iam palam religiosa venerandus iugo salubri colla pariter et corda subdare invigiletque caelestibus lingua praeconiis, anima sententiis, dextra donariis: praecipue tamen dextra donariis, quia quicquid ecclesiis spargis, tibi colligis; ad cuius exercitia virtutis illud vel principale te poterit accendere, quod inter opes quaslibet positi quae bona stultis falso vocantur, si quid agimus, nostrum, si quid habemus, alienum est. vale.

[4] I am far from implying by this that you do not excel in both, or that the lively style which you still affect is inconsistent with gravity of judgement; but since by Christ's grace you are already a saint in secret, I would have you openly submit to His salutary yoke a head and heart alike devoted to His service, your tongue unwearying in prayer and praise, your mind filled with pious thoughts, your hand ever open in benefaction. Especially would I insist upon the open hand, for all that you cast abroad among the churches is really gathered in for yourself. Let this reflection above all incite you to the exercise of generosity, that whatever be our opportunities in respect of the things which the foolish call this world's goods, all that we give in charity remains our own, all that we keep is really lost to us. Farewell.

Sidonius Fortunali suo salutem.

V.

To his friend Fortunalis c. A. D. 480

1. Ibis et tu in paginas nostras, amicitiae columen, Fortunalis, Hibericarum decus inlustre regionum; neque enim tibi familiaritas tam parva cum litteris, ut per has ipsas de te aliquid post te superesse non deceat. vivet ilicet, vivet in posterum nominis tui gloria.

[1] You too shall figure in my pages, dear Fortunalis, column of friendship, bright ornament of your Spanish country. Your own acquaintance with letters is not, after all, so slight as to deprive you of any immortality which they can confer. The glory of your name shall live; yes, it shall survive into after ages.

2. nam si qua nostris qualitercumque gratia reverentia fides chartulis inest, sciat aetas volo postuma nihil tua fide firmitus forma pulchrius, sententia iustius patientia tolerantius, consilio gravius convivio laetius colloquio iocundius. illud quoque supra cetera agnoscet, praeconia laudibus tuis ex votorum contrarietate venisse. nam prope est, ut eminentius censeatur quod probaverunt te adversa constantem, quam si celarent secunda felicem. vale.

[2] If my writings win any favour or respect, if they command any confidence among men, I will have posterity know that none were more stout of heart than you; that none were goodlier to see or more equitable in judgement, none more patient, none weightier in council, gayer in company, or more charming in conversation. Last, and not least, it shall learn that these praises have been enhanced by your misfortunes. For it is more likely to hold you great, as one proved in the hard day of adversity, than as one who lay hidden in the bosom of kind fortune. Farewell.

Sidonius Namatio suo salutem.

VI.

To his friend Namatius c. A. D. 480*

1. Gaium Caesarem dictatorem, quo ferunt nullum rem militarem ducaliter administrasse, studia certatim dictandi lectitandique sibi mutuo vindicare. et licet in persona unius eiusdemque tempore suo principis viri castrensium oratoriaeque scientiae cura certaverit ferme gloria aequipari, idem tamen numquam se satis duxit in utriusque artis arce compositum, priusquam vestri Arpinatis testimonio ceteris mortalibus anteferretur.

[1] CAIUS JULIUS CAESAR, reputed the greatest master of strategy who ever lived, was a great reader and a great writer also. Though he was the first man of his age, and the arts of war and rhetoric disputed his genius with equally glorious results, yet he never considered himself to have attained the summit in either branch of knowledge until your orator of Arpinum proclaimed him without a rival among men.

2. quod mihi quoque, si parva magnis componere licet, secundum modulum meum quamquam dissimillimo similiter accessit. quae super cunctos te quam primum decuit agnoscere, quia tibi est tam gloria mea quam verecundia plurimum curae. Flavius Nicetius, vir ortu clarissimus, privilegio spectabilis, merito inlustris et hominum patriae nostrae prudentia peritiaque iuxta maxumus, praeconio, quantum comperi, immenso praesentis opusculi volumina extollit, insuper praedicans, quod plurimos iuvenum nec senum paucos vario genere dictandi militandique, quippe adhuc aevo viridis, ipse sim supergressus.

[2] To compare small things with great, it has been the same in my own case, however vast my inferiority. No one should know this better than yourself, concerned as you have always been for my success and for my modesty in bearing it. I learn that Flavius Nicetius, distinguished above all his countrymen by his birth, his rank, his merit, his prudence, his wise knowledge of the world, has accorded my small work unlimited praise. He has gone further and declared that while yet in the prime of life I have surpassed in the two fields of literature and war the great number of our young men and not a few of the older among us.

3. equidem, in quantum fieri praeter iactantiam potest, gaudeo de praestantissimi viri auctoritate, si certus est, amore, si fallitur: licet quis provocatus nunc ad facta maiorum non inertissimus, quis quoque ad verba non infantissimus erit? namque virtutes artium istarum saeculis potius priscis saeculorum rector ingenuit, quae per aetatem mundi iam senescentis lassatis veluti seminibus emedullatae parum aliquid hoc tempore in quibuscumque,

atque id in paucis, mirandum ac memorabile ostendant.

[3] If I may say it without vanity, I derive real satisfaction from the approval of so eminent a judge. If he is right, his weight counts for much; if partial, I have a fresh proof of his friendship; though nowadays every man of us is but a sluggard in deed, and in word an infant in comparison with his forefathers. To the men of earlier ages the ruler of all ages granted supreme excellence in these arts; but now the world waxes old, the quickening seed is exhausted, the marrow lost; and if in our time aught of admirable or memorable appears, it is manifest in exceeding few.

4. huius tamen ego, etsi studiorum omnium caput est litterarumque, quia personam semper excolui, vereor sententiam supra quam veritas habet affectu ponderatiore prolatam. neque ob hoc infitias ierim me saepe luculentis eius actionibus adstitisse, quarum me, etsi reddere mutuum videor, vel ex parte cursimque fieri memorem fas est.

[4] Nicetius may lead all learning and all letters, but I fear that our intimacy may have led him to exaggerate my merit through the bias natural to friendship. And were it so, I will not deny that in the past I used often to attend the delivery of his luminous speeches, and however fleeting or imperfect my memories, I may properly recall some of them in the present place, even at the risk of being thought to join a game of mutual admiration.

5. audivi eum adulescens atque adhuc nuper ex puero, cum pater meus praefectus praetorio Gallicanis tribunalibus praesideret, sub cuius videlicet magistratu consul Asterius anni sui fores votivum trabeatus aperuerat. adhaerebam sellae curuli, etsi non latens per ordinem, certe non sedens per aetatem, mixtusque turmae censualium paenulatorum consulis, proximae proximus eram. itaque, ut primum brevi peracta, nec brevis, sportula datique fasti, acclamatum est ab omni Galliae coetu primoribus advocatorum, ut festivitate praeventas horas antelucanas, quae diem serum cum silentio praestolarentur, congrua emeritorum fascium laude honestarent.

[5] I heard him speak when I was growing to manhood and had just left boyhood behind me; at that time my father was praetorian prefect presiding over the tribunals of Gaul, and in his term of office Astyrius assumed the trabea and in a propitious hour inaugurated his consulship. On that day I hardly stirred from the curule chair; my age gave me no right to a seat, but my rank allowed me to keep in the foreground; so I stood next to the censor's men who in their official mantles stood nearest to the consul. As soon as the largess had been distributed (and that took little time though it was no little one), as soon as the diptychs had been bestowed, the representative advocates of the province who had come in from every district asked with one consent that the assumption of the consul's office might be celebrated in a panegyric. The ceremonies had anticipated the day, and there was yet some time before

the late dawn, which otherwise would have been passed in silence.

6. Nicetium protinus circumspexere conspicati, qui non sensim singulatimque, sed tumultuatim petitus et cunctim cum quodam prologo pudoris vultum modeste demissus inrubit. atque ob hoc illi maximum sophos non eloquentia prius quam verecundia dedit. dixit disposite graviter ardentem, magna acrimonia maiore facundia maxima disciplina, et illam Sarranis ebriam sucis inter crepitantia segmenta palmatam plus picta oratione, plus aurea convenustavit.

[6] All eyes turned at once towards Nicetius, the first men present were the first to look his way; the assembly called upon him not by a voice here or there, but by general acclamation; he reddened, and cast down his eyes, giving us such an earnest of his modest nature as gained him hardly fewer bravos than the eloquence he subsequently displayed. He spoke with method, with gravity, with fire; if his ardour was great, his fluency was yet greater, and his science greatest of all; his coloured and golden language seemed to enhance the splendour of the consul's palm-embroidered robe, steeped though it was in Sarranian dyes and rich with applied strips that rustled at every movement of the wearer.

7. per ipsum fere tempus, ut decemviraliter loquar, lex de praescriptione tricennii fuerat proquirata, cuius peremptoriis abolita rubricis lis omnis in sextum tracta quinquennium terminabatur. hanc intra Gallias ante nescitam primus, quem loquimur, orator indidit prosecutionibus edidit tribunalibus prodidit partibus addidit titulis, frequente conventu raro sedente, paucis sententiis multis laudibus.

[7] About that time (to speak like a decemvir) was promulgated the statute of limitations which decreed in summary terms that all cases protracted to thirty years should automatically lapse. It was our orator who first introduced this law, as yet unknown in Gaul; he advocated it at the tribunal; he expounded it to the various parties; and he finally saw it added to the statute-book, before a great audience whose members mostly kept their feet in their excitement and only interrupted by applause.

8. praeter ista per alias vices doctrinam illius, quo more citius homo discitur, inobservatus inspexi tunc, cum quae regit provincias fascibus Nicetiano regeretur praefectura consilio. quid multa? nil quod non meum vellem, nil quod non admirarer audivi.

[8] I had many other occasions of observing his intellectual capacity, myself unobserved, and therefore in the best of all positions to see the real man; for though my father governed the province, it was to Nicetius that he went for advice. It must suffice to say that I never heard of a single action of which I did not like to hear, and which I did not admire.

9. propter quae omnia bona in viro sita laetor ad puncta censoris omnium voce concelebrati. granditer enim sua in utramvis de me opinionem sententia valet; quae, si vera comperimus, tantum mihi est favens securitati, quantum fieret adversata formidini. de cetero fixum apud me stat constitutumque, prout rem ex asse cognovero, vel silentio lora laxare vel stringere frena garritui. namque si supradicti confirmor assensu, Athenis loquacior, si minus, Amyclis ipsis taciturnior ero.

[9] The union in his person of all these fine qualities naturally makes me proud to receive the suffrage of a critic so high in the public esteem. Whatever his opinion, it must have great influence; if rumour is true, he is on my side, and I shall have just as good reason to be reassured as I should have had to feel uneasy had his vote gone the other way. In any case, I am determined, as soon as I know for certain what he thinks, either to give silence a loose rein, or curb my facility according to the verdict. For if he supports me I shall be inclined to go on talking like an Athenian; if he condemns, no citizen of Amyclae shall hold his tongue like me.

10. sed de sodali deque me satis dictum. tu nunc inter ista quid rerum? quas mihi ad vicem nosse non minus cordi. venaris, aedificas, rusticarisne? an horum aliquid unum? an singula vicissim? an pariter et cunctim? sed de Vitruvio sive Columella, seu alterutrum ambosve sectere, decentissime facis. potes enim utrumque more quo qui optimo, id est ut cultor aliquis e primis architectusque.

[10] But no more of myself or of my friend: how does the world go with you? I am every whit as eager to hear your news as to give you mine. Are you hunting, or building, or playing the country gentleman? Are you indulging one only of these pursuits or each in turn, or all together? As for Vitruvius and Columella, you do well to study either one or both, for you are competent to deal with either admirably, as one who is equally at home in agriculture and in building.

11. ceterum, ut tibi de venatoris officio quam minimum blandiaris, maxume iniungo. namque apros frustra in venabula vocas, quos canibus misericordissimis, quibus abundas, et + si quidem solis, movere potius quam commovere consuesti. esto, sit indulgentia dignum, quod reformidant catuli tui bestiis appropinquare terribilibus corpulentisque: illud ignoro quomodo excuses, quod capreas, pecus simum, pariter et dammas in fugam pronos iacentibus animis pectoribus erectis, passibus raris crebris latratibus prosequuntur.

[11] With sport the case is different, and I beg you not to plume yourself upon your prowess. It is useless to invite the boar to meet your spears, so long as you take the field alone with those exceedingly merciful hounds of yours; you just rouse the quarry, but not enough to make him run. It is excusable enough

that your dogs should dread close quarters with such formidable beasts as boars; but what apology can you make when they hunt poor helpless kids and timid does, head high and spirits prone, stinting the pace but prodigal of music?

12. quapropter de reliquo fructuosius retibus cassibusque scrupeas rupes atque opacandis habilia lustris plosor statarius nemora circumvenis ac, pudor si quis, temperas cursibus apertis quaterre campos et insidiari lepusculis Olarionensibus; quos nec est tanti, raro te insectante superandos, copulis palam ductis inquietari, nisi forsitan, dum tibi ac patri noster Apollinaris intervenit, rectius fiet ut exerceantur.

[12] You will find it more profitable to net in the rough rocks and likely coverts, and cry the dogs on from a chosen post; if you have any self-respect left, you will give up galloping over the open country and lying in wait for the leverets of Oléron. Indeed it is hardly worth while to worry them on rare occasions by unleashing the hounds in the open, unless our good Apollinaris comes to help you and your father, and gives you a better run.

13. exceptis iocis fac sciam tandem, quid te, quid domum circa. sed ecce dum iam epistulam, quae diu garrit, claudere optarem, subitus a Santonis nuntius; cum quo dum tui obtentu aliquid horarum sermocinanter extrahimus, constanter asseveravit nuper vos classicum in classe cecinisse atque inter officia nunc nautae, modo militis litoribus Oceani curvis inerrare contra Saxonum pandos myoparones, quorum quot remiges videris, totidem te cernere putes archipiratas: ita simul omnes imperant parent, docent discunt latrocinari. unde nunc etiam ut quam plurimum caveas, causa successit maxuma monendi.

[13] But, joking apart, do let me know how things go with you and your household. Just as I was on the point of ending a letter which had rambled on long enough, lo and behold! a courier from Saintonges. I whiled away some time talking with him about you; and he was very positive that you had weighed anchor, and in fulfilment of those half military, half naval duties of yours were coasting the western shores on the look-out for curved ships; the ships of the Saxons, in whose every oarsman you think to detect an arch-pirate. Captains and crews alike, to a man they teach or learn the art of brigandage; therefore let me urgently caution you to be ever on the alert.

14. hostis est omni hoste truculentior. inprovisus aggreditur praevisus elabatur; spernit obiectos sternit incautos; si sequatur, intercipit, si fugiat, evadit. ad hoc exercent illos naufragia, non terrent. est eis quaedam cum discriminibus pelagi non notitia solum, sed familiaritas. nam quoniam ipsa si qua tempestas est huc securos efficit occupandos, huc prospici vetat occupaturos, in medio fluctuum scopulorumque confragorum spe superventus laeti periclitantur.

[14] For the Saxon is the most ferocious of all foes. He comes on you without warning; when you expect his attack he makes away. Resistance only moves him to contempt; a rash opponent is soon down. If he pursues he overtakes; if he flies himself, he is never caught. Shipwrecks to him are no terror, but only so much training. His is no mere acquaintance with the perils of the sea; he knows them as he knows himself. A storm puts his enemies off their guard, preventing his preparations from being seen; the chance of taking the foe by surprise makes him gladly face every hazard of rough waters and broken rocks.

15. praeterea, priusquam de continenti in patriam vela laxantes hostico mordaces anchoras vado vellant, mos est remeaturis decimum quemque captorum per aequales et cruciarias poenas plus ob hoc tristi quod superstitioso, ritu necare superque collectam turbam periturorum mortis iniquitatem sortis aequitate dispergere. talibus se ligant votis, victimis solvunt; et per huiusmodi non tam sacrificia purgati quam sacrilegia polluti religiosum putant caedis infaustae perpetratores de capite captivo magis exigere tormenta quam pretia.

[15] Moreover, when the Saxons are setting sail from the continent, and are about to drag their firm-holding anchors from an enemy's shore, it is their usage, thus homeward bound, to abandon every tenth captive to the slow agony of a watery end, casting lots with perfect equity among the doomed crowd in execution of this iniquitous sentence of death. This custom is all the more deplorable in that it is prompted by honest superstition. These men are bound by vows which have to be paid in victims, they conceive it a religious act to perpetrate this horrible slaughter, and to take anguish from the prisoner in place of ransom; this polluting sacrilege is in their eyes an absolving sacrifice.

16. qua de re metuo multa, suspicor varia, quamquam me e contrario ingentia hortentur: primum, quod victoris populi signa comitaris; dein quod in sapientes viros, quos inter iure censeris, minus annuo licere fortuitis; tertio, quod pro sodalibus fide iunctis, sede discretis frequenter incutiunt et tuta maerorem, quia promptius de actionibus longinquis ambigendisque sinistra quaeque metus augurat.

[16] I am full of anxiety and apprehension about these dangers, though on the other hand there are factors which encourage me mightily. Firstly, the standards under which you sail are those of an ever-victorious nation. Secondly, men of prudence, among whose number you may fairly be included, are not in the habit of leaving anything to chance. Thirdly, very intimate friends who live far from each other are apt to feel alarm without due cause, because it is natural to be apprehensive of events at once incalculable and occurring very far away.

17. sed dicas non esse tantum forte curanda quae perhorresco. id quidem verum est; sed nec hoc falsum, quod his, quos amplius diligimus, plus timemus. unde nihilominus, precor, obortum tui causa sensibus nostris quam primum prospero relatu exime angorem. neque enim ex integro flecti umquam ad hoc possum, ut de peregrinantibus amicis, quippe quos bellicum militarisque tessera terit, donec secunda cognosco, non adversa formidem.

[17] You will perhaps argue that the cause of my uneasiness need not be taken so seriously. That may be true; but it is also true that we are most timid in regard to those whom we love best. So take the first opportunity of relieving the fears which your situation has aroused by a good account of your fortunes. I am incorrigible on this head, and shall always fear the worst for friends abroad until they contradict it themselves, especially those harassed by the watchword or the signal for attack.

18. Varronem logistoricum, sicut poposceras, et Eusebium chronographum misi, quorum si ad te lima pervenerit, si quid inter excubiales curas, utpote in castris, saltim sortito vacabis, poteris, postquam arma deteriseris, ori quoque tuo loquendi robiginem summovere. vale.

[18] In accordance with your request, I send you the *Libri Logistorici* of Varro and the Chronology of Eusebius. If these models reach you safely, and you find a little leisure from the watches and the duties of the camp, you will be able, your arms once furbished, to apply another kind of polish to an eloquence which must be getting rusty. Farewell.

* The latter part translated by Hodgkin (ii. 366-8), who also refers to the episode of Nicetius' oration (ibid. 306-7).

Sidonius Audaci suo salutem.

VII.

To his friend Audax A. D. 474

1. Ubinam se nunc, velim dicas, gentium abscondunt qui saepe sibi de molibus facultatum congregatarum deque congestis iam nigrescentis argenti struibibus blandiebantur? ubi etiam illorum praerogativa, qui contra indolem iuniorum sola occasione praecedentis aetatis intumescebant? Ubi sunt illi, quorum affinitas nullo indicio maiore cognoscitur quam simultate?

[1] I WISH you would tell me into what corner of the world the folk are crept who used to be so proud of wealth amassed, and heaps of tarnished family plate. Where, too, are the men who on mere grounds of seniority thought to overbear those whose one sin it was to be younger? Where are the people gone whose real affinities come out in nothing so clearly as in their capacity for hatred?

2. nempe, cum primum bonis actibus locus et ad trutinam iudicii principalis appensa tandem non nummorum libra sed morum, remansere illi, qui superbissime opinabantur solo se censu esse censendos quique sic vitiis ut divitiis incubantes volunt vanitatis videri alienam surrexisse personam, cum nolint cupiditatis notari suam crevisse substantiam. in qua tamen detrahendi palaestra exercitati tamquam per oleum sic per infusa aemulationum venena macerantur.

[2] As soon as ever merit found recognition, as soon as ever weight of character, and not weight of coin, began to tell in the scales of imperial opinion, these worthies were left in the cold with their insolent claim to precedence by simple right of property. Brooding over their money-bags, and, I may add, their vices, they want to brand those who rise in the world as vain upstarts, while they would be shocked at the suggestion that they owe their own riches to greed. Athletes in this arena of defamation, they rub in the poisonous juice of spite in place of oil, and so reduce their weight.

3. tu vero inter haec macte, qui praefecturae titulis ampliatus, licet hactenus e prosapia inlustri computarere, peculiariter nihilo segnius elaborasti, ut a te gloriosius posterit tui numerarentur. nil enim est illo per sententiam boni cuiusque generosius, quisquis ingenii corporis opum iunctam in hoc constans operam exercet, ut maioribus suis anteponatur.

[3] But all hail to you, whose way is the opposite of theirs. You have now the honour of prefectorian rank, and though the prestige of high descent was always yours, you have if anything laboured rather the more on that account to shed a new lustre upon your posterity. To an enlightened mind, none seems

nobler than he who steadily devotes all his power, his intellect, and his resources to the single end of excelling his forefathers.

4. quod superest, deum posco, ut te filii consequantur aut, quod te plus decet velle, transcendant, et quicumque non sustinet diligere provectum, medullitus aestuantes a semet ipso livoris proprii semper exigit poenas, cumque nullas in te habuerit umquam misericordiae causas, habeat invidiae; siquidem iuste sub iusto principe iacet qui, per se minimus et tantum per sua maxumus, animo exiguus vivit et patrimonio plurimus. vale.

[4] Well, it shall be my prayer that your sons may equal you, or even (a better prayer still) leave you behind; and that if there is any envious soul who cannot bear to see you advanced above him, he may just endure the seething torment of his own spite, and never having had the chance of patronizing you, have now the fullest reason for his jealousy. It is only justice that under a just prince he should come at the bottom who is personally nothing and only important in personalty; a starveling spirit, and counting only for his money. Farewell.

Sidonius Syagrio suo salutem.

VIII.

To his friend Syagrius A. D. 474 (?)

1. Dic, Gallicanae flos iuventutis, quousque tandem ruralium operum negotiosus urbana fastidis? quamdiu attritas tesserarum quondam iactibus manus contra ius fasque sibi vindicant instrumenta cerealia? quousque tua te Taionnacus patriciae stirpis lassabit agricolam? quousque prati comantis exuvias hibernis novalibus non ut eques sed ut bubulcus abscondis? quousque pondus ligonis obtusi nec perfossis antibus ponis?

[1] TELL me, fine flower of our Gallic youth, how much longer your ardour for country labours will bid you scorn the town? How long shall rustic implements unrightfully usurp the hands only worn before by throwing dice? How much longer is your estate of Taionnacus to weary your patrician limbs with a peasant's toil? How much longer, O cavalier turned ploughman, will you go on burying in the winter fallows the spoil of the waving meadows? how much longer ply your blunt and heavy hoe along the interminable vine-rows?

2. quid Serranorum aemulus et Camillorum cum regas stivam, dissimulas optare palmatam? parce tantum in nobilitatis invidiam rusticari. agrum si mediocriter colas, possides; si nimium, possideris. redde te patri, redde te patriae, redde te etiam fidelibus amicis, qui iure ponuntur inter affectus. aut si te tantum Cincinnati dictatoris vita delectat, duc ante Raciliam, quae boves iungat.

[2] Why, professed rival of Serranus and Camillus, do you guide the plough, yet renounce the embroidered toga? Give up this rustic folly; cease to disgrace your birth. Who cultivates in moderation is lord of his land, who does too much is slave of it. Return to your fatherland, return to your father, return to all the loyal friends who can justly claim a place in your affections. Or, if the life of Cincinnatus the Dictator attracts you so, first wed a Racilia to yoke your oxen for you.

3. neque dixerim sapienti viro rem domesticam non esse curandam, sed eo temperamento, quo non solum quid habere sed quid debeat esse consideret. nam, si ceteris nobilium studiorum artibus repudiatis sola te propagandae rei familiaris urtica sollicitat, licet tu deductum nomen a trabeis atque eboratas curules et gestatorias bratteatas et fastos recolas purpurissatos, is profecto inveniere, quem debeat sic industrium quod latentem non tam honorare censor quam censitor onerare. vale.

[3] I don't suggest that a man of sense should neglect his domestic affairs; but

he should use moderation and think not merely of what he ought to have but what he ought to be. If you renounce all higher interests, if your one motive in life is the increase of your property, then, what can it avail you to descend from a line of consuls and see every day their ivory curule chairs with applied ornament of gold and their calendars enriched with purple? Your plodding and obscure career will bring you rather burdens from the revenue officials than honour from the censor. Farewell.

Sidonius Lampridius suo salutem.

IX.

*To his friend Lampridius * A. D. 478*

1. Cum primum Burdigalam veni, litteras mihi tabellarius tuus obtulit plenas nectaris florum margaritarum, quibus silentium meum culpas et aliquos versuum meorum versibus poscis, qui tibi solent per musicum palati concavum tinnientes voce variata quasi tibiis multiforatilibus effundi. sed hoc tu munificentia regia satis abutens iam securus post munera facis, quia forsitan satiricum illud de satirico non recordaris: Satur est cum dicit Horatius ‘euhoe’.

[1] ON my arrival at Bordeaux, your messenger brought me a letter from you full of nectar, rich with blooms and pearls. You arraign my silence, and ask me for some of my poems, in a few of those verses of yours which your cadenced voice so often sends echoing from your melodious palate, like music poured from a flute of many stops. In this you take mean advantage of your royal munificence; you have sent your gift; you feel impregnable. Perhaps you have forgotten one satirist’s remark about another:

‘When Horace says “Evohe”, he has plenteously dined.’

2. quid multis? merito me cantare ex otio iubes, quia te iam saltare delectat. quicquid illud est, pareo tamen, idque non modo non coactus verum etiam spontaliter facio; tantum tu utcumque moderere Catonianum superciliosae frontis arbitrium. nosti enim probe laetitiam poetarum, quorum sic ingenia maeroribus ut pisciculi retibus amiciuntur; et si quid asperum aut triste, non statim sese poetica teneritudo a vinculo incursi angoris elaequeat. necdum enim quicquam de hereditate socruali vel in usum tertiae sub pretio medietatis obtinui.

[2] Enough! You are right to send a command from your place of ease, bidding me sing because you are in the mood to dance. In any case I must obey; and far from acknowledging compulsion, I yield of my own free will; but spare me, if you can, the criticism of your proud Catonian brow. You know well enough what manner of thing a poet’s gladness is; his spirit is entangled in grief as the fish in nets; if sorrow or affliction comes, his sensitive soul does not so lightly work free from the bonds of anguish: I am still unsuccessful in obtaining a decision about my mother-in-law’s estate, even provisionally, though I have offered a third part of it as ransom.

3. interim tu videris, quam tibi sit epigrammatis flagitati lemma placitum; me tamen nequaquam sollicitudo permittit aliud nunc habere in actione, aliud in carmine. illud sane praeter iustitiam feceris, si in praesentiarum vicissim scripta quasi compares. ago laboriosum, agis ipse felicem; ago adhuc exulem,

agis ipse iam civem: et ob hoc inaequalia cano, quia similia posco et paria non impetro.

[3] You must see whether the theme of my verses is such as to please you; but my cares forbid me to live in one mood and write in another. It would be unfair to me were you to institute a comparison between our two poems. I am harassed; you are happy. I am in exile; you enjoy your rights of citizenship. I cannot attain your level; I want of you verse like my own, but receive something infinitely better.

4. quod si quopiam casu ineptias istas, quas inter animi supplicia conscripsimus, nutu indulgentiore suscepere, persuadebis mihi, quia cantuum similes fuerint olorinorum, quorum est modulatio clangor in poenis: similes etiam chordae lyrae violentius tensae, quae quo plus torta, plus musica est. ceterum si probari nequeunt versus otii aut hilaritatis expertes, tu quoque in pagina, quam suppet attexui, nil quod placeat invenies.

[4] But if by any chance these trifles composed in the midst of much mental tribulation obtain indulgence at your hands, I will let you persuade me that they are like the swan's notes, whose song is more harmonious just before his death; or that they are like lyre-strings tensely drawn, which make the sweeter music the tighter they are strained. But if verses without suggestion of gaiety or ease can never really please, you will find nothing satisfactory in the enclosed.

5. his adhuc adde, quod materiam, cui non auditor potius sed lector obtigerit, nihil absentis auctoris pronuntiatio iuvat. neque enim post opus missum superest quod poeta vel vocalissimus agat, quem distantia loci nec hoc facere permittit, quod solent chori pantomimorum, qui bono cantu male dictata commendant.

Quid Cirrham vel Hyantias Camenas,

quid doctos Heliconidum liquores,

scalptos alitis hinnientis ictu,

nunc in carmina commovere temptas,

(5) nostrae Lampridius decus Thaliae,

et me scribere sic subinde cogis,

ac si Delphica Delio tulissem

instrumenta tuo novusque Apollo

cortinam tripodas, chelyn pharetras,

(10) arcus grypas agam duplaeque frondis

hinc bacas quatiā vel hinc corymbos?

tu iam, Tityre, rura post recepta

myrtos et platanona pervagatus

pulsas barbiton atque concinentes

(15) ora et plectra tibi modos resultant,

chorda voce metro stupende psaltes:

nos istic positos semelque visos

bis iam menstrua luna conspicatur,

nec multum domino vacat vel ipsi,

(20) dum responsa petit subactus orbis.

istic Saxona caerulum videmus

assuetum ante salo solum timere;

cuius verticis extimas per oras

non contenta suos tenere morsus

(25) altat lammina marginem comarum,

et sic crinibus ad cutem recisis

decrescit caput additurque vultus.

hic tonso occipiti, senex Sygamber,

postquam victus es, elicis retrorsum

(30) cervicem ad veterem novos capillos.

hic glaucis Herulus genis vagatur,

imos Oceani colens recessus

algoso prope concolor profundo.

hic Burgundio septipes frequenter

(35) flexo poplite supplicat quietem.

istis Ostrogothus viget patronis

vicinosque premens subinde Chunos,
his quod subditur, hinc superbit illis.
hinc, Romane, tibi petis salutem,
(40) et contra Scythicae plagae catervas,
si quos Parrhasis ursa fert tumultus,
Eorice, tuae manus rogantur,
ut Martem validus per inquilinum
defendat tenuem Garumna Thybrim.
(45) ipse hic Parthicus Arsaces precatur,
aulae Susidis ut tenere culmen
possit foedere sub stipendiali.
nam quod partibus arma Bosphoranis
grandi hinc surgere sentit apparatu,
(50) maestam Persida iam sonum ad duelli
ripa Euphratide vix putat tuendam;
qui cognata licet sibi astra fingens
Phoebaea tumeat propinquitate,
mortalem hic tamen implet obsecrando.
(55) haec inter terimus moras inanes;
sed tu, Tityre, parce provocare;
nam non invideo magisque miror,
qui, dum nil mereor precesque frustra
impendo, Meliboeus esse coepi.

[5] Do not forget, moreover, a second point which tells against me, namely that a piece which you only read and cannot hear recited is robbed of all the advantage which delivery by the author lends it. His manuscript once dispatched, the most musical of poets has no further resource; distance does not allow him to do for himself what mimics do by their accompaniment — make bad verse acceptable by dint of fine delivery.

* ‘Lampridius, glory of our Thalia, why urge me now to sing of Cirrha, or the Boeotian Muses, or Helicon’s poetic stream called by neighing Pegasus to life at a stroke of his hoof? Why would you make me write as if I had received the Delphic insignia from your Delian god, and, myself a new Apollo, possessed the hangings, and the tripods, the lyre, the quivers, the bows, and gryphons, or tossed from my brow the laurel and the ivy? You, O happy Tityrus, have won your lands again; you may wander through the groves of plane and myrtle, and strike a lyre with which your voice makes perfect harmony. Wondrous is the music of string and tone and measure.

Twice has the moon risen upon me prisoned here; and but once have I been received into the presence. For scant leisure has the King even for himself, since all the subjugated earth awaits his nod. We see in his courts the blue-eyed Saxon, lord of the seas, but a timid landsman here. The razor’s keen blade, content no more to hold its usual course round the head’s extremity, with clean strokes shearing to the skin, drives the margin of the hair back from his brow, till the head looks smaller and the visage longer. We see thee, aged Sygambrian warrior, the back of thy head shaven in sign of thy defeat; but now thou guidest the new-grown locks to the old neck again. Here strolls the Herulian with his glaucous cheeks, inhabitant of Ocean’s furthest shore, and of one complexion with its weedy deeps. Here the Burgundian bends his seven feet of stature on suppliant knee, imploring peace. Here the Ostrogoth finds a powerful patron, and crushing the Hun beyond his border, triumphs at home only through his homage to this mighty patron. And here, O Roman, thou also seekest thy protection; if the Great Bear menaces commotion, and the Scythian hordes advance, the strong arm of Euric is invoked, that Garonne, drawing power from the Mars who loves his banks, may bring defence to the dwindled stream of Tiber. Here the Parthian Arsacid himself asks grace to hold, a tributary, his high hall of Susa. He perceives in the regions of the Bosphorus dread war arise with all its enginery, nor hopes that Persia, dismayed at the mere sound of conflict, shall avail to guard alone Euphrates’ bank. He who boasts himself kin with stars and near allied to Phoebus, even he becomes a simple mortal, and descends to lowly supplication.

At such a court my days go by in vain. But do you, O Tityrus, refrain, nor invite me more to song. I envy thee no longer; I can but marvel at thy fortune. For myself, I effect nothing; I utter fruitless prayers, and so become another Meliboeus.’

6. En carmen, quod recenseas otiabundus nostrumque sudorem ac pulverem spectans veluti iam coronatus auriga de podio. de reliquo non est quod suspiceris par me officii genus repetiturum, etiamsi delectere praesenti, nisi prius ipse destiterim vaticinari magis damna quam carmina. vale.

[6] There is the poem. Read it at your leisure, and like a charioteer already

crowned, look down from the balcony to the arena where I struggle still in the sweat and dust of contest. Do not expect me to do the like again, whatever pleasure you derive from this present effort, until the happy day arrives when I can turn my mind once more from dark vaticinations to the service of the Muse. Farewell.

* The poem partly translated by A. Thierry, *Lettres sur l'histoire de France*, p. 103.

* Translated into verse by Fertig, Part ii, p. 23; and into prose by Chaix, ii. 229.

Sidonius Ruricio suo salutem.

X.

To his friend Ruricius A.D. 479

1. Esse tibi usui pariter et cordi litteras granditer gaudeo. nam stilum vestrum quanta comitetur vel flamma sensuum vel unda sermonum, liberius assererem, nisi, dum me laudare non parum studes, laudari plurimum te vetares. et quamquam in epistula tua servet caritas dulcedinem, natura facundiam, peritia disciplinam, in sola materiae tamen electione peccasti, licet id ipsum praedicari possit in voto, quod videris errasse <in> iudicio. ingentes praeconiorum titulos moribus meis applicas; sed si pudoris nostri fecisses utcumque rationem, Symmachianum illud te cogitare par fuerat: ut vera laus ornat, ita falsa castigat.

[1] I AM indeed delighted that you derive from letters at once a benefit and a pleasure. But I should be freer to extol the fire and fluency of your style, were it not that while assiduously praising me yourself you forbid me to return the compliment with interest. Your letter had all the sweetness of affection, all the grace of natural eloquence, all the mastery of style; it failed only in one respect — the choice of subject, and even there you have the credit of good intention, an error of judgement forms its only fault. You cover me with immense laudation. But you should have spared my blushes, and recalled betimes the saying of Symmachus: ‘True praise adorns, false praise lashes.’

2. quo loci tamen si animum vestrum bene metior, super affectum, quem maximum ostendis, hoc tu et arte fecisti. nam moris est eloquentibus viris ingeniorum facultatem negotiorum probare difficultatibus et illic stilum peritum quasi quendam fecundi pectoris vomerem figere, ubi materiae sterilis argumentum velut arida caespitis macri glaeba ieiunat. scaturrit mundus similibus exemplis: medicus in desperatione, gubernator in tempestate cognoscitur; horum omnium famam praecedentia pericula extollunt, quae profecto delitescit, nisi ubi probetur invenerit.

[2] But unless I misjudge your genius you have not only shown sincere affection, but also remarkable dexterity. The really eloquent love to show the stuff they are made of by choosing a subject full of difficulty; they drive the accomplished pen as if it were the plough of fertile speech through matter sterile as dry and barren soil. Life abounds with examples of skill similarly applied. The hopeless case proves the great doctor, the tempest proves the steersman; for both, the perils traversed enhance reputation; their talent wastes unseen until it finds a proper scope.

3. sic et magnus orator, si negotium aggrediatur angustum, tunc amplum plausibilis manifestat ingenium. Marcus Tullius in actionibus ceteris ceteros,

pro Aulo Cluentio ipse se vicit. Marcus Fronto cum reliquis orationibus emineret, in Pelopem se sibi praetulit. Gaius Plinius pro Attia Variola plus gloriae de centumvirali suggestu domum rettulit, quam cum Marco Ulpio incomparabili principi comparabilem panegyricum dixit.

[3] In the same manner the great orator proves his ample genius most effectively in strait places. Thus Marcus Tullius, who always surpassed his rivals, in his speech for Aulus Cluentius surpassed even himself. Marcus Fronto stood head and shoulders above others in all his pleadings, but in that against Pelops he rose above his own high level. Gaius Plinius won greater fame for his defence of Attia Viriola from the centumvirs' tribune than for the panegyric which almost matched the matchless Trajan.

4. sic et ipse fecisti, qui, dum vis exercere scientiam tuam, non veritus es fore tibi impedimento etiam conscientiam meam. quin potius supplicando meis medere languoribus neque per decipulum male blandientis eloquii aegrotantis adhuc animae fragilitatem gloriae falsae pondere premas. sane cum tibi sermone pulchro vita sit pulchrior, plus mihi indulges, si mei causa orare potius velis quam perorare. vale.

[4] You have followed these great examples; confident in your powers, you have not feared to take so miserable a subject as myself. But let me rather have the succour of your prayers in my depression; do not lure me with a cozening eloquence, or crush my frail and ailing soul by the weight of an illusory renown. Your diction indeed is fine, but your life finer; and I think you will serve me better by your orisons than by your perorations. Farewell.

Sidonius Lupo suo salutem.

XI.

To his friend Lupus c. A. D. 480*

1. Quid agunt Nitiobroges, quid Vesunnici tui, quibus de te sibi altrinsecus vindicando nascitur semper sancta contentio? unus te patrimonio populus, alter etiam matrimonio tenet; cumque hic origine, iste coniugio, melius illud, quod uterque iudicio. te tamen munere dei inter ista felicem, de quo diutius occupando possidendoque operae pretium est votiva populorum studia conflare!

[1] TELL me about your folk of Périgueux and Agen, whose competing claims upon you are ever a source of pious emulation? You are bound to the people of the one place by your own property, to those of the other by your wife's family connexions; your birth tells in favour of the first, your marriage speaks for the second; and the best of it is that each place has good ground for its contention. God has verily marked you for happiness, when the privilege of securing you and keeping you longest becomes an object of ambition to two rival communities.

2. tu vero utrisque praesentiam tuam disposite vicissimque partitus nunc Drepanium illis, modo istis restituis Anthedum. et si a te instructio rhetorica poscatur, hi Paulinum, illi Alcimum non requirunt. unde te magis miror, quem cotidie tam multiplicis bibliothecae ventilata lassat egeries, aliquid a me veterum flagitare cantilenarum. pareo quidem, licet intempestiva videatur recordatio iocorum tempore dolendi.

[2] You grant the favour of your presence to each in regular alternation, restoring to one its Drepanius, to the other its Anthedius; if rhetoric be the object of their desire, neither need regret a Paulinus and an Alcimus as long as you are with them. All this makes me marvel more that you should care to ask for any old poems of mine when any day you like you have the rummaging of so representative a library as your own. I cannot refuse you, though this is a time of mourning, and the revival of the old jests is somewhat out of place.

3. Lampridius orator modo primum mihi occisus agnoscitur, cuius interitus amorem meum summis conficeret angoribus, etiamsi non eum rebus humanis vis impacta rapuisset. hic me quondam, ut inter amicos ioca, Phoebum vocabat ipse a nobis vatis Odrysii nomine acceptus. quod eo congruit ante narrari, ne vocabula figurata subditum carmen obscurant. huic quondam tempore Burdigalam invisens metatoriam paginam quasi cum Musa praevisa misi. puto hanc liberius offerri, quam si aliquid super decedentis casu lugubre componens, qui non placebam per eloquentiam, per materiam displicerem.

Dilectae nimis, et peculiari
Phoebus commonitorium Thaliae.
Paulum depositis, alumna, plectris
sparsam stringe comam virente vitta,
(5) et rugas tibi syrmatis profundi
succingant hederæ expeditiores.
succos ferre cave nec, ut solebat,
laxo pes natet altus in coturno;
sed tales crepidas ligare cura,
(10) quales Harpalyce vel illa vinxit,
quæ victos gladio procos cecidit.
perges sic melius volante saltu,
si vestigia fasceata nudi
per summum digiti regant citatis
(15) firmi ingressibus atque vinculorum
concurrentibus ansulis reflexa
ad crus per cameram catena surgat.
hoc pernix habitu meum memento
Orpheum visere, qui cotidiana
(20) saxa et robora corneasque fibras
mollit dulciloqua canorus arte;
Arpinas modo quem tonante lingua
ditat, nunc stilus aut Maronianus
aut quo tu Latium beas, Horati,
(25) Alcaeo melior lyristes ipso,
et nunc inflat epos tragoediarum,
nunc comoedia temperat iocosa,

nunc flammant satirae et tyrannicarum
declamatio controversiarum.

(30) dic: 'Phoebus venit atque post veredos
remis velivolum quatit Garumnam;
occurras iubet, ante sed parato
actutum hospitio.' Leontioque,
prisco Livia quem dat e senatu,

(35) dic: 'iam nunc aderit.' satis facetum et
solo nomine Rusticum videto.
sed si tecta negant ut occupata,
perge ad limina mox episcoporum,
sancti et Gallicini manu osculata

(40) tecti posce brevis vacationem,
ne, si destituor domo negata,
maerens ad madidas eam tabernas
et claudens geminas subinde nares
propter fumificas gemam culinas,

(45) qua serpylliferis olet catillis
bacas per geminas ruber botellus
ollarum aut nebulae vapore iuncto
fumant cum crepitantibus patellis,
hic cum festa dies ciere rivos

(50) cantus coeperit et voluptuosam
scurrarum querimoniam crepare,
tunc, tunc carmina digniora vobis
vinosi hospitis excitus Camena
plus illis ego barbarus susurrem.

[3] It is but recently that the news reached me of Lampridius the rhetor's murder. He was my very dear friend; and even if no violent death had snatched him from our midst, his end would have smitten me with profound affliction. In the days that are gone, we had our jokes together, as intimates will; I was Phoebus, he the Odrysian bard. So much it was necessary to premise, or the use of these fanciful epithets would have obscured the sense of the following poem. You must know that once upon a time, when about to visit Bordeaux, I wrote him a letter of inquiry as to quarters, sent with the Muse in advance. Sad though the present occasion is, I feel less constraint in sending these verses, than if I had forwarded some mournful composition on our loss; anything of that sort I should have written ill, while the subject would have been no less painful to yourself.

'Orders of Phoebus to his own beloved Thalia. Dear pupil, lay aside the lyre awhile; bind up your flowing hair with a verdant wreath, and let a zone of ivy gird the up-bound folds of your full-bosomed robe. See you put no soccus on, plunge not the foot deep, as your custom is, in the loose cothurnus; but bind on such sandals as did Harpalyce, or she who felled her wooers with victorious sword. You shall go the swifter, you shall leap and fly along, if your toes are left uncovered to guide your sandalled feet with quick firm steps, and if the chain of laces, with their converging loops, is brought up through a great loop to the leg. So equipped for speed, see that you find my Orpheus, who daily by his sweet and tuneful art softens rocks and trees, aye, and the hardest hearts; my Orpheus, whose style the sonorous tongue of the Arpinate enriches, and the pen of Maro, or thine, Horace, which gladdens the heart of Latium. As lyric bard he excels the great Alcaeus; he is skilled to indite the high strain of tragedy, or the humours of the comic Muse; he can flame out in satire, and arraign the raging tyrant with resounding voice. To this Orpheus say: "Phoebus comes; he has left the road, his oars now smite the bosom of Garonne, white with sails. He bids you meet him, but first be swift to prepare him hospitable welcome." And to Leontius whom Livia bare, she of the old Senatorial line, say this: "He is almost here." Then go to Rusticus, whose wit belies his name. But if they say they have no room, and that their houses are full, go next to the bishop's gate; kiss the holy Gallicinus' hand, and ask the freedom of his lowly dwelling lest, rejected on all sides, I am driven to turn sadly to some sodden tavern, where I should soon need to hold my nose and inveigh against the reeking kitchen with its ruddy sausages which hang in two rows, exhaling odours from thymy pots, while jars and hissing plates send up clouds of steam together. Even there, when the feast-day rouses the hoarse song, and the parasite in the ecstasy of his grumbling makes the air resound, yes, even there and even then, my voice incited by the muse of a thirsty host, I, worse barbarian than all, shall whisper verses more worthy of your praise.'

4. O necessitas abiecta nascendi, vivendi misera, dura moriendi! ecce quo rerum volubilitatis humanae rota dicitur. amavi, fateor, satis hominem, licet

quibusdam, tamen veniabilibus, erratis implicaretur atque virtutibus minora misceret. namque crebro levibus ex causis, sed leviter, excitabatur, quod nilominus ego studebam sententiae ceterorum naturam potius persuadere quam vitium; adstruebamque meliora, quatenus in pectore viri iracundia materialiter regnans, quia naevo crudelitatis fuerat infecta, praetextu saltem severitatis emacularetur. praeterea etsi consilio fragilis, fide firmissimus erat; incautissimus, quia credulus; securissimus, quia non nocens. nullus illi ita inimicus, qui posset eius extorquere maledictum; et tamen nullus sic amicus, qui posset effugere convicium. difficilis aditu, cum facilis inspectu, et portandus quidem, sed portabilis.

[4] Alas for the abject necessity of being born, alas for the miserable necessity of living, alas for the hard compulsion of death! to these things we are borne round on the voluble wheel of human life. I liked the dead man well; he had his failings, which were venial enough, blending with his virtues qualities of less worth. The slightest cause would excite him, but his wrath was also slight; I always tried to persuade his other friends that these were defects of temperament, and nowise due to malice; I suggested other points in his favour, as that his passion was a physical tyranny, dominating his nature; I tried to clear him of the blot of cruelty by lending it the colour of mere severity. Though before his mind was made up he was weak, he was most resolute when once convinced. Like all credulous men, he was reckless; like all those who mean no harm, he suspected none in others. He hated no one enough to abuse him, and liked no one enough to resist the pleasure of sometimes breaking out against him. Though a very conspicuous figure, he was not ready of access; he had to be borne with, but he was bearable.

5. de reliquo, si orationes illius metiaris, acer rotundus, compositus excussus; si poemata, tener multimeter, argutus artifex erat. faciebat siquidem versus oppido exactos tam pedum mira quam figurarum varietate; hendecasyllabos lubricos et enodes; hexametros crepantes et cothurnatos; elegos vero nunc echoicos, nunc recurrentes, nunc per anadiplosin fine principiisque conexos.

[5] If one were to attempt an estimate of him as orator, one would say that he was at once terse and copious, concise and ample; if as poet, that he had feeling, that he was a master of measure, and a consummate literary craftsman. He had the gift of writing verse of extreme finish, and wonderfully varied alike in metre and in metaphor. His hendecasyllables were easy and fluent, his hexameters stately and sonorous; in elegiacs he could handle the 'echoing' or the 'recurrent' line, and could link end with beginning by ingenious repetitions.

6. hic, ut arreptum suaserat opus, ethicam dictionem pro personae temporis loci qualitate variabat, idque non verbis qualibuscumque, sed grandibus pulchris elucubratis. in materia controversiali fortis et lacertosus; in satirica sollicitus et mordax; in tragica saevus et flebilis; in comica urbanus

multiformisque; in fescennina vernans verbis, aestuans votis; in bucolica vigilax parcus carminabundus; in georgica sic rusticans multum, quod nihil rusticus.

[6] He could adapt his style to person, place or occasion as the subject required, and that too, not with commonplaces, but by chosen terms replete with dignity and beauty. In controversy he was a power, and wielded a strong arm; in satire alert and mordant. If his subject was tragic, he could command terror and pathos; if comic, he was polished and infinite in resource. In Fescennines his diction was of a vernal freshness and ardent in vows; his bucolics were terse, alert, and musical. In georgics he could strike the perfect rustic note, though he had no touch of rusticity about him.

7. praeterea quod ad epigrammata spectat, non copia sed acumine placens, quae nec brevius disticho neque longius tetrasticho finiebantur, eademque cum non pauca piperata, mellea multa conspiceres, omnia tamen salsa cernebas. in lyricis autem Flaccum secutus nunc ferebatur in iambico citus, nunc in choriambico gravis, nunc in alcaico flexuosus, nunc in sapphico inflatus. quid plura? subtilis aptus instructus quaque mens stilum ferret eloquentissimus, prorsus ut eum iure censes post Horatianos et Pindaricos cygnos gloriae pennis evoluturum.

[7] In epigram he shunned diffuseness and aimed at point; he would always write at least two lines, but never exceeded four; there was often a sting in the words, more often still some graceful turn, and, without exception, wit. Horace was his model in lyrics; his iambics went with a swing, his choriambics with a fine gravity; his Alcaics had a supple grace, and his Sapphics were inspired. In short, his work was so fine, so accomplished, so happy in expression, that one might fairly think of him as a bird of glorious wing, following next after the Horatian and Pindaric swans.

8. aleae ut sphaerae non iuxta deditus; nam cum tesseris ad laborem occuparetur, pila tantum ad voluptatem. fatigabat libenter, quodque plus dulce, libentius fatigabatur. scribebat assidue, quamquam frequentius scripturiret. legebat etiam incessanter auctores cum reverentia antiquos, sine invidia recentes, et, quod inter homines difficillimum est, nulli difficulter ingenii laude cedebat.

[8] His interest in different amusements was very unequal. Hazard was a weariness, the ball game a delight. He liked to chaff his friends; and it was a nice feature in him that he liked being chaffed himself still better. He wrote a great deal, but was always longing to write more. He read the ancients with perseverance and reverent admiration, the moderns without jealousy; he would give ungrudging praise to talent, perhaps the most difficult form of generosity on earth.

9. illud sane non solum culpabile in viro fuit, sed peremptorium, quod mathematicos quondam de vitae fine consuluit, urbium cives Africanarum, quorum, ut est regio, sic animus ardentior; qui constellatione percontantis inspecta pariter annum mensem diemque dixerunt, quos, ut verbo matheseos utar, climactericos esset habiturus, utpote quibus themate oblato quasi sanguinariae geniturae schema patuisset, quia videlicet amici nascentis anno, quemcumque clementem planetarum siderum globum in diastemata zodiaca prosper ortus erexerat, hunc in occasu cruentis ignibus inrubescentes seu super diametro Mercurius asyndetus seu super tetragono Saturnus retrogradus seu super centro Mars apocatastaticus exacerbassent.

[9] Unfortunately he had the indefensible, I might say the fatal, fault of superstition. He was curious as to the manner of his death, and consulted those African astrologers whose nature is as fiery as their native clime. They considered the position of the stars when he was born, and told him his climacteric year, month, and day — I use the astrological terms — as men to whom the scheme of his nativity was revealed in all its sinister conditions. It seemed that in the year of his birth, all the planets which rose favourably in the zodiac sank with blood-red fires; whether it was that Mercury made them baleful, asyndetic upon the diameter, or Saturn retrograde upon the tetragon, or Mars returning to his old position upon the centre.

10. sed de his, si qua vel quoquo modo sunt, quamquam sint maxime falsa ideoque fallentia, si quid plenius planiusque, rectius coram, licet et ipse arithmeticae studeas et, quae diligentia tua, Vertacum Thrasybulum Saturninum sollicitus evolvas, ut qui semper nil nisi arcanum celsumque meditare. interim ad praesens nil coniecturaliter gestum, nil per ambages, quandoquidem hunc nostrum temerarium futurorum sciscitatorem et diu frustra tergiversantem tempus et qualitas praedictae mortis innexuit.

[10] Beliefs like these, whatever their precise form, are false, and cannot but delude; if we are to discuss them openly, and at length, we must wait until we meet, for you too are deep in the science of numbers, and with your wonted diligence study Vertacus, Thrasybulus, and Saturninus from end to end: yours is a mind always intent on things lofty and arcane. It must be admitted that in the present case there was neither appearance of mere conjecture nor deliberate ambiguity: death enmeshed our reckless inquirer into the future exactly when and how it had been foretold; all his shifts to evade it were in vain.

11. nam domi pressus strangulatusque servorum manibus obstructo anhelitu gutture obstricto, ne dicam Lentuli Iugurthae atque Seiani, certe Numantini Scipionis exitu periit. haec in hac caede tristia minus, quod nefas ipsum cum auctore facti parricidalis diluculo inventum. nam quis ab hominum tam procul sensu, quis ita gemino obtutu eluminatus, qui exanimati cadavere inspecto non statim signa vitae colligeret extortae?

[11] He was strangled by his own slaves in his own house; choked and throttled he died the death of Scipio of Numantia, if not quite that of Lentulus, Jugurtha, and Sejanus. The one relieving feature in the cruel business was the discovery of crime and criminal as soon as the day broke. The first sight of the body was enough to show a fool or a blind man that death had come by violence.

12. etenim protinus argumento fuere livida cutis, oculi protuberantes et in obruto vultu non minora irae vestigia quam doloris. inventa est quidem terra tabo madefacta deciduo, quia post facinus ipsi latrones ad pavimentum conversa defuncti ora pronaverant, tamquam sanguinis eum supraestuans fluxus exinanisset. sed protinus capto qui fuerat ipsius factionis fomes inceptor antesignanus ceterisque complicibus oppressis seorsumque discussis criminis veritatem de pectoribus invitis tormentorum terror extraxit.

[12] The livid hue, the protruding eyes, the distorted features with their look of mingled fury and anguish, all were so many proofs of what had happened. The floor was wet about his lips, because the scoundrels had turned him with his face to the ground when the deed was done, as if to suggest that life had left him with a sudden haemorrhage. The source, inciter, and ringleader of the conspiracy was first captured; next his accomplices were seized and separately confined till the terror of torture drew the truth from their unwilling breasts.

13. atque utinam hunc finem, dum inconsulte fidens vana consultat, non meruisset excipere! nam quisque praesumpserit interdicta secreta vetita rimari, vereor huius modi <hominem> a catholicae fidei regulis exorbitaturum et effici dignum, in statum cuius respondeantur adversa, dum requiruntur inlicita. secuta quidem est ultio extinctum, sed magis prosunt ista victuris. nam quotiens homicida punitur, non est remedium sed solacium vindicari.

[13] Would we could say that our friend had not deserved his end by his rash and ill-advised resort to vain advisers. But I fear that he who presumes to probe forbidden secrets sets himself beyond the pale of the Catholic faith; he deserves the lot of all who put unlawful questions and receive replies that point to doom. His death was avenged, it is true, but only the survivors gain by that, for the execution of a murderer cannot mend the mischief; it only affords a certain satisfaction of revenge.

14. longiuscule me progredi amor impulit, cuius angorem silentio exhalare non valui. tu interim, si quid istic cognitu dignum, citus indica, saltem ob hoc scribens, ut animum meum tristitudine gravem lectio levet. namque confuso pectori maeror, et quidem iure, plurimus erat, cum paginis ista committerem sola. neque enim satis mihi aliud hoc tempore manu sermone consilio scribere loqui volvere libet. vale.

[14] My attachment to the dead man has led me to write at too great length;

such a grief I could not vent in silence. I will end by begging you to give me any news you can, if only a line or two, to relieve the burden of my melancholy. For the relation of this sad story with all its horror has naturally troubled me, and filled my mind with mournful thoughts; indeed, for the time being I can neither think, speak, nor write on any other subject. Farewell.

* An abridged translation is given by Hodgkin, ii. 331 ff.

Sidonius Trygetio suo salutem.

XII.

To his friend Trygetius A. D. 461-7

1. Tantumne te Vasatium civitas non caespiti imposita sed pulveri, tantum Syrticus ager ac vagum solum et volatiles ventis altercantibus harenae sibi possident, ut te magnis flagitatum precibus, parvis separatam spatiis, multis exspectatum diebus attrahere Burdigalam non potestates, non amicitiae, non opimata vivariis ostrea queant? an temporibus hibernis viarum te dubia suspendunt et, quia solet Bigerricus turbo mobilium aggerum indicia confundere, quoddam vereris in itinere terreno pedestre naufragium?

[1] HAS Bazas, built on dust in place of good green earth, such charms, have lands sandy as Syrtes, and moving soil and dunes bandied by retorting winds such hold upon you, that neither earnest prayers of invitation, nor force of friendships, nor even the most succulent oysters of our pools, suffice to bring you this trifling distance in to Bordeaux, where we have been expecting you all these days? Is it that the hardships of a winter journey deter you? those wild winds of Bigorre will often obliterate the soft tracks, and perhaps you dread a kind of shipwreck upon land?

2. ubi, quaesumus, animo tam celeriter excessit vestigiis tuis nuper subacta Calpis? ubi fixa tentoria in occiduis finibus Gaditanorum? ubi ille Trygetio meo idem qui Herculi quondam terminus peregrinandi? tantumne a te ipso ipse tu discrepas, ut totus in desidia iura concesseris, quo peragrans secreta regionum fabulosarum prius defuit actio laboris quam fatigationis intentio?

[2] If so, your memory is short; how long ago was it that Gibraltar was conquered by your bold foot? or that your camp was pitched on the uttermost shores of Cadiz? or the last goal of great wanderings reached, common to Hercules and to my Trygetius? Are you grown such a traitor to your proper nature as to abandon yourself wholly to sloth, you who once ranged the lands of mystery and fable, you whose limbs might fail, but never your indefatigable purpose?

3. et post haec portum Alingonis tam piger calcas, ac si tibi nunc esset ad limitem Danuvium contra incursaces Massagetarum proficiscendum, vel si nunc etiam tuae navi stagna Nilotidis aquae per indigenas formidata crocodillos transfretarentur. et cum nec duodecim milium obiectu sic retarderis, quid putamus cum exercitu Marci Catonis in Leptitana Syrte fecisses?

[3] Yet with such a record, you come down to Langon harbour crawling with no less reluctance than one bound for the Danube to resist the all-invading Massagetae, or for the dull flood of Nile with all its awful crocodiles. If a bare

twelve miles can so delay you, what would you have done had you been with Marcus Cato on his marches through the deserts of Leptis?

4. sed quamlibet sola hiemalium mensium nomina tremas, tam clemens est facies caeli, tam tepida, tam suda et sic auras magis quam ventos habet, ut te non valeat enixius retinere tempus quam invitare temperies. sed si epistulam spernis evocatoriam, credo, vel versibus non reluctaberis impulsoribus blandis et desiderii mei, quantum suspicor, strenuis executoribus, quorum in te castra post biduum commovebuntur.

[4] You shiver, it seems, at the mere name of the winter months; but I can assure you we enjoy the gentlest, mildest, and clearest skies, where the lightest breezes serve as winds; so nominal a winter season should less deter than the temperate reality attract. But if my letter of invitation leaves you still obdurate, you shall not resist the verses which in two days' time shall go forth to the attack, more insidious in persuasion, yet I trust none the less strenuous agents of my wishes.

5. ecce Leontius meus, facile primus Aquitanorum, ecce iam parum inferior parente Paulinus ad locum quem supra dixi per Garumnae fluentia refluentia non modo tibi cum classe verum etiam cum flumine occurrent. hic tuas laudes modificato celeumate simul inter transtra remiges, gubernatores inter aplustria canent. hic te aedificatus culcitis torus, hic tabula calculis strata bicoloribus, hic tessera frequens eborationis resultatura pyrgorum gradibus expectat; hic, ne tibi pendulum tinguat volubilis sentina vestigium, pandi carinarum ventres abiegnarum trabium textu pulpitantur; hic superflexa crate paradarum sereni brumalis infida vitabis.

[5] My friend Leontius, first of all our Aquitanians, with Paulinus, worthy son of worthy sire, are to meet you with the falling tide on the Garonne at the appointed place; so that not only the boats, but the very river itself shall come out with them to greet you. The oarsmen at the thwarts, the steersmen on the poops, shall tune their chants to sing your praises. They shall pile high for you a couch of cushions, there shall be a board set with men of two colours; the dice shall await you, ready to be thrown and thrown again from the ivory steps of the boxes. A pine-wood grating shall be fixed across the bottom of the boat so that the bilge flowing to and fro shall never wet your dangling foot; a wicker screen above shall protect you from the treacherous winter sun.

6. quid delicatae pigritiae tuae plus poterit impendi, quam ut te pervenisse invenias, cum venire vix sentias? quid mussitas? quid moraris? ipsae mihi tuum videntur adventum reptiles cocleae cum domibus nativis antecessurae. est praeterea tibi copiosissima penus aggeratis opipare farta deliciis, modo sit eventilando par animus impendio.

[6] What more could the most pampered of the indolent expect than to find

himself at his destination before he seemed well under weigh? A truce to your objections and delays; I could swear that the snail with his house on his back would easily outstrip you. And to think that there is a store-room at your command crammed with piles of the most exquisite delicacies and only wanting an enterprise to do it justice!

7. quid multa? veni ut aut pascaris aut pascas; immo, quod gratius, ut utrumque; veni cum mediterraneo instructu ad debellandos subiugandosque istos Medulicæ suppellectilis epulones. hic Aturricus piscis Garumniciis mugilibus insultet; hic ad copias Lapurdensium lucustarum cedat vilium turba cancrorum.

[7] Come, then, to be entertained or to entertain; or, best of all, to do both; come with all your armoury of Mediterranean fare to crush and subjugate the finely equipped gourmets of Médoc. On our battle-ground let us see the fish of Adour triumph over the mullets of Garonne, and our coarse crew of crabs fall back before the lobster-armies of Bayonne.

8. tu tamen etsi ceteris eris in hoc genere pugnandi dimicaturus, si quid iudicio meo censes adquiessendum (neque enim iniustum est credere experto), senatorem nostrum, hospitem meum, conflictui huic facies exsortem; cuius si convivio tectoque succedas, dapes Cleopatricas et loca lautia putas. nam quamvis super hoc studio tam ipse quam patria confligant, olim lata sententia est, quod ille transeat ceteros cives, licet et illa ceteras civitates. vale.

[8] Join battle after this wise with the rest of us; but if you value my opinion, take a veteran's advice as a wise man should, and leave my senatorial host out of the contest; if you once come beneath his hospitable roof, you will feast as if you enjoyed continual feasts or the banquets of a Cleopatra. His own and his country's honour will be involved in the competition; and it is generally agreed that he surpasses all his rivals just as far as his city leaves all other cities behind. Farewell.

Sidonius domino papae Nunechio salutem.

XIII.

To the Lord Bishop Nunechius A.D. 472-4

1. Multa in te genera virtutum, papa beatissime, munere superno congesta gaudemus. siquidem agere narraris sine superbia nobilem sine invidia potentem, sine superstitione religiosum sine iactantia litteratum, sine ineptia gravem sine studio facetum, sine asperitate constantem sine popularitate communem.

[1] No one, most blessed father, rejoices more than I over the number and variety of virtues with which you are so richly endowed by Heaven. You are described as a man of birth who is never arrogant, a man of influence who makes a blameless use of power, a man of piety untouched by superstition. You are praised as one who is learned without airs and serious without fatuity; one whose wit is never rehearsed, who is courteous, but knows his mind, and sociable without any love of popularity.

2. praeterea his hoc praestantissimum bonis Fama superaggerat, quod te asserit hasce tot gratias fastigatissimae caritatis arce transcendere; Fama, inquam, quae de laudibus tuis cum canat multa, plus reticet. nam longius constitutis actionum tuarum propositum potest assignare, non numerum. quarum relatione succensus ultro primus, ut longe inferiorem decet, ad solvenda officia procuro nec vereor garrulitatis aliquando argui, qui potui taciturnitatis hucusque culpari.

[2] And not content with allowing you these qualities, Fame crowns them with another of yet higher degree, the supreme gift of charity — Fame who, however she may sing your praises, must leave the greater part unsung. For though she can explain to distant friends the aim of your good deeds, their number is beyond the powers of her relation. The tale of them fires me now to make you a first advance, as a conscious inferior should. I therefore proceed to pay my homage; hitherto I might so justly have been accused of backwardness, that I have no apprehension now of being considered forward.

3. commendo Promotum gerulum litterarum, vobis quidem ante iam cognitum, sed nostrum nuper effectum vestris orationibus contribulem; qui cum sit gente Iudaeus, fide tamen praelegit censeri Israelita quam sanguine, et municipatum caelestis illius civitatis affectans occidentemque litteram spiritu vivificante fastidiens, pariter huc iustis praemia proposita contemplans, huc, nisi faceret ad Christum de circumcisione transfugium, praevidens sese per aeterna saecula aequiterna supplicia passurum, patriam sibi maluit Ierusalem potius quam Hierosolymam computari.

[3] I commend to your kindness the bearer Promotus, whom you already know, and whom your prayers have now made my fellow penitent. Though by birth a Jew, he has preferred to be numbered with those chosen by faith rather than blood; he has sought the franchise of the heavenly city; by grace of the Spirit which makes alive he has rejected the letter that kills. Considering, on the one hand, the rewards laid up for the just, on the other the punishment, endless as eternity, awaiting him who dares not desert the Circumcision for the camp of Christ, he has made up his mind to be accounted no longer a citizen of the Solyma on earth, but a son of the Holy Jerusalem which is above.

4. quibus agnitis adventantem Abrahae nunc filium veriore matris ulnis spiritalis Sara suscipiat. namque ad Agar ancillam pertinere tunc desiit, cum legalis observantiae servitutem gratiae libertate mutavit. de cetero, quae ipsi fuerit isto causa veniendi, praesentaneo conducibilius idem poterit explicare memoratu. nobis vero propter quae supra scripsi carissimus habetur; quod ideo significo, quia is efficacissime quemque commendat, qui meras causas iustae commendationis aperuerit. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[4] Which thing perceiving, let now the spiritual Sara take to her maternal arms the truer son of Abram; for he ceased to belong to the handmaid Hagar when he exchanged the servitude of conformity according to law for the freedom which comes of grace. The special reason for his journey you will more conveniently learn from his own lips. To me he will always be very dear for the cause above related; I have dwelled upon it because the most effective introduction of all is that which simply sets forth a man's indisputable claim to be well received. Deign to hold us in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius domino papae Principio salutem.

XIV.

To the Lord Bishop Principius A. D. 472-4

1. Iamdiu nobis, papa venerabilis, etsi necdum vester vultus aspectus, tamen actus inspectus est. namque sanctorum laus diffusa meritorum stringi spatiis non est contenta finalibus. hinc est quod, quia bonae conscientiae modus non ponitur, nec bonae opinioni terminus invenitur.

[1] THOUGH I have never seen your face, venerable father, for a long time I have seen the effect of your activities. The praise of such saintliness as yours is widely spread; it overleaps mere bounds of space; and just as the influence of a great character knows no bound, so no term is set to the range of a noble reputation.

2. quae loquor falsa censete, nisi professioni meae competens adstipulator accesserit, satis in illo quondam coenobio Lirinensi spectabile caput, Luporum concellita Maximorumque et parsimoniae saltibus consequi affectans Memphiticos et Palaestinos archimandritas. is est episcopus Antiolius, cuius relatu, qui pater vobis, quique qualesque vos fratres, qua morum praerogativa pontificatu maximo ambo fungamini, sollicitus cognoscere studui, gaudens cognovisse me memini.

[2] You will put this all down as my exaggeration unless I adduce in support of my statement some competent witness. I therefore cite a revered member of the famous brotherhood at Lerins, a contemporary there with Maximus and Lupus, one who went such lengths in renunciation that he might claim to rival the archimandrites of Memphis or the Holy Land. I mean Bishop Antiolus, who was the first to tell me about your father and brothers, and the high example which both of you set in the exercise of your exalted functions in the Church; his account of you first kindled in me the desire to know a story, familiarity with which has ever since been my delight.

3. cui patri quondam, videlicet vos habenti, vix domus Aaron pontificis antiqui merito compararetur; quem licet primum in medio plebis heremitidis sanctificationis oleo legiferi fratris dextra perfuderit, filios eius in similis officii munia vocans, tamen ipsius super Ithamare et Eleazaro felicitatem Nadab et Abiu fulminibus afflati decoloravere; quorum quamlibet interemptorum credamus absolvendas animas, punitas tamen scimus esse personas.

[3] One might almost compare your father to Aaron the High Priest of old, whom his brother, the Lawgiver, first anointed with the oil of sanctification in the midst of the people in the wilderness, calling next his sons to the same

sacred office. But Aaron's happiness in Ithamar and Eleazar was marred when Nadab and Abihu were destroyed by lightning; they were cut off and punished in the flesh, but we may believe that in the spirit they had absolution.

4. vos vero tacturi paginam altaris nihil, ut audio, offertis ignis alieni, sed comitantibus victimis caritatis castitatisque fragrantissimum incensum turibulis cordis adoletis. ad hoc quotiens iugum legis cervicibus superbientum per vincula praedicationis adstringitis, tunc deo tauros spiritaliter immolatis. quotiens conscientiae luxuriantis fetore pollutos ad suaveolentiam pudicitiae stimulis correctionis impellitis, hircorum vos obtulisse virulentiam Christus sibi computat.

[4] I never heard that you offer strange fire when you come to lay your hands upon the altar; rather with the censer of the heart you burn a glowing incense, offering the sacrifices of chastity and love. As often as with the cords of exhortation you bind the yoke of the law upon the necks of the proud, so often in spirit do you sacrifice bulls to the Lord. As often as with the goad of your rebuke you drive sinners polluted by the rankness of sensual indulgence to the sweet savour of a modest life, so often do you offer rank goats in the sight of Christ.

5. quotiens hortantibus vobis in quocumque conpuncto culpas suas anima poenaliter recordata suspirat, quis vos ambigat paria turturum aut binos pullos columbarum, qui duplicem substantiam utriusque hominis nostri tam numero quam gemitu assignant, mystico litasse sacrificio? quotiens vestro monitu obesum quicumque corpus aestuantemque turgidi ventris arvinam crebro ieuniorum decoquendus igne torruerit, nulli dubium est vos tunc simulam frictam in quadam continentiae sartagine consecratos.

[5] As often as your rebuke leads the soul to sigh in penance and compunction over the committed fault, who shall doubt that you present in mystic sacrifice the pair of turtle-doves and the two young pigeons which by their number and their plaints symbolize the twofold nature of man? As often as your warning voice moves the glutton to parch by fire of frequent fastings his gross body and heaving swollen stomach, who shall doubt that you consecrate, as it were, the finest flour in the pan of continence?

6. quotiens aliquem mentis perfidae figmenta ponentem sanam respondere doctrinam fidem credere, viam tenere vitam sperare suadetis, quis vos dubitet in huius emendatione conversi, qui iam sit liber ab haeresi, liber ab hypocrisi, liber ab schismate, purgatissimum propositionis panem cum sinceritatis et veritatis azymis dedicatos?

[6] Every time that you persuade a sinner to renounce the vanities of misbelief, to profess right doctrine, to hold the faith, to keep the way, or to hope for eternal life, who doubts that in the making of a convert triply freed from

heresy, hypocrisy, and schism, you dedicate the purest shewbread with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth?

7. postremo quis nesciat, quicquid legis diebus figuraliter immolabatur in corporibus, quod totum id gratiae tempore manifeste vos offeratis in moribus? atque ideo gratias uberes deo refero, quod secundum vestrae paginae qualitatem facile agnosco antistitem suprafatum de vobis, cum magna dixerit, maiora tacuisse. quapropter nemo dubitaverit, qui bonus es, cum indicaris, et melior, cum legeris, esse te optimum, cum videris.

[7] Who, in fine, is not aware that the corporeal sacrifice slain as type under the Law is more than replaced by the spiritual sacrifice which you offer under grace? That is why I give abundant thanks to God for your letter, from which I perceive that although the aforesaid prelate told me great things of you, there were greater things which he left unsaid. I am persuaded that you who seem so admirable in other men's description, and more admirable yet in your own letter, will prove best of all seen face to face.

8. Megethius clericus, vestri gerulus eloquii, rebus ex sententia gestis, quia tuorum apicum detulit munera, meorum reportat obsequia; quem saltim iuvimus voto, quia re forsitan non valemus. per quem obsecro impense, ut sitim nostram frequenter litteris litteratis, ambo germani, tu frequentius, inrigetis. sed si difficultas itineris intersiti resultat optatis, vel aliquotiens pro supplicibus supplicate. maius est autem, si nobis tribuere dignemini raris intercessionibus salutem quam si crebris affatibus dignitatem. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[8] The clerk, Megethius, who brought your message, has satisfactorily concluded his affairs, and carries back my respects. I fear I may be of little practical use to him, but if good wishes avail, he has mine. Through him I urgently entreat your brother and yourself frequently to quench my thirst with a stream of your most literary letters, and you must write the oftener of the two. If the difficulties of the road and the distance between us prove an obstacle to my desires, at least pray sometimes for those who ask your prayers. Honoured though I should be by your regular correspondence, your occasional prayers promise me something more than honours, they promise me salvation. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius domino papae Prospero salutem.

XV.

To the Lord Bishop Prosper A. D.478 (?)

1. Dum laudibus summis sanctum Annianum, maximum consummatissimumque pontificem, Lupo parem Germanoque non imparem, vis celebrari fideliumque desideras pectoribus infigi viri talis ac tanti mores merita virtutes, cui etiam illud non absque iustitia gloriae datur, quod te successore decessit, exegeras mihi, ut promitterem tibi Attilae bellum stilo me posteris intimaturum, quo videlicet Aurelianensis urbis obsidio oppugnatio, inruptio nec direptio et illa vulgata exauditi caelitus sacerdotis vaticinatio continebatur.

[1] You wished me to celebrate the glory of the holy Annianus, the greatest and most perfect of prelates, equal to Lupus, and no unworthy rival of Germanus; you would fain see graven on the hearts of all the faithful the memory of a character so fine, so eminent, so richly endowed with so many virtues and so many merits, to which I myself should like to add this, that he made way for such a successor as yourself. You exacted a promise from me at the same time that I would hand down for the benefit of those who come after us the history of the war with Attila, with the whole tale of the siege and assault of Orleans when the city was attacked and breached, but never laid in ruins, and the bishop's celebrated prophecy was divinely answered from above.

2. coeperam scribere; sed operis arrepti fasce perspecto taeduit inchoasse; propter hoc nullis auribus credidi quod primum me censore damnaveram. dabitur, ut spero, precatui tuo et meritis antistitis summi, quatenus praeconio suo sub quacumque et quidem celeri occasione famulemur. ceterum tu creditor iustus laudabiliter hoc imprudentiae temerarii debitoris indulseris, ut quod mihi insolubile videtur tibi quoque videatur inreproscibile. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[2] I actually set to work upon the book; but when I grasped the extent of my undertaking I repented of having ever begun; I therefore suffered no one else to hear a work which my own judgement already condemned. But to the first part of your request I can return a different answer: your wishes, and the merit of that great bishop make it my duty to enhance his fame without delay by every means within my power. I only ask you, as a fair creditor, to treat with laudable indulgence this promise of your reckless debtor, and in that other matter to refrain from asking what I must refrain from attempting to do. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius Constantio suo salutem.

XVI.

To his friend Constantius c. A. D. 478

1. Spoponderam Petronio, inlustri viro, praesens opusculum paucis me epistulis expediturum; cuius auribus non peperci, dum tuis parco. malui namque, ut illum correctionis labor, te honor editionis aspiceret perveniretque in manus vestras volumen istud alieno periculo, obsequio meo. peracta promissio est; nam peritia tua si coactorum in membranas inspiciat signa titulorum, iam copiosum te, ni fallor, pulsat exemplar; iam venit ad margines umbilicorum, iam tempus est, ut satiricus ait, Orestem nostrum vel super terga finiri.

[1] I PROMISED the illustrious Petronius to conclude this little book in a few letters; but in endeavouring to spare you, I have been very hard on him. He was to have the drudgery of revision, you the honour of the issue; the responsibility of conveying the volume to you was to be his, the pleasure of paying the homage mine. I have carried out my intention; if you will cast your practised eye over the numerous superscriptions I think you will be struck by the manner in which the pages are filled. I have reached the very margins near the *umbilicus*; as the Satirist says, it is time to finish my Orestes, even if I have to write on the other side of the parchment.

2. non hic ego commenticiam Terpsichoren more studii veteris adscivi nec iuxta scaturiginem fontis Aganippici per roscidas ripas et pumices muscidos stilum traxi. atque utinam hic nil molle, nil fluidum, nil de triviis compitalibus mutuatum reperiretur! siquidem maturo, ut es ipse, lectori non tantum dictio exossis tenera delumbis, quantum vetuscula torosa et quasi mascula placet. sed reserventur ista potioribus; mihi sufficit, si cito ignoscas, quod sumus tardi.

[2] In this work I have not been classical, or enlisted in my service a fabulous Terpsichore, nor have I led my pen by dewy banks and mossy rocks to the well-spring of Aganippe. I only hope that what I have written may not prove rambling pointless stuff, and full of trivial commonplaces. For an accomplished reader like yourself can take no pleasure in an invertebrate, soft and enervated style; what he requires is something nervous and masculine in the antique manner. Those qualities must be left to a greater talent than mine; enough for me, if you forgive me for keeping you waiting so long.

3. praeterea si vir inlustris aliquid insuper ampliuscule scribi depoposcisset, in moras grandes incidissemus. nam per armariola et zotheculas nostras non remanserunt digna prolatu. unde cognosce, quod, etsi tacere necdum, coepimus certe taciturne, duplici ex causa: ut si placemus, pauca lecturis

incitent voluptatem; si refutamur, non excitent multa fastidium, quippe in hoc stilo, cui non urbanus lepos inest, sed pagana simplicitas.

[3] It is fortunate that our illustrious friend requested no further additions; that would have involved me in long delays, for not a single cabinet or case contains anything more worth production. This will show you that although my time of silence is still to come, I have certainly begun to think of it, and that for two reasons. If I win approval, I shall give my readers pleasure at the smallest cost to themselves; if, on the other hand, I am disapproved, their weariness will soon be over. For my style has no polished graces; it is of a positively heathen bluntness.

4. unde enim nobis illud loquendi tetricum genus ac perantiquum? unde illa verba saliarum vel Sibyllina vel Sabinis abusque Curibus accita, quae magistris plerumque reticentibus promptius fetialis aliquis aut flamen aut veternosus legalium quaestionum aenigmatista patefecerit? nos opuscula sermone condidimus arido exili, certe maxima ex parte vulgato, cuius hinc honor rarus, quod frequens usus, hinc difficilis gratia, quod facilis inventio est.

[4] What use should I have, indeed, for an austere archaic manner, or for far-fetched terms of Salii or Sibyls, or the old Sabine Cures? Such things the masters for the most part avoid; they are for some flamen to expound, or some antiquated reader of the law's conundrums. My diction is dry and jejune; mine is a vocabulary of common words in too general use to claim distinction, too ready to every one's hand to find acceptance with the critical.

5. sane profiteor audenter, sicut istic nil acre, nil eloquens, ita nihil inditum non absolutum, non ab exemplo. sed quid haec pluribus? dictio mea, quod mihi sufficit, placet amicis. in quibus tamen utrumque complector, sive non fallunt examine seu caritate falluntur, deumque, quod restat, in posterum quaeso, ut secuturi aut fallantur similiter aut censeant. vale.

[5] If my writing lacks eloquence and force, I can confidently say that it contains nothing which is not genuine and absolutely true to fact. Why should I insist upon the point? If my style pleases my friends, it is good enough for me. I am content with either kind of verdict: they may either be critical and tell me the truth, or partial and deceive themselves. All I shall ask of Providence in future is that posterity may judge or be deceived in the same manner. Farewell.

BOOK IX

Sidonius Firmino suo salutem.

I.

To his friend Firminus After A. D. 480

1. Exigis, domine fili, ut epistularum priorum limite irrupto stilus noster in ulteriora procurrat, numeri supradicti privilegio non contentus includi. addis et causas, quibus hic liber nonus octo superiorum voluminibus accrescat: eo quod Gaius Secundus, cuius nos orbitas sequi hoc opere pronuntias, paribus titulis opus epistulare determinet.

[1] You insist, my honoured Son, that I should exceed the existing limit of my collected letters; that I should adventure further, and refuse to content myself with the present total. Your reason in favour of adding a ninth volume is that Pliny, in whose steps you deem me to follow in this work, assigns the same term to his own collection.

2. quae iubes non sunt improbabilia; quamquam et hoc ipsum, quod pie iniungis, arduum existat ac laudi quantulaecumque iam semel partae non opportunum, primum, quod opusculo prius edito praesentis augmenti sera coniunctio est; deinde, quod arbitros ante quoscumque, nisi fallimur, indecentissimum est materiae unius simplex principium, triplices epilogos inveniri.

[2] I may yield to your desire; but all the same, this friendly invitation raises difficulties, and is far from promising advantage to such poor reputation as I already possess. In the first place, it is very late in the day to append this new addition to the volume already issued. Secondly, I do not know the umpire who would not hold it indecent in an author to give a single work three supplements.

3. pariter et nescio, qualiter fieri veniabile queat, quod coerceri nostra garrulitas nec post denuntiatum terminum sustinet: nisi quia forsitan qui modus potest paginis, non potest poni ipse amicitiiis. quapropter esse te in quadam tuendae opinionis meae quasi specula decet curiosisque facti huiusce rationem manifestare quidque ad hoc sentiant optimi quique, rescripto quam frequentissimo mihi pandere.

[3] Nor, having definitely announced the work done, should I know what excuse to make for not curbing my incorrigible loquacity, unless indeed it were this, that one cannot constrain one's friendships as one can limit one's page. For these reasons, I think you ought to stand on guard before my reputation, and make my motives clear to the inquisitive; I should like you to send me regular intelligence of the views expressed by those whose opinions I should value.

4. porro autem si me garrire compulso ipse reticere perseveraveris, te quoque silentii nostri talione ad vicem plecti non periniurium est. itaque tu primus, tu maxime ignosce negotio quod imponis ac ministerio. nos vero, si quod exemplar manibus occurrerit, libri marginibus octavi celeriter addemus.

[4] If after forcing me to chatter on, you yourself persevere in silence, you will have no fair ground for complaint if I pay you out in your own coin. It is incumbent on you above all others to be lenient in judging my endeavour to fulfil the task and obligation imposed upon me. Meanwhile, I will at once insert in the margin of the eighth book any fresh letter which comes into my hands.

5. etsi Apollinaris tuus + cui in ceteris rebus est in hac certe neglegentissimus, quippe qui perexiguam lectione teneatur vel coactus vel voluntarius; quantum tamen mihi videtur, qui patribus his iungi non recusaverim, quorum studio voto timori laudabile aliquid in filiis, licet difficile persuadeatur, difficilius sufficit. vale.

[5] Apollinaris, all ardour in most pursuits, is utterly remiss in one; study has but a faint attraction for him, whether he reads by his own choice or by compulsion. At least, that is how it appears to me, since I count myself one of those fathers who are so eager, so ambitious, and so apprehensive about the progress of their sons that they hardly ever find anything to commend, or if they do, are hardly ever satisfied. Farewell.

Sidonius domino papae Euphronio salutem.

II.

To the Lord Bishop Euphronius c. A. D. 472

1. Albiso antistes Proculusque levites, ideo nobis morum magistri pronuntiandi, quia vestri merentur esse discipuli, litteras detulerunt, quarum me sacrosancto donastis affectu; quae tamen litterae plurimum nobis honoris, plus oneris imponunt. unde et ipsarum sic benedictione laetor, quod iniunctione confundor, quippe qui ex asse turbatus vel ex parte non pareo. iubetis enim tam diversa quam nimia explicarique decernitis opus, quod ab extremitate mea tam difficile completur quam impudenter incipitur.

[1] THE missive with your saintly greeting has been delivered by the priest Albiso and the Levite Proculus, whom I may accept as my masters in conduct, since they have proved themselves your worthy pupils. The letter does me a great honour, but it imposes a yet greater burden. Although your benediction delights me, the accompanying injunction fills me with dismay. Indeed, I am so perturbed that I cannot think even of a partial obedience. You bid me attempt too intricate a task, and much too far beyond my capacity. At a time when my powers wane towards their end, I am to essay a work which I should be mad to begin and could never hope to finish.

2. sed si amplitudinem in vobis pietatis expertae bene metior, plus laborastis, ut affectus vestri cordis quam nostri operis effectus publicaretur. neque enim, cum Hieronymus interpres, dialecticus Augustinus, allegoricus Origenes gravidas tibi spiritalium sensuum spicas doctrinae salubris messe parturiant, nunc scilicet tibi a partibus meis arida ieiunantis linguae stipula crepitabunt. hoc more tu et olorinis cantibus anseres ravos et modificatis lusciniarum querelis inproborum passerum fringultientes susurros iure sociaveris.

[2] If I know your loyal heart aright, your real aim was rather to give me proof of your affection than to see my completed labours. But I shall take good care that while from Jerome, the master of exegesis, Augustine, the master of dialectic, and Origen, the master of allegory, you reap full ears of spiritual emotion and a harvest of saving doctrine, that no dry stubble shall rustle in your ears from this parched tongue of mine. As well blend the hoarse cry of the goose with the swan's music, or the sparrow's impudent chirp with the tuneful plaint of nightingales.

3. quid? quod sic quoque arroganter fieret indecenterque, si negotii praecepti pondus aggrededer, novus clericus peccator antiquus, scientia levi gravi conscientia, videlicet ut, si scriptum quocumque misissem, persona mea nec tunc abesset risui iudicantum, cum defuisset obtutui. ne, quaeso, domine papa, nimis exigas verecundiam meam qualitercumque latitantem coepti operis

huiusce temeritate devenustari, quia tantus est livor derogatorum, ut materia, quam mittis, velocius sortiatur inchoata probum quam terminata suffragium. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[3] Should I not show a certain effrontery and want of proper feeling were I to approach so formidable a task — I, a novice in the Church, but a veteran, alas! in transgression — I, light in learning, but weighed down by a heavy conscience? If I were to send what I had written to be seen by other eyes, I should become the laughing-stock even of critics who never set eyes on me.

I entreat you, therefore, my Lord Bishop, not to insist on spoiling a modesty which would fain avoid publicity, or tempt me into so rash an adventure. Such is the envy of the backbiters, that a mere beginning is more sure of their censure than a successful conclusion of their applause. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius domino papae Fausto salutem.

III.

To the Lord Bishop Faustus c. A.D. 477

1. Servat consuetudinem suam tam facundia vestra quam pietas, atque ob hoc granditer, quod diserte scribitis, eloquium suspicimus, quod libenter, affectum. ceterum ad praesens petita venia prius impetrataque cautissimum reor ac saluberrimum per has maxime civitates, quae multum situ segreges agunt, dum sunt gentium motibus itinera suspecta, stilo frequentiori renuntiare dilataque tantisper mutui sedulitate sermonis curam potius assumere conticescendi. quod inter obstrictas affectu mediante personas asperrimum quamquam atque acerbissimum est, non tamen causis efficitur qualibuscumque, sed plurimis certis et necessariis quaeque diversis proficiscuntur ex originibus.

[1] YOUR old loyalty to a friend, and your old mastery of diction are both unchanged; I admire equally the heartiness of your letters, and the perfect manner of their expression. But I think, and I am sure that you will concur with me, that at the present juncture, when the roads are no longer secure owing to the movements of the peoples, the only prudent and safe course is to abandon for the present any regular exchange of messages; we must be less assiduous correspondents; we must learn the art of keeping silence. This is a bitter deprivation, and hard to bear when a friendship is as close as ours; it is imposed upon us not by casual circumstance, but by causes at once definite, inevitable, and diverse in their origin.

2. quarum ista calculo primore numerabitur, quod custodias aggerum publicorum nequaquam tabellarius transit inrequisitus, qui etsi periculi nihil, utpote crimine vacans, plurimum sane perpeti solet difficultatis, dum secretum omne gerulorum pervigil explorator indagat. quorum si forte responsio quantulumcumque ad interrogata trepidaverit, quae non inveniuntur scripta mandata creduntur; ac per hoc sustinet iniuriam plerumque qui mittitur, qui mittit invidiam, plusque in hoc tempore, quo aemulantum invicem sese pridem foedera statuta regnorum denuo per condiciones discordiosas ancipitia redduntur.

[2] First among them I must set the examination of all letter-carriers upon the highways. Messengers may run small personal risk, since nothing can be alleged against them; but they have to put up with endless annoyance, while some vigilant official subjects them to an inquisitorial search. At the first sign of faltering in reply to questions, they are suspected of carrying in their heads instructions which cannot be found upon their persons. The sender of a letter is thus placed in an awkward position, and the bearer is liable to rough usage,

especially at a time like this, when fresh disputes between rival nationalities have destroyed a treaty of long duration.

3. praeter hoc ipsa mens nostra domesticis hinc inde dispendiis saucia iacet; nam per officii imaginem vel, quod est verius, necessitatem solo patrio exactus, hoc relegatus variis quaquaversum fragoribus quia patior hic incommoda peregrini, illic damna proscripti. quocirca solvere modo litteras paulo politiores aut intempestive petor aut inpudenter aggredior, quas vel ioco lepidas vel stilo cultas alternare felicitum est. porro autem quidam barbarismus est morum sermo iucundus et animus afflictus.

[3] In the second place I set the soreness of my heart over my own private troubles, for I was taken from home with a show of great consideration, but really removed by compulsion to this distant spot, where I am broken by every kind of mental anguish, enduring all the hardships of an exile and the losses of a proscrip. It is therefore by no means the right moment to ask me for finished letters, and were I to attempt them, it would be impertinence, for the exchange of a lively or elaborate correspondence should be confined to happy people; to me it seems little less than a barbarism for a man to write gaily when his spirit is vexed within him.

4. quin potius animam male sibi consciam et per horas ad recordata poenalis vitae debita contremescentem frequentissimis tuis illis et valentissimis orationum munere suffragiis, precum peritus insularum, quas de palaestra congregationis heremitidis et de senatu Lirinensium cellulanorum in urbem quoque, cuius ecclesiae sacra superinspicias, transtulisti, nil ab abbate mutatus per sacerdotem, quippe cum novae dignitatis obtentu rigorem veteris disciplinae non relaxaveris. his igitur, ut supra dixi, precatibus efficacissimis obtine, ut portio nostra sit dominus atque ut ascripti turmis contribulium levitarum non remaneamus terreni, quibus terra non remanet inchoemusque ut a saeculi lucris, sic quoque a culpis peregrinari.

[4] How much better it would be for you to give the benefit of your unremitting orisons to a soul conscious of its guilt and trembling as often as it recalls the debts of a sinful career! For you are versed in the prayers of the Island brotherhood, which you transferred from the wrestling-place of the hermit congregation, and from the assembly of the monks of Lerins, to the city over whose church you preside, for all your episcopal rank, an abbot still in spirit, and refusing to make your new dignity a pretext for any relaxation in the rigour of the ancient discipline. Obtain for me, then, by your most potent intercession that my portion may be in the Lord; that enrolled from henceforth among the companies of my tribesmen the Levites, I may cease to be of the earth earthly, I to whom not a yard of earth remains; and that I may begin to estrange myself from the guilt of this world, as I am already estranged from its riches.

5. tertia est causa vel maxuma, exinde scribere tibi cur supersederim, quod immane suspicio dictandi istud in vobis tropologicum genus ac figuratum limatisque plurifariam verbis eminentissimum, quod vestra quam sumpsimus epistula ostendit: licet olim praedicationes tuas, nunc repentinas, nunc, ratio cum poposcisset, elucubratas, raucus plosor audierim, tunc praecipue, cum in Lugdunensis ecclesiae dedicatae festis hebdomadalibus collegarum sacrosanctorum rogatu exorareris, ut perorares. ubi te inter spirituales regulas vel forenses medioximum quiddam contionantem, quippe utrarumque doctissimum disciplinarum, pariter erectis sensibus auribusque curvatis ambiebamus, hinc parum factitantem desiderio nostro, quia iudicio satisfeceras.

[5] In the third place, and perhaps this after all is the chief reason why I have given up writing to you, I have a boundless admiration for your tropical figurative style, and for that consummately varied and perfected diction of which your last letter affords such ample evidence. Many years ago I sat a hoarse demonstrative listener when you preached either extempore, or, if occasion demanded, after careful preparation. I especially remember the week's festival of the dedication of the church at Lyons, when you were called upon by the general desire of your venerable colleagues to deliver an oration. On that occasion you proved yourself a master both of forensic and religious eloquence, and held the balance between them with such perfection that we hung upon your words with ears strained and roused emotions; you cared less to indulge our simple predilections because you knew that you had wholly satisfied our reason.

6. hisce de causis temperavi stilo temperaboque, breviter locutus, ut paream, longum taciturus, ut discam. sunt de cetero tuae partes, domine papa, doctrinae salutaris singularisque: victuris operibus incumbere incumbere satis. neque enim, quisquis auscultat docentem te disputantemque, plus loqui discit quam facere laudanda. nunc vero, quod restat, donate venia paginam rusticanter vobis obsecundantem, cui me quoque auctore, si vestris litteris comparetur, stilus infantissimus inest.

[6] There you have the cause of my present and my future silence; I could not refuse a few words without disobedience, but henceforward I shall hold my peace and learn in silence. In future the word lies with you, my Lord Bishop. It is yours to devote yourself to the teaching of sound and perfect doctrine in works destined to live; for not a man hears you in argument or exposition who does not learn to deserve the praise of others in deed no less than word. Forgive my simple letter, which has at least the virtue of conforming to your desires; I have myself to admit that, by comparison with yours, my style is inarticulate as a child's.

7. sed ista quorsum stolidus allego? nam nimis deprecari ineptias ipsas est ineptissimum, in quibus tu merus arbiter, si rem ex asse discingas, ridebis

plurima, plura culpabis. sed et illud amplector, si pro caritate qua polles non fueris usquequaque censendi continentissimus, id est, si sententia tua quippiam super his apicibus antiquet. tunc enim certius te probasse reliqua gaudebo, si liturasse aliqua cognovero. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[7] But there is little point in all this heavy repetition; the most foolish thing in the world is to be always deprecating one's own follies. Judgement rests with you, and if you put things to a thorough test, you will find much to laugh at, and even more to censure. I shall welcome it if your notorious kindness of heart allows you for once to abandon your dislike of being critical, and condemn such points as need correction. Only if you strike out passages here and there, shall I have the satisfaction of feeling that you approve what you leave intact. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius domino papae Graeco salutem.

IV.

To the Lord Bishop Graecus A. D. 473 (?)

1. Viator noster ac tabellarius terit orbitas itineris assueti spatium viae regionumque, quod oppida nostra discriminat, saepe relegendo. quocirca nos quoque decet semel propositae sedulitatis officia sectari, quae cum reliquis commeantibus tum praecipue Amantio intercurrente geminare cum quadam mentis intentione debemus, ne forte videatur ipse plus litteras ex more deposcere quam nos ex amore dictare, domine papa; ideoque vestrorum plus mementote, quos inter praesumimus computari, quique, sicut vestris erigimur secundis, ita deprimimur adversis.

[1] OUR traveller and bearer of mutual salutations treads a path of which he knows every yard from having to traverse over and over again the roads and tracts between our several cities. We ourselves must keep to the ideal set before us; we ought, indeed, to be more intent on it than ever, and redouble our zeal now that so many messengers are constantly upon the way, and above all, Amantius. If we fail in this, it will look as if we corresponded just because he regularly calls for letters, and not because we really wish to write them. You must think more often of the friends among whose number I venture to count myself; all of us feel no less elated by your good, than depressed by your adverse fortune.

2. nam quod nuper quorumpiam fratrum necessitate multos pertuleritis angores, flebili ad flentes relatione pervenit. sed tu, flos sacerdotum gemma pontificum, scientia fortis fortior conscientia, minas undasque mundialium sperne nimborum, quia frequenter ipse docuisti, quod ad promissa convivia patriarcharum vel ad nectar caelestium poculorum per amaritudinum terrenarum calices perveniretur.

[2] Were we not moved to sympathetic tears by the mournful story of your anguish at the fate of certain brethren? Flower of the priesthood, jewel among pontiffs, mighty in learning, in righteousness mightier yet, spurn from you the threatening waves of earthly storms, for we have often heard from your own lips that the way to the promised feasts of patriarchs and the celestial nectar lies through the bitter cups of earthly sorrows. Whether he will or no, each follower of the Mediator who endured the world's contempt must follow his Lord's example.

3. velis nolis, quisque contempti mediatoris consequitur regnum, sequitur exemplum. quantumlibet nobis anxietatum pateras vitae praesentis propinet afflictio, parva toleramus, si recordamur, quid biberit ad patibulum qui invitat ad caelum. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[3] Whatever draughts of trouble the affliction of this present life sets to our lips, we shall perceive how small our burden is if we will but remember what He who calls us to His heaven once drank upon the tree. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius domino papae Iuliano salutem.

V.

To the Lord Bishop Julianus c. A.D. 477

1. Etsi plusculum forte discreta, quam communis animus optabat, sede consistimus, non tamen medii itineris obiectu quantum ad solvendum spectat officium nostra sedulitas impediretur, nisi quod per regna divisi a commercio frequentiore sermonis diversarum sortium iure revocamur; quae nunc saltim post pacis initam pactionem quia fidelibus animis foederabuntur, apices nostri incipient commeare crebri, quoniam cessant esse suspecti.

[1] **THOUGH** we dwell further apart than either of us could wish, the distance dividing us has had less to do with the interruption of our intercourse than the fact that we live under different laws; national disagreements born of opposing interests have hindered our frequent correspondence. But now that a peace has been concluded, and the two peoples are to become trusty allies, our letters will be able to pass in greater numbers since they will arouse no more suspicion.

2. proinde, domine papa, cum sacrosanctis fratribus vestris pariter Christo supplicaturas iungite preces, ut dignatus prosperare quae gerimus nostrique dominii temperans lites arma compescens illos muneretur innocentia, nos quiete, totos securitate. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[2] **Unite** your prayers, then, with those of your reverend brothers, that Christ may deign to prosper our handiwork, restraining the quarrels of our princes, making their wars to cease, granting to them the gift of good intention, to us peace, and to all security. Deign to hold us in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius domino papae Ambrosio salutem.

VI.

To the Lord Bishop Ambrose After A. D. 472

1. Viguit pro dilectissimo nostro (quid loquar nomen personam? tu recognosces cuncta) apud Christum tua sanctitas intercessionis effectus; de cuius facilitate iuvenali saepe nunc arbitris palam adscitis conquerebatur, nunc tacitus ingemiscebas. igitur hic proxime abrupto contubernio ancillae propudiosissimae, cui se totum consuetudine obscena vinctus addixerat, patrimonio posteris famae subita sui correctione consuluit.

[1] YOUR holiness has interceded before Christ with effect on behalf of our well-beloved friend (I will not mention his name — you will know whom I mean), the laxity of whose youth you used sometimes to lament before a few chosen witnesses of your sorrow, sometimes to bemoan in silence and alone. For he has suddenly broken off his relations with the shameless slave-girl to whose low fascination he had utterly abandoned his life; by this prompt reformation he has taken a great step in the interests of his estate, of his descendants, and of himself.

2. namque per rei familiaris damna vacuatus ut primum intellegere coepit et retractare, quantum de bonusculis avitis paternisque sumptuositas domesticae Charybdis abligurisset, quamquam sero resipiscens, attamen tandem veluti frenos momordit excussitque cervices atque Ulixearum, ut ferunt, ceras auribus figens fugit adversum vitia surdus meretricii blandimenta naufragii puellamque, prout decuit, intactam vir laudandus in matrimonium adsumpsit, tam moribus natalibusque summam quam facultatis principalis.

[2] He dissipated his inheritance until his coffers were empty; but when he once began to consider his position, and understood how much of his patrimony the extravagance of his domestic Charybdis had swallowed up, not a moment too soon he took the bit in his teeth, shook his head, and stopping his ears, as one might say, with Ulysses' wax, he was deaf to the voice of evil, and escaped the shipwreck that follows meretricious lures. He has led to the altar a maid of high birth and ample fortune, and for that we must give him credit.

3. haec quidem gloria, si voluptates sic reliquisset, ut nec uxori coniugaretur; sed, etsi forte contingat ad bonos mores ab errore migrare, paucorum est incipere de maximis, et eos, qui diu totum indulserint sibi, protinus totum et pariter incidere.

[3] It would of course have been a greater glory to have abandoned the voluptuous life without taking to himself a wife; but few of, those who

forsake error at the call of virtue can begin upon the highest level, and after indulging themselves in everything, cut off all indulgence at one stroke.

4. quocirca vestrum est copulatis obtinere quam primum prece sedula spem liberorum; consequens erit, ut filio uno alterove susceptis (et nimis dixi) abstineat de cetero licitis, qui inlicita praesumpsit. namque et coniuges ipsi, quamquam nupti nuper, his moribus agunt, hac verecundia, vere ut agnoscas, si semel videris, plurimum esse quod differat ille honestissimus uxorius amor figmentis inlecebrisque concubinalibus. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[4] It is now your part by assiduous prayer to obtain for the newly married couple good hope of issue; and then, when they have one or two children (perhaps even in that we concede too much), to see to it that this stealer of unlawful joys shall abstain thereafter even from lawful pleasures. At present the conduct of this bride and bridegroom is so seemly that to see them once together is enough to reveal the gulf between the honourable love of a wife and the feigned endearments of the concubine. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius domino papae Remigio salutem.

VII.

To the Lord Bishop Remigius A.D. 472-4(?)

1. Quidam ab Arvernīs Belgicam petens (persona mihi cognita est, causa ignota; nec refert), postquam Remos advenerat, scribam tuum sive bybliopolam pretio fors fuat officione demeritum copiosissimo velis nolis declamationum tuarum schedio emunxit. qui redux nobis atque oppido gloriabundus, quippe perceptis tot voluminibus, quaecumque detulerat, quamquam mercari paratis, quod tamen civis (nec erat iniustum), pro munere ingressit. curae mihi e vestigio fuit hisque qui student, cum merito lecturiremus, plurima tenere, cuncta transcribere.

[1] ONE of our citizens of Clermont (I know the man, but forget his business, which is immaterial) went recently on a journey to Belgic Gaul, and while at Rheims so won your copyist or your bookseller by the charms of his manner or of his purse that he wormed out of him, without your consent, a complete set of your *Declamations*. After his triumphant return with such a splendid spoil of volumes, he insisted on presenting the whole series to us as his fellow townsmen, though we were quite ready to purchase them — a rather graceful act. All of us here who are devoted to literature were properly desirous of reading the books, and we at once began to transcribe the whole, committing to memory as much as we were able.

2. omnium assensu pronuntiatum pauca nunc posse similia dictari. etenim rarus aut nullus est, cui meditaturō par affatim assistat dispositio per causas, positio per litteras, compositio per syllabas, ad hoc opportunitas in exemplis fides in testimoniis, proprietās in epithetis urbanitas in figuris, virtus in argumentis pondus in sensibus, flumen in verbis fulmen in clausulis.

[2] It was the universal opinion that there were few men living who could write as you do. There are few or none who before even beginning to write could arrange their subjects so well, so calculate the position of syllables, or the juxtaposition of consonant and vowel; and besides, there is none whose illustrations are so apposite, whose statements are so trustworthy, whose epithets are so appropriate, whose allusions so full of charm, whose arguments are so sound, whose sentiments carry such weight, whose diction has such a flow, whose periods come to so fulminant a conclusion.

3. structura vero fortis et firma coniunctionumque perfacetarum nexa caesuris insolubilibus sed nec hinc minus lubrica et levis ac modis omnibus erotundata quaeque lectoris linguam inoffensam decenter expediat, ne salebrosas passa iuncturas per cameram palati volutata balbutiat; tota denique liquida prorsus et ductilis, veluti cum crystallinas crustas aut onychitinas non impacto digitus

ungue perlabitur, quippe si nihil eum rimosis obicibus exceptum tenax fractura remoretur.

[3] The framework is always stout and firm, bound with many a delightful transition, and close caesura, but withal quite easy and smooth, and rounded to perfection; it helps the reader's tongue to pass without obstacle, so as never to be troubled by rough divisions, or roll in stammering accents on the palate. All is fluent and ductile; it is as when the finger glides lightly over a surface of polished crystal or onyx, where there is not the slightest crack or fissure to stay its passage.

4. quid plura? non extat ad praesens vivi hominis oratio, quam peritia tua non sine labore transgredi queat ac supervadere. unde et prope suspicor, domine papa, propter eloquium exundans atque ineffabile (venia sit dicto) te superbire. sed licet bono fulgeas ut conscientiae sic dictionis ordinatissimae, nos tibi tamen minime sumus refugiendi, qui bene scripta laudamus, etsi laudanda non scribimus.

[4] I have said enough. There is no orator alive whom your masterful skill would not enable you easily to surpass and leave far behind. I almost dare to suspect (forgive my audacity) that a flow of eloquence so copious and so far beyond my powers of description must sometimes make you vain. But do not think that because you shine with the twofold brilliance of your holy life and your consummate style you can therefore disregard our opinion; remember that though our authorship may be worth little, our criticism may count for much.

5. quocirca desine in posterum nostra declinare iudicia, quae nihil mordax nihil quoque minantur increpatorium. alioquin, si distuleris nostram sterilitatem facundis fecundare colloquiis, aucupabimus nundinas involantum et ultro scrinia tua coniventibus nobis ac subornantibus effractorum manus arguta populabitur inchoabisque tunc frustra moveri spoliatus furto, si nunc rogatus non moveris officio. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[5] In future, then, cease to evade our judgement, from which you have nothing either mordant or aggressive to fear. For I must warn you that if you leave our barrenness unenriched by the stream of your eloquence, we shall take our revenge by engaging the services of burglars, whose clever hands will soon despoil your roll-cases with our connivance and support. If you are imperturbable before a friendly request to-day, you will soon learn what perturbation means to-morrow, when the thieves have cleared your shelves. Deign to keep me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius domino papae Principio salutem.

VIII.

To the Lord Bishop Principius A.D. 472-474

1. Quamquam nobis non opinantibus, desiderantibus tamen litteras tuas reddidit gerulus antiquus, idoneus inventus, cui iure repetita credantur officia, quandoquidem prima sic detulit. igitur affatu secundo vel potius benedictione donatus ipse quoque rependo alterum salve, obsequia combinans numeris aequata, non meritis.

[1] I WAS longing for a line from you when quite unexpectedly our old messenger brought me your answer; his efficiency in the present case proves him a fit and proper person to be entrusted with our further correspondence. Your second letter is a gift, or rather blessing, which I repay with my further greetings: the account is now numerically but far from qualitatively equal.

2. et quia, domine papa, modo vivimus <animis> iunctis abiunctisque regionibus conspectibusque mutuis frui dissociatae situ habitationis inhibemur, orate, ut optabili religiosoque decessu vitae praesentis angoribus atque onere perfuncti, cum iudicii dies sanctus offulserit cum resurrectione, agminibus vestris famulaturi vel sub Gabaoniticae servitutis occasione iungamur; quia secundum promissa caelestia, quae spoponderunt filios dei de nationibus congregandos, si nos reos venia soletur, dum vos beatos gloria manet, etsi per actionum differentiam, non tamen per locorum distantiam dividemur. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[2] And since we live in spiritual communion, while our homes are remote, so that we are debarred by our situation from the pleasure of meeting, pray for me, that I may be released from the burden and travail of this present life by a holy death such as my heart desires, and that when the day of Judgement dawns and the dead are raised, I may join your throng a servitor, were it even on the terms of the Gibeonites. For in accordance with the divine promise, the sons of God shall come together from every nation, and if pardon be given to my grievous sin, however diverse my deserts, I shall not be separated far from the place where glory awaits you among the saints. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius domino papae Fausto salutem.

IX.

To the Lord Bishop Faustus After A. D. 475

1. Longum tacere, vir sacratissime, nos in commune dequestus es; cognosco vestrae partis hinc studium, nostrae reatum non recognosco. namque iampridem iussus garrere non silui litteris istas antecurrentibus, quibus tamen recensendis, cum Reios advenerant, qui tunc Aptae fuistis, aptissime defuistis. idque votivum mihi granditer fuit ac peroptatum, ut epistula iniuncta nec negaretur scripta amicitiae nec subderetur lecta censurae.

[1] You have lamented our long silence, venerable father, but while I recognize and applaud your desire that it should at last be broken, I cannot admit that any blame attaches to me. When you bade me some time back give you my news, I wrote before receiving your last communication, and my letter actually reached Riez; but though you were at Apt, you aptly escaped its perusal. I was most anxious, both to receive my due credit for having written, and to escape too severe a criticism when you read the missive.

2. ista omittamus. mitti paginam copiosam denuo iubes. parere properanti adsunt vota, causae absunt. nam salutatio, nisi negotium aliquod activa deportet materia, succincta est; quam qui porrigit verbis non necessariis, a regula Sallustiani tramitis detortus exorbitat, qui Catilinam culpat habuisse satis eloquentiae sapientiae parum. unde ave dicto mox vale dicimus. orate pro nobis.

[2] But on this point I need say no more at present, especially as you again ask me for a letter, and one as voluminous as I can make it. I long to satisfy you; the goodwill is there, but unfortunately I have no subject for my pen. Greetings should take up little space, unless they introduce some matter of real interest; to spin them out with mere verbiage, is to deflect from the path defined by Sallust when he said that Catiline had words enough but little wisdom. So my *vale* will have to follow my *ave* at an exceedingly short interval. I beseech your prayers for me.

3. sed bene est, bene est, quia chartulam iam iamque complicaturo res forte succurrit, de qua exprobranda si diutius vel laetitia sese mea vel ira cohibuerit, ipse me accepta dignum contumelia iudicabo. venisti, magister, in manus meas (nec exulto tantum, verum insulto), venisti, et quidem talis, qualem abhinc longo iamdiu tempore desideria nostra praestolabantur. dubito sane utrum et invitus, at certe similis invito, quippe quo providente vel, si tamen hoc nimis abnuis, adquiescente sim tuis libris insalutatus hisque, quod multo est iniuriosius, territorium Arvernum cum praeterirent, non solum moenia mea, verum etiam latera radentibus.

[3] What a stroke of luck! Just as I was on the point of folding up my letter, something has occurred for me to write about, and if either the pleasure or the annoyance of the event delays my protest a single moment, I will own myself deserving of the indignity to which I have been exposed. You have fallen into my hands, Great Master, I do more than triumph; I have you at my mercy, and in my captive I find one of no less stature than the anticipations of years had led me to expect. I cannot say whether you are caught against your will, but it looks like it. For if you did not mean your books to pass me without my knowledge, you certainly did nothing to prevent the passage. It aggravates the offence that in traversing Auvergne they not merely went close under my walls but almost grazed my person.

4. an verebare, ne tuis dictis invideremus? sed dei indultu vitio nulli minus addicimur; cui si ita ut ceteris a mea parte subiaceretur, sic quoque auferret congregiendi aemulationem desperatio consequendi. an supercilium tamquam difficilis ac rigidi plosoris extimescebas? ecquaenam est cuiquam peritiae cervix tanta quive hydrops, ut etiam tepida vestra non ferventissimis laudibus prosequatur?

[4] Were you afraid that I should be jealous? Thank God, I am less open to the charge of envy than any other; and were it otherwise, were I as guilty of this as of other defects, the hopelessness of a successful rivalry would be enough to purge me of emulation. Did you fear the frown of so severe and difficult a critic as your servant? What critic so swollen or so opinionated as not to kindle at your least ardent passages!

5. an ideo me fastidiendum negligendumque curasti, quia contemneres iuniorem? quod parum credo. an quia indoctum? quod magis fero, ita tamen, ut qui dicere ignorem, non et audire; quia et qui Circensibus ludis adfuerunt, sententiam de curribus non ferunt. an aliquo casu dissidebamus, ut putaremur his quos edidissetis libellis derogaturi? atqui praesule deo tenues nobis esse amicitias nec inimici fingere queunt.

[5] Was it your low estimate of a junior that led you to ignore and to disdain me? I hardly think it. Was it that you thought me ignorant? I could put up with that if you mean ignorant of the art of writing, not ignorant in appreciation. I must remind you that only those who have taken part in the games presume to pass judgement on the racing chariots. Was there any casual disagreement between us, leading you to suppose that I might decry your work? Thanks be to God, my worst enemies cannot make me out a lukewarm friend. Why waste these words? you ask.

6. 'ista quorsum?' inquis. ecce iam pando, vel quid indagasse me gaudeam vel quid te celasse succenseam. legi volumina tua, quae Riochatus antistes ac monachus atque istius mundi bis peregrinus Britannis tuis pro te reportat, illo iam in praesentiarum fausto potius, qui non senescit quique viventibus non

defuturus post sepulturam fiet per ipsa quae scripsit sibi superstes. igitur hic ipse venerabilis apud oppidum nostrum cum moraretur, donec gentium concitatarum procella defremeret, cuius immanis hinc et hinc turbo tunc inhorruerat, sic reliqua dona vestra detexit, ut perurbane quae praestantiora portabat operuerit, spinas meas illustrare dissimulans tuis floribus.

[6] Well, I will now let you have the whole story of this secretiveness which so incensed me, and of the discovery which has put me in such high spirits again. I had read those works of yours which Riochatus the priest and monk, and thus twice a stranger and pilgrim in this world, was taking back for you to your Bretons; for you, who may well be called Faustus to-day, since you cannot grow old, since you will always live in the mouths of men, and after your bodily death, attain immortality by your works. The venerable man made some stay in our city, waiting till the agitated main of peoples should calm down, for at that time the vast whirlwind of wars rose dreadful against us on this side and on that. All your other good gifts he freely produced; but managed to keep back, always with the most exquisite courtesy, the chief treasure he conveyed, unwilling perhaps to let me feel the contrast between your roses and my brambles.

7. sed post duos aut his amplius menses sic quoque a nobis cito profectum cum quipiam prodidissent de viatoribus mysticae gazae clausis involucris clam ferre thesauros, pernicipibus equis insecutus abeuntem, qui facile possent itineris pridiani spatia praevertere, osculo in fauces occupati latronis insilui, humano ioco, gestu ferino, veluti si excussura quemcumque catulorum Parthi colla raptoris pede volatili tigris orbata superemicaret.

[7] After rather more than two months, he hurriedly left us, a rumour having got abroad that he and his company had with them mysterious things of great price, carefully wrapped up from view. I went after him with horses swift enough easily to cancel the day's start he had gained; I came up with my felon, I leapt at his throat with a kiss, laughing like a man but pouncing like a wild beast; I resembled a robbed tigress that with winged feet springs like a flash upon the neck of the Parthian hunter to dash her stolen cub from his grasp.

8. quid multa? capti hospitis genua complector iumenta sisto, frena ligo sarcinas solvo, quaesitum volumen invenio produco, lectito excerpo maxima ex magnis capita defrustans. tribuit et quoddam dictare celeranti scribarum sequacitas saltuosa compendium, qui comprehendebant signis quod litteris non tenebant. quibus lacrimis sane maduerimus mutuo vicissim fletu rigati, tunc cum ab amplexu saepe repetito separaremur, longum est dixisse nec refert; quod triumphali sufficit gaudio, spoliis onustum caritatis et spiritalis compotem praedae me domum rettuli.

[8] To cut the story short, I embraced the knees of my captive friend; I stopped

the horses, tied the bridles, opened his baggage, discovered the volume I sought, dragged it forth in triumph, and began reading away and dismembering it by making lengthy excerpts from the important chapters. I dictated as fast as I could, and the skill of my secretaries yet further abbreviated my task, for they were able to skip letters wholesale, using a system of substituted signs. The story of our parting would be an overlong tale, and after all of no great interest; our cheeks were wet with tears; we embraced and embraced again, hardly able to tear ourselves away. My exultation was justified by my safe return, laden with the spoils of loving-kindness and master of great riches for the soul.

9. quaeris nunc, quid de manubiis meis iudicem; nollem adhuc prodere, quo diuturnius expectatione penderes; plus me enim ulciscerer, si quod sensi tacerem. sed iam nec ipse frustra superbis, utpote intellegens tibi inesse virtutem sic perorandi, ut lectori tuo seu reluctanti seu voluntario vis voluptatis excudat praeconii necessitatem. proinde accipe, quid super scriptis tuis et iniuriam passi censeamus.

[9] And now for my opinion of this booty. I should rather like to hold it back, in order to keep you in suspense; judgement withheld were vengeance more complete. But I despair of taking down your pride; for you are conscious of so masterly an eloquence that sheer delight in what they read wrings eulogy from your readers, whether they wish to withstand the charm or not. Listen, then, to the sentence which an injured friend now passes on your book.

10. legimus opus operosissimum multiplex, acre sublime, digestum titulis exemplisque congestum, bipertitum sub dialogi schemate, sub causarum themate quadripartitum. scripseras autem plurima ardentem plura pompose; simpliciter ista nec rustice; argute illa nec callide; gravia mature profunda sollicite, dubia constanter argumentosa disputatorie, quaedam severe quaequam blande, cuncta moraliter lecte, potenter eloquentissime.

[10] It is a work of the most fruitful labour, varied, ardent, sublime, excellent in classification, rich in apt examples, well balanced by its form as dialogue, and by the fourfold division of its subject. There is much that is inspiring, much that is grand; here I find simplicity without clumsiness, there point not too far-fetched; grave matters are handled with ripe judgement, deep matters with proper caution; on debatable ground you take firm stand; in controversy your argument is always ready. Now persuasive, now severe, always intent to edify, you write with eloquence, with force, and with exquisite discrimination.

11. itaque per tanta te genera narrandi toto latissimae dictationis campo secutus nil in facundia ceterorum, nil in ingeniis facile perspexi iuxta politum. quae me vera sentire satis approbas, cum nec offensus aliter iudico. denique absentis oratio, quantum opinamur, plus nequit crescere, nisi forsitan aliquid his addat coram loquentis auctoris vox manus, motus pudor.

[11] Following you over the whole wide field traversed in so many manners, I find you easily superior to all other writers alike in conception and in execution. You must appreciate my sincerity in this the more, when you remember that I pronounce my opinion under the smart of your affront. I think your work could only be improved by one thing — your presence in person to read it, when something might yet be added by the author's own voice, his gesture, his restrained art of physical expression.

12. artifex igitur his animi litterarumque dotibus praeditus mulierem pulchram sed illam deuteronomio astipulante nubentem, domine papa, tibi iugasti; quam tu adhuc iuvenis inter hostiles conspicatus catervas, atque illic in acie contrariae partis adamatam, nil per obstantes repulsus proeliatores, desiderii brachio vincente rapuisti, philosophiam scilicet, quae violenter e numero sacrilegarum artium exempta raso capillo superfluae religionis ac supercilio scientiae saecularis amputatisque pervetustarum vestium rugis, id est tristis dialecticae flexibus falsa morum et illicita velantibus, mystico amplexu iam defaecata tecum membra coniunxit.

[12] Endowed thus with all these intellectual and literary gifts, you have united yourself with a fair woman according to the precept of Deuteronomy. You saw her among the hostile squadrons; and then and there you loved her as she stood in the forefront of the adversary's battle; through all the resistance of the foe, you bore her off in the strong arm of passion. Her name is Philosophy, she it is whom you snatched by force from among the impious arts; and having shorn the locks betokening a false faith, with the eyebrows arched with pride of earthly learning, and cut away the folds of her ancient vesture, which are the folds of sad dialectic, veiling perverse and unlawful conversation, you purified her and joined her to you in a close and mystical embrace.

13. haec ab annis vestra iamdudum pedisequa primoribus, haec tuo lateri comes inseparabilis, sive in palaestris exerceis urbanis sive in abstrusis macerare solitudinibus, haec Athenaei consors, haec monasterii, tecum mundanas abdicat, tecum supernas praedicat disciplinas. huic copulatum te matrimonio qui laccessiverit, sentiet ecclesiae Christi Platonis academiam militare teque nobilius philosophari; primum ineffabilem dei patris asserere cum sancti spiritus aeternitate sapientiam;

[13] She has been your faithful follower from your early years; she was ever at your side, whether you practised your skill in the arena of the crowded city, or subdued the flesh in remote solitudes; in the Athenaeum she was with you, and in the monastery; with you she abjured the wisdom of the world, with you proclaims that which is from above. Whoever provokes you as her lawful spouse shall soon perceive the noble range of your philosophy, and find himself confronted by the Platonic Academy of the Church of Christ.

14. tum praeterea non caesariem pascere neque pallio aut clava velut

sophisticis insignibus gloriari aut affectare de vestium discretione superbiam, nitore pompam, squalore iactantiam neque te satis hoc aemulari, quod per gymnasia pingantur Areopagitica vel prytanea curva cervice Speusippus Aratus panda, Zenon fronte contracta Epicurus cute distenta, Diogenes barba comante Socrates coma cadente, Aristoteles brachio exerto Xenocrates crure collecto, Heraclitus fletu oculis clausis Democritus risu labris apertis, Chrysippus digitis propter numerorum indicia constrictis, Euclides propter mensurarum spatia laxatis, Cleanthes propter utrumque corrosis.

[14] He shall hear you first declare the ineffable omniscience of God and the eternity of the Holy Spirit. He shall not see you grow long hair or flaunt the pallium or staff as insignia of the philosophic state. He shall not see you pride yourself in nice apparel, indulging the exquisite's pretension, or making squalor your boast. He shall not see you betray your envy when in the gymnasia, or the Schools of the Areopagus; Speusippus is pictured for admiring eyes with bowed head, Aratus with open countenance; Zeno with contracted brows, Epicurus with unwrinkled skin, Diogenes with hirsute beard, Socrates with falling hair, Aristotle with arm freed from the mantle, Xenocrates with his contracted leg, Heraclitus with his eyes closed by tears, Democritus with lips parted in a laugh, Chrysippus counting with clenched fingers, Euclid measuring with open hands, Cleanthes biting his nails over problems both of space and number.

15. quin potius experietur, quisque conflixerit, Stoicos Cynicos Peripateticos haeresiarchas propriis armis, propriis quoque concuti machinamentis. nam sectatores eorum, Christiano dogmati ac sensui si repugnauerint, mox te magistro ligati vernaculis implicaturis in retia sua praecipites implagabuntur, syllogismis tuae propositionis uncatis volubilem tergiversantum linguam inhamantibus, dum spiris categoricis lubricas quaestiones tu potius innodas acrium more medicorum, qui remedium contra venena, cum ratio compellit, et de serpente conficiunt.

[15] Far from all this, whoever challenges you shall see the Stoic, the Cynic, the Peripatetic, the Heresiarch all beaten with their own weapons and crushed by their own devices. Their followers who dare resist Christian faith and dogma to venture a bout with you shall soon be bound hand and foot and fall headlong into the toils of their own nets. The barbed syllogisms of your logic shall hook these voluble tongues even while they seek escape; you shall noose their slippery problems in categoric coils after the fashion of the clever doctor, who, if need be, will prepare his antidote for poison from the very venom of the serpent.

16. sed hoc temporibus istis sub tuae tantum vel contemplatione conscientiae vel virtute doctrinae. nam quis aequali vestigia tua gressu sequatur, cui datum est soli loqui melius quam didiceris, vivere melius quam loquaris? quocirca merito te beatissimum boni omnes idque supra omnes tua tempestate

concelebrabunt, cuius ita dictis vita factisque dupliciter inclaruit, ut, quando quidem tuos annos iam dextra numeraverit, saeculo praedicatus tuo, desiderandus alieno, utraque laudabilis actione, decedas te relicturus externis, tua proximis. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[16] I have said enough for the moment on your spiritual insight and on the soundness of your learning. For no one can follow in your footsteps with an equal stride, since to no other is it given to speak better than the masters who taught him, and to make his actions better than his words. Not without reason shall you be called by those qualified to judge, most blessed above all in our generation, as one who in deed and word enjoys a great and twofold glory; who after numbering years to be counted on the right hand, after being the model of this century and the desire of every other, shall die honoured for his excellence in every field, leaving his possessions to his own folk, and himself to the nations of the world. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius domino papae Aprunculo salutem.

X.

To the Lord Bishop Aprunculus After A.D. 475 (?)

1. Reddidit tibi epistulas meas quem mihi tuas offerre par fuerat; nam frater noster Caelestius nuper ad te reversus de Biterrensi quoddam mihi super statu Iniuriosi nostri vinculum cessionis elicuit. quod quidem scripsi non minus tua verecundia fractus quam voluntate: namque nos ultro vestro pudori quasi quibusdam pedibus obsequii decuit occurrere.

[1] MY letter was delivered to you by a messenger who ought to have brought me back a reply; for our brother Celestius, on his return recently from Béziers, extracted from me a document of surrender relating to my [clerk] Injuriosus. I wrote it urged by the compelling force of your modesty rather than by any inclination of my own; the least that I could do, confronted with such an attitude was to meet you halfway upon the swift feet of my respect.

2. quocirca me quoque volente posside indultum, sed liberaliter (nec enim, ut suspicor, plus aliquid hoc genere solacii vel ipse quaesisti), quem litteris istis non commendatoriis minus quam refutoriis iam placatus insinuo; sic tamen, ut tibi assistat, tibi pareat, te sequatur atque ut, si permanserit tecum, neutri nostrum iudicetur famulus, si forte discesserit, quaeratur utrique fugitivus. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[2] Regard him, then, as yours by my deliberate act, but use him with generosity; indeed, I am sure you proposed nothing but the solace of your kindness. I have no further resentment against him, and write this rather as an introduction to you than as a formal dismissal for him. But I should like it to be a condition that he is to render you obedient service and assistance, and that if he stays with you he shall be regarded as neither yours nor mine; but that if he leaves you, it shall be open to both of us to treat him as a fugitive. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius domino papae Lupo salutem.

XI.

To the Lord Bishop Lupus A.D. 478 (?)

1. Propter libellum, quem non ad vos magis quam per vos missum putastis, epistulam vestram non ad me magis quam in me scriptam recepi. ad exprobrata respondeo pro aequitate causae, non pro aequalitate facundiae. quamquam quis nunc ego aut quantus qui agere praesumam vobis imputantibus innocentem? quocirca delicto huic, quantulumcumque est, inter principia confestim supplico ignosci, diffidentiae tantum, non et superbiae fassus errorem.

[1] THAT unfortunate book which you regard as sent not so much to you as through you, has inspired a letter which I in my turn regard as written not so much to me as against me. I cannot reply to your reproaches with an eloquence equal to yours; I rely only on the justice of my cause; how indeed am I to plead ‘not guilty’ when you imply the opposite? At the very outset, therefore, I frankly ask your pardon for my offence, such as it is; but I confess only to an error born of diffidence and by no means of improper pride.

2. nam cum mihi rigor censurae tuae in litteris aequae ut <in> moribus sit ambifariam contremescendus, fateor tamen in voluminis ipsius operisque reseratu illam mihi fuisse plus oneri quam praetenditis caritatem. nec citra iustum ista conicio, quandoquidem mortalium mentibus vis haec naturalitus inest, ut, si quid perperam fiat, minus indulgeant plus amici.

[2] The strictness of your judgement is no less formidable to me in literary than in moral questions, but I must admit that when I opened the volume it was the thought of the friendship you profess for me which oppressed me most. And that I think is natural; for it is human nature for a friend who suspects an injury to be severer than any one else.

3. scripseram librum, sicut pronuntiatis, plenum onustumque vario causarum temporum personarumque congestu: facturus rem videbar impudentissimam, si tantum mihi cuncta placuissent, ut nulla tibi displicitura confiderem; huc item, quisquis iudicii eventus foret, vidi partibus meis nequaquam pietatis ex solido constare rationem, si non saltem vobis esset antea allatum volumen, etsi non videretur oblatum; sub hoc scilicet temperamento, ut, si forte placuissem, non vos arrogantia praeterissem, si secus, non vos improbitas expetisse iudicaretur.

[3] It is true enough, as you point out, that my book is a medley packed and piled with multifarious subjects, episodes and personal facts; it would have been outrageous had I been so infatuated with my work as to imagine that no

part of it would displease you. Whatever your judgement might prove to be, it was evident that I should derogate from my loyalty, if I failed to give you at least the first sight of the volume, even though I might not formally present it. If I were lucky enough to meet with your approval, you could not accuse me of having arrogantly neglected you; if on the other hand I were less fortunate, you could not say that I had forced my work upon your notice.

4. nec sane multo labore me credidi deprecaturum vitatas causas erubescendi. pariter illud nosse vos noveram, quod auctores in operibus edendis pudor potius quam constantia decet quodque tetricis puncta censoribus tardius procacitas recitatoris quam trepidatio excudit. alioquin, si quis est ille qui cum fiduciae praerogativa thematis ante inauditi operam pervulgat, incipit expectationi publicae, quamvis solverit multa, plura redhibere. praeterea quidquid super huiusce rescripti tenore censueris, malui factum confiteri simpliciter quam trebaciter diffiteri.

[4] Nor did I expect to find it very difficult to excuse the motive which saved me from possibly having to blush for myself. I imagined you to be as well aware as I myself that modesty becomes the writer of a new book better than assurance, and that timidity is far more likely to win the vote of the severe critic than a provocative spirit. On the other hand, if a man boldly announces a volume on a fresh subject, however much he may really have done to satisfy the legitimate expectation of the public, he will soon find that he will be expected to do more. Whatever strictures you may pass on the tenor of this reply, I prefer to make a clean breast of it rather than resort to disingenuous evasions.

5. dixisset alius: "neminem tibi praetuli, nullas ad ullum peculiare litteras dedi: quem praelatum suspicabare, unius epistulae forma contentus abscessit, atque ea quidem nihil super praesenti negotio deferente: tu, qui te quereris omissum, tribus loquacissimis paginis fatigatus potius in nausiam concitaris, dum frequenter insulsae lectionis verbis inanibus immoraris. adde, quia etiam in hoc, quod forsitan non notasti, reverentiae tuae meritorumque ratio servata est, quod sicut tu antistitem ceterorum cathedris, prior est tuus in libro titulus. illius nomen vix semel tantum et sibi adscripta pagina sonat; tuo praeter tibi deputatas frequenter illustrantur alienae.

[5] Any one but myself would probably have argued somewhat after this wise: 'I never gave any one the advantage over you; no one else had received a special letter from me. The man whom you believed to be preferred before you had to be content with one letter to his credit, and that, too, having no relation to the present matter. You on the other hand, for all your complaints at being overlooked, must have been simply exhausted by the three garrulous sheets you received; you must have been sickened by so long an immersion in empty and dull verbiage. Moreover you may not have observed that, even so, your position and your high deserts have received ample consideration; your

name appears in the first superscription of the book, as befits that of the primate among our bishops. His name, on the contrary, only occurs once in a letter addressed to himself; yours is so mentioned more than once, and you are cited besides in letters addressed to other persons.

6. illud his iunge, quod, si quid ibi vel causaliter placet, tu per consilium meum lectitas, ille quandoque per beneficium tuum, qui munusculi mei incassum pressus invidia necdum ad facultatem legendi, ut suspicor, venit, cum iamdiu ipse perveneris ad copiam transferendi. aio, tamquam non sit authographas membranas arbitraturus, si tamen, quod ante percurras, vel exemplar acceperit; neque enim in his, quae tractaveris, ulla culpabitur aut distinctionum raritas aut frequentia barbarismorum. nempe ad extremum palam videtur etiam tibi transmissa proprietas, cui usus absque temporis fixi praescriptione transmissus est quique supradicto tamdiu potes uti libello, ut eum non amplius zotheca tua quam memoria concludat.”

[6] Remember, too, that where there is a subject likely to please you, I have encouraged you to read it, whereas the person in question can only do so by your kindness; he is probably so embarrassed by your attitude to my little gift that I should be surprised if even now he has had a real chance of perusal, while you long ago reached the stage of transcribing. I expect he will hardly regard as my holograph a copy over which you have glanced; for to an example revised by you he can never impute either excess of barbarisms or defects in punctuation. In fine, it might appear that all rights in the book had been handed over to you, seeing that you have the use of it while you please, and can dispose of it for so long that you may be said to keep it rather in your memory than in your bookcase.’

7. haec et his plura fors aliquis. ego vero cuncta praetereo et malo precari veniam quam reatum, si hoc esse creditur, deprecari. praesentum quoque negligentiam litterarum nunc nec excuso, primum quod, etsi cupiam, parum cultius scribere queo, dein quod libellari opere confecto animus tandem feriaturus iam quae propalare dissimulat excolere detrectat.

[7] Such arguments, with more of the same kind, might readily be adduced. I, however, shall waive them all, and prefer frankly to seek your pardon instead of making excuses for a problematical offence. I make even less excuse for the carelessness of the present letter, first, because I have no longer the art of fine writing, even if I attempt it; second, because, when one has got a book off one’s mind, one is longing for a holiday and cannot bring oneself to elaborate what one does not care to make public.

8. at tamen, cum satis tibi et quidem merito (quidnam enim simile?) in omnibus cedam, quippe qui in alio genere virtutum iam per quinquennia decem non aequaevīs sacerdotibus tantum verum et antiquis, quotiens collatus, antelatus quoque sis, noveris volo, quamvis astra questibus quatiās

atque maiorum cineres favillasque in testimonium laesae caritatis implores, pedem me conflictui tuo, si mutuo super amore certandum est, non retracturum, quia cum in ceteris rebus tum foedissimum perquam est in dilectione superari. quae velis nolis certa professio conviciis tuis illis cuncta sane blandimentorum mella vincentibus non praeter aequum reponderatur.

[8] But as I rightly make a point of giving way to you in everything — for where, indeed, is your equal to be found? — and as for ten whole lustres, as often as a comparison has been instituted, you have been preferred to all priests that have ever been, whether in our own time or before it, I would have you understand, that though your lamentations may shake the stars, though you call the glowing ashes of your fathers to witness my outrage to the laws of friendship, yet if there is to be any contest in mutual affection, my foot shall stand firm against yours, were it for no other reason than that to be beaten in anything is bad, but to be vanquished in loyalty an abomination. Whether you approve or no, I have right on my side in replying by this open declaration to reproaches, which for all their bitterness, are yet more to me than all the honeyed flatteries of others.

9. ecce habes litteras tam garrulas ferme quam requirebas; quamquam sunt omnes, si quae uspiam tamen sunt, loquacissimae. namque in audentiam sermocinandi quem non ipse compellas? qui omnium (de me enim taceo) litteratorum, licet oculi affectent, sic ingenia producis, ut solet aquam terrae visceribus absconditam per atomos bibulas radius extrahere solaris? cuius [lucis] aculeo non sola penetratur aut harena subtilis aut humus fossilis, sed si saxei montis oppressu fontium conditorum vena celetur, aperit arcanum liquentis elementi secretorum caelestium natura violentior. ita si quos, vir sacrosancte, studiosorum senseris aut quietos aut verecundos aut in obscuro iacentis famae recessu delitescentes, hos eloquii tui claritas artifice confabulatu, dum compellat, et publicat.

[9] I have given you as communicative a letter as you could desire. But all my correspondence with you is that; no letters of any writer-could be more so. For you have the gift of encouraging men to write with confidence. I say no more of myself; but there is not a literate, however retiring, whom you do not know how to draw out, just as the sun's rays by their absorbent power extract the moisture hidden in the bowels of the earth. So sharp are those rays, that they can penetrate not the fine sand or surface soil alone, but if there be a concealed spring deep under some massive mountain, there too the ardent nature of the mysterious powers of heaven reveals the secret of the liquid element. In like manner, venerated father, your lucid eloquence knows admirably how to influence and draw into the light, by its subtle address, all the studious who from love of quiet, or from modesty, lie in the obscurity of dark corners, their fame yet unawakened.

10. sed quorsum + quam moris est? redeamus ad causam, super cuius

abundante blateratu, quia pareo, precor, ut errata confessum veniae clementis indultu placatus impertias, licet, quae laetitia tua sancta quaeque communio, copiosius hilarere, si meae culpa defensio potius tibi scripta feratur quam satisfactio. memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa.

[10] Enough: I come back to the point; I have talked endlessly and at large, but since I have surrendered and confessed my fault, I entreat you to be placable and give me the benefit of your clemency and forgiveness. Such are your holy cheerfulness and love of others that you will derive a greater pleasure from this my written apology than you would from any positive act of reparation. Deign to hold me in remembrance, my Lord Bishop.

Sidonius Oresio suo salutem.

XII.

To his friend Oresius c. A. D. 484

1. Venit in nostras a te profecta pagina manus, quae trahit multam similitudinem de sale Hispano in iugis caeso Tarraconensibus. nam recensenti lucida et salsa est, nec tamen propter hoc ipsum mellea minus, si sermo dulcis et propositionibus acet: sic enim oblectat eloquio quod turbat imperio, quippe qui parum metiens, quid ordinis agam, carmina a nobis nunc novat petat. primum ab exordio religiosae professionis huic principaliter exercitio renuntiavi, quia nimirum facilitati posset accommodari, si me occupasset levitas versuum, quem respicere coeperat gravitas actionum.

[1] I HAVE just received your letter, which I may compare to the salt mined in the hills of Tarragona. The reader finds it sharp and lucid, yet none the less of a bland savour. The phraseology is charming, but the matter is also full of point. Taking small account of my present state of life, it asks me for a new poem, and this demand brings me no less trouble of mind than the admirable diction delight. At the very outset of my religious career, the art of versifying was the first thing that I renounced; gravity of deed was now my business, and if I occupied myself with such frivolous things as verses, I might well be accused of levity.

2. tum praeterea constat omnem operam, si longa intercapedine quiescat, aegre resumī. quisnam enim ignoret cunctis aut artificibus aut artibus maximum decus usu venire, cumque studia consueta non frequentantur, brachia in corporibus, ingenia pigrescere in artibus? unde est et illud, quod sero correptus aut raro plus arcus manui, iugo bos, equus freno rebeat. insuper desidiaestrae verecundia comes ad hoc sententiam inclināt, ut me, postquam in silentio decurri tres olympiadas, tam pudeat novum poema conficere quam pigeat.

[2] Besides, it is a matter of universal experience that a pursuit which has been intermitted for any time is only resumed with difficulty. Every one knows that both art and artist achieve their highest by constant practice; if the usual exercise be forgone, arm and intellect alike will grow inert. The later or the more seldom the bow is used, the more refractory it is under the hand; it is the same with the ox under his yoke and the horse with his bridle. Moreover, disinclination is not my only motive; it is accompanied by a certain timidity. After three whole Olympiads of silence, to begin rhyming again would be no less embarrassing than irksome.

3. hoc item nefas etiam difficilia factu tibi negari, cuius affectum tanto minus decipi decet, quanto constantius nil repulsam veretur. tenebimus igitur

quippiam medium et sicut epigrammata recentia modo nulla dictabo, ita litteras, si quae iacebunt versu refertae, scilicet ante praesentis officii necessitatem, mittam tibi, petens, ne tu sis eatenus iustitiae praevaricator, ut me opineris numquam ab huiusmodi conscriptione temperaturum. neque enim suffragio tuo minus augear, si forte digneris iam modestum potius quam facetum existimare. vale.

[3] But it seems almost a crime to refuse you even the most difficult things; your warm heart is quite unused to be denied, and it would be a shame to deceive you of your confident hope. I shall therefore choose a middle path: I will compose nothing new; but if I can find any of my former letters containing poems, written before the pressure of my present duties, you shall have them. I shall merely ask you not to be unfair, and set me down as an incurable poetaster. I shall pride myself just as much on your good opinion if you deign to think of me rather as a modest than as an accomplished man. Farewell.

Sidonius Tonantio suo salutem.

XIII.

To his friend Tonantius c. A. D. 481

1. Est quidem, fateor, versibus meis sententia tua tam plausibilis olim, tam favorabilis, ut poetarum me quibusque lectissimis comparandum putes, certe compluribus anteponendum. crederem tibi, si non, ut multum sapis, ita quoque multum me amares. hinc est, quod de laudibus meis caritas tua mentiri potest nec potest fallere.

[1] I MUST admit that your judgement on my verses has long been too flattering and appreciative: I must admit that you rank me among the elect of poets and even above many of their number. I might be inclined to listen, were not your critical acumen influenced by your friendship. Praises born of partiality, though uttered in perfect good faith, are really based on error.

2. praeter hoc poscis, ut Horatiana incude formatos Asclepiadeos tibi quospiam, quibus inter bibendum pronuntiandis exerceare, transmittam. pareo iniunctis, licet, si umquam, modo maxime prosario loquendi genere districtus occupatusque. denique probabis circa nos plurima ex parte metrorum studia refrigescere; non enim promptum est unum eundemque probe facere aliquid et raro.

Iam dudum teretes hendecasyllabos
attrito calamis pollice lusimus,
quos cantare magis pro choriambicis
excusso poteras mobilius pede;
(5) sed tu per Calabri tramitis aggerem
vis ut nostra dehinc cursitet orbita,
qua Flaccus lyricos Pindaricum ad melos
frenis flexit equos plectripotentibus,
dum metro quatitur chorda Glyconio,
(10) nec non Alcaico vel Pherecratio,
iuncto Lesbiaco sive anapaestico,
vernans per varii carminis eglogas,
verborum violis multicoloribus.
istud, da veniam, fingere vatibus
(15) priscis difficile est, difficile et mihi,
ut diversa sonans os epigrammata
nil crebras titubet propter epistulas,
quas cantu ac modulis luxuriantibus
lascivire vetat mascula dictio.
(20) istud vix Leo, rex Castalii chori,

vix, hunc qui sequitur, Lampridius queat,
declamans gemini pondere sub stili
coram discipulis Burdigalensibus.
hoc me teque decet: parce, precor, iocis;
(25) quaeso, pollicitam servet ad extimum
oratoris opus cura modestiam,
quo nil deterius, si fuerit simul
in primis rigidus, mollis in ultimis.

[2] You ask me now to send you some Asclepiads forged on the Horatian anvil, that you may keep yourself in practice by declaiming them at table. I do so, though never in my life have I been so busily engaged in writing prose.

‘Long time, with hand well worn by the pen, have I written smooth hendecasyllables which you might sing more easily than choriambics, dancing on lighter foot to freer measure. But you will that our way should henceforth run by the Calabrian road, where, with reins of mighty music, Flaccus guided his lyric steeds to the melody of Pindar, while the strings were struck to the Glyconian rhythm, to the Alcaic also and the Pherecratian, the Lesbian and the anapaestic; in the freshness of his varied song he went, with words like violets of diverse hue about him. Hard was it for bards of old, hard for me to-day to see that the tongue, essaying the various music of verse, trips not by reason of too many written letters, and their male style which forbids luxuriant graces. Hardly may Leo himself attempt it, king of the Castalian choir; hardly he who most nearly follows him, Lampridius, though he professes prose and verse alike before his students of Bordeaux. Yet this it is which I must try for you: spare me, then, your jests. Suffer your poet to keep to the close his pledge of modesty; for nothing is less excellent than this, to end with laxity where the beginning was with rigour.’

3. Quin immo quotiens epulo mensae lautioris hilarabere, religiosis, quod magis approbo, narrationibus vaca; his proferendis confabulatio frequens, his redicendis sollicitus auditus inserviat. certe si saluberrimis avocamentis, ut qui adhuc iuvenis, tepidius inflecteris, a Platonico Madaurensi saltim formulas mutuare convivialium quaestionum, quoque reddaris instructor, has solve propositas, has propone solvendas hisque te studiis, et dum otiaris, exerce.

[3] I should personally much prefer that when you divert yourself at the banquet you should confine yourself to pious histories; recite them often among your friends, and let an eager audience encourage their repetition. And if (for you are yet young) these salutary distractions but faintly appeal to you, then borrow from the Platonist of Madaura his formulae of festal questions; and to master them more fully, practise answering them when others propound, or yourself propound them for solution; make this your study even in leisure.

4. sed quia mentio conviviorum semel incidit tuque sic carmen nobis vel ad aliam causam personamque compositum sedulo exposcis, ut me eius edendi diutius habere non possis haesitatore, suscipe libens quod temporibus Augusti Maioriani, cum rogatu cuiusdam sodalis ad caenam conveniremus, in Petri librum magistri epistularum subito prolatum subitus effudi, meis quoque contubernalibus, dum rex convivii circa ordinandum moras nectit oxygarum, Domnulo, Severiano atque Lampridio paria pangentibus (iactanter hoc dixi, immo meliora); quos undique urbium ascitos imperator in unam civitatem, invitator in unam cenam forte contraxerat.

[4] But as festive occasions have been mentioned, and you insist upon a poem, even one composed on another theme and for another person, I cannot hesitate to produce one longer. Take, therefore, with what grace you may, one written in Majorian's reign, when a number of us were invited to a banquet by a common acquaintance, and I had to produce something extempore on a book by Petrus, the emperor's secretary, which was just out, the master of the feast delaying the first course awhile for the occasion. My friends Domnulus, Severianus, and Lampridius, summoned from their several homes to a single city, had also been invited, and had to write as I did. That sounds presumptuous; they wrote, of course, far better.

5. id morae tantum, dum genera metrorum sorte partimur. placuit namque pro caritate collegii, licet omnibus eadem scribendi materia existeret, non uno tamen epigrammata singulorum genere proferri, ne quispiam nostrum, qui ceteris dixisset exilius, verecundia primum, post morderetur invidia. etenim citius agnoscitur in quocumque recitante, si quo ceteri metro canat, an eo quoque scribat ingenio. tu vero tunc opportunius subiecta laudabis, cum totus otio indulseris. non enim iustum est, ut censor incipias cum severitate discutere quod non potuit amicus cum serietate dictare.

Age convocata pubes,
locus hora, mensa causa
iubet ut volumen istud,
quod et aure et ore discis,
(5) studiis in astra tollas.
Petrus est tibi legendus,
in utraque disciplina
satis institutus auctor.
celebremus ergo, fratres,
(10) pia festa litterarum.
peragat diem cadentem
dape, poculis, choreis
genialis apparatus.
Rutilum toreuma bysso
(15) rutilasque ferte blattas,

recoquente quas aeno
Meliboea fucat unda,
opulentet ut meraco
bibulum colore vellus.

(20) peregrina det supellex
Ctesiphontis ac Niphatis
iuga texta beluasque
rapidas vacante panno,
acuit quibus furorem

(25) bene ficta plaga cocco
iaculoque ceu forante
cruor incruentus exit;
ubi torvus et per artem
resupina flexus ora

(30) it equo reditque telo,
simulacra bestiarum
fugiens fugansque Parthus.

Nive pulchriora lina
gerat orbis atque lauris
(35) hederisque, pampinisque
viridantibus tegatur.

cytisos, crocos, amellos,
casias, ligustra, calthas
calathi ferant capaces,

(40) redolentibusque sertis
abacum torosque pingant.
manus uncta suco amomi
domet hispidos capillos

Arabumque messe pinguis
(45) petat alta tecta fumus.

veniente nocte nec non
numerosus erigatur
laquearibus coruscis
camerae in superna lychnus;

(50) oleumque nescientes
adipesque glutinosos
utero tumente fundant
opobalsamum lucernae.

Geruli caput plicantes
(55) anaglyptico metallo
epulas superbiores
umeris ferant onustis.
paterae, scyphi, lebetes
sociant Falerna nardo

(60) tripodasque cantharosque
rosa subtilis coronet.
iuvat ire per corollas
alabastra ventilantes;
iuvat et vago rotatu
(65) dare fracta membra ludo,
simulare vel trementes
pede, veste, voce Bacchas.
bimari remittat urbe
thymelen palenque doctas
(70) tepidas ad officinas
citharistrias Corinthus,
digiti quibus canentes
pariter sonante lingua
vice pectinis fatigent
(75) animata fila pulsu.
Date et aera fistulata,
Satyris amica nudis;
date ravulos choraulas,
quibus antra per palati
(80) crepulis reflanda buccis
gemit aura tibialis.
date carminata socco,
date dicta sub cothurno,
date quicquid advocati,
(85) date quicquid et poetae
vario strepunt in actu:
Petrus haec et illa transit.
opus editum tenemus,
bimetra quod arte texens
(90) iter asperum viasque
labyrinthicas cucurrit.
sed in omnibus laborans
et ab omnibus probatus,
rapit hinc et inde palmam,
(95) per et ora docta fertur.
procul hinc et Hippocrenen
Aganippicosque fontes
et Apollinem canorum
comitantibus Camenis
(100) abigamus et Minervam
quasi praesulem canendi;
removete ficta fatu:
deus ista praestat unus.

Stupuit virum loquentem
 (105)diadematis potestas,
 toga, miles, ordo equester
 populusque Romularis;
 et adhuc sophos volutant
 fora, templa, rura, castra.
 (110)super haec fragorem alumno
 Padus atque civitatum
 dat amor Ligusticarum.
 similis favor resultat
 Rhodanitidas per urbes,
 (115)imitabiturque Gallos
 feritas Hibericorum.
 nec in hoc moratus axe
 cito ad arva perget euri
 aquilonibusque et austris
 (120)zephyrisque perferetur.

[5] We were only granted just time for the allotting of the metres; for we had agreed, as honourable members of the poetical fraternity, that though the subject should be the same for all, the verses of each should be in a different measure, so that the unsuccessful competitors might be spared immediate mortification and subsequent jealousy of the victor. For if all is composed in the same metre, inequality of talent is much more easily detected. I recommend the enclosed to your approval, preferably at some hour of perfect relaxation. It would hardly be fair to subject it to a severe criticism when your friend was never able to give his whole mind to the composition.

* ‘Come, flower of youth, called happily together. The place, the hour, the festal board, the theme, bid you extol to the skies the book which you now hear recited, now yourselves recite. It is the book of Petrus, master alike of prose and verse. Brothers, let us celebrate the pious festival of letters. Let all things ministering to delight usher out the day which now moves to its close, fair cheer, and wine and the dance.

Bring out hangings of fine linen ruddy of hue; bring purple steeped with Meliboean dye in brazen vessels to enrich the fleece with purest stain. Let the fabric from a far land display the heights of Ctesiphon and of Niphates, and the wild beasts racing over the field, driven to madness by wounds skilfully feigned in red, from which a blood which is no blood seems to issue, as though a real dart had pierced their sides. There the Parthian fierce of mien and adroit in the backward gaze vanishes on swift steed and turns again to launch a second dart, now flying, now putting in turn to flight the wild beasts’ counterfeited forms.

Let the round table be spread with linen purer than snow, and covered with

laurel, with ivy and the green growths of the vine. Pile great baskets high with cytissus and crocus, starwort and cassia, privet and marigold; let sideboard and couch be gay with garlands of sweet scent. Let some hand perfumed with balsam smooth your disordered hair; let frankincense of Araby smoke to the lofty roof. Come the dark, let many a light be hung from the glittering ceiling, high in the chamber's upper space; innocent of oil and clammy grease, let each lamp's bowl yield flame from Eastern balms alone.

Let servitors bear in on laden shoulders viands fit for kings, their necks bowed under silver richly chased. In patera and bowl and cauldron let nard mingle with Falernian wine; let wreaths of roses crown tripod and cup. For we shall tread where garlands sway from many an unguent-vase; in mazy rounds our languid limbs shall know disport; by step, by garb, by voice, each shall play the quivering Maenad. From her seat between two seas let Corinth send her players of the cithara trained in the best of schools to mimetic dance and song; let their tuneful lingers accompany their melodious voices, the plectrum cast aside, and deftly ply the wires that leap to life beneath their touch.

Give us, too, the bronze pipe loved of the nude Satyr; give us deep-sounding flute-players for our chorus, who from cavernous mouth and full-blown cheek shall chant the loud wind into the tubes.

Give us songs for the tragic buskin, for the comic soccus songs; give us eloquence of rhetors and melody of poets, of each in his several part, the best.

Give us all these, yet Petrus shall surpass them all. In our hands is his book woven of prose and verse, faring swift over roughest paths and labyrinthine ways. In every kind he makes essay, in every kind approved; from this side and from that he bears the palm; even learned lips must celebrate his praise. Away with the well of Hippocrene, away with Aganippe's fount; avaunt! Apollo, maker of sweet song, with all thy train of Muses; avaunt! Minerva, arbitress of melody. Away with all the names of legend; one God alone has dowered him with these gifts.

When this man raised his voice, all sat dumb — emperor and senator, warrior, knight, and all the folk of Romulus. And still their acclamations roll through forum, temple, camp, and country, while Po and Liguria's loyal cities add their loud plaudits to the chorus. Like greetings echo through the towns of Rhone, even the wild Iberian shall imitate the Gaul. Nor shall the sound die in this region of earth; it shall press onward to the lands where Eurus reigns; Zephyr, Aquilo, and Auster shall bear it on their wings.'

6. Ecce, dum quaero quid cantes, ipse cantavi. tales enim nugas in imo scrinii fundo muribus perforatas post annos circiter viginti profero in lucem, quales pari tempore absentans, cum domum rediit, Ulixes invenire potuisset. proinde peto, ut praesentibus ludicris libenter ignoscas. illud vero nec verecunde nec

impudenter iniungo, ut quod ipse de familiaris mei integro libro pronuntiavi, hoc tu quasi sollicitatus exempli necessitate de meo sentias. vale.

[6] Seeking a song for your lips, I have found one of my own. These trifles I drag into the light from the bottom of my desk, where for well-nigh twenty years they have lain for the rats and mice to gnaw: such verses as Ulysses might have found when he came home from Troy. I pray you give me gracious pardon for this distraction of an idle hour; it is surely neither false modesty nor impudence which begs you to bow before the force of precedent, and judge my small performance in the spirit with which I judged the whole book of my friend. Farewell.

* The poem is translated into German rhymed decasyllabics by Fertig, i, p. 13.

Sidonius Burgundioni suo salutem.

XIV.

To his friend Burgundio (No indication of date)

1. Dupliciter excrucior, quod nostrum uterque lecto tenetur. nihil enim est durius, quam cum praesentes amici dividuntur communione langoris; quippe si accadat, ut nec intra unum conclave decumbant, nulla sunt verba, nulla solacia, nulla denique mutui oratus vicissitudo: itaque singulis maeror ingens, isque plus de altero; nam parum possis quamquam et infirmus periclitante quem diligas tibi timere.

[1] IT doubles my own pain to learn that you too are driven to keep your bed. No fate is so hard to bear as the separation of friends through sickness, when they are quite close to each other. Unless they share one room, they cannot exchange a word of mutual comfort or offer a prayer together. Each has burden of anxiety enough on his own account, but a greater for his friend. However ill a man may be, his fears for himself vanish before the knowledge of his friend's danger.

2. sed deus mihi, fili amantissime, pro te paventi validissimum scrupulum excussit, quia pristinas incipis vires recuperare. diceris enim iam velle consurgere, quodque plus opto, iam posse. me certe taliter consulis et sollicitudine prope praecoqua quaestiunculis litterarum iam quasi ex asse vegetus exeres, audire plus ambiens etsi adhuc aeger Socratem de moribus quam Hippocratem de corporibus disputantem; dignus omnino, quem plausibilibus Roma foveret ulnis quoque recitante crepitantis Athenaei subsellia cuneata quaterentur.

[2] But God, most affectionate son, has relieved me of my worst disquietude, since you begin to regain strength. They say you even want to get up, and what I long even more to hear, that you are strong enough to do so. I really think you must be, or you would not have begun to ask my advice again, and set me literary problems with the ardour of one perfectly recovered. Though you are only a convalescent, you seem far more inclined for some ethical discourse of Socrates, than any physical treatise of Hippocrates. Verily you deserve, if ever man did, the encouragement of Rome's applauding hands, the thunder of the Athenaeum hailing you master, till the seats shake with the clamour through every tier.

3. quod procul dubio consequere, si pacis locique condicio permetteret, ut illic senatoriae iuventutis contubernio mixtus erudirere. cuius te gloriae pariter ac famae capacem de orationis tuae qualitate coniecto, in qua te decentissime nuper pronuntiantem quae quidem scripseras extemporaliter admirabantur benivoli, mirabantur superbi, morabantur periti. sed ne impudenter

verecundiam tuam laudibus nimiis ultro premamus, praeconia tua iustius de te quam tibi scribimus. hoc potius, unde est causa sermonis, intromittamus.

[3] And were but peace ours, and the roads free, these triumphs you would attain, given the opportunity of forming yourself in the society of our senatorial youth. Of such fame and such distinction I judge you capable from the becoming speech you recently made; you delivered extempore the matter of a written discourse, with the result that the kindly acclaimed you, the supercilious marvelled, the most accomplished had no fault to find. But I ought not to embarrass your modesty by impertinent excess of praise; my eulogies are better made to third persons than to yourself. I will proceed to the real subject of my letter.

4. Igitur interrogas per pugillatorem, quos recurrentes asseram versus, ut celer explicem, sed sub exemplo. hi nimirum sunt recurrentes, qui metro stante neque litteris loco motis ut ab exordio ad terminum, sic a fine releguntur ad summum. sic est illud antiquum:

Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor.

[Et illud:

Sole medere pede, ede perede melos.]

[4] The inquiry which your messenger brings is: what do I mean by recurrent verses? you want an immediate answer, with a concrete illustration. A recurrent verse is one which reads the same backwards and forwards without changing the position of a single letter, or making any alteration in the metre. Here is the classic example:

Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor.

[Here is another:

Sole medere pede, ede perede melos.]

5. Nec non habentur pro recurrentibus, qui pedum lege servata etsi non per singulos apices, per singula tamen verba replicantur, ut est unum distichon meum (qualia reor equidem legi multa multorum), quod de rivulo lusi, qui repentino procellarum pastus illapsu publicumque aggerem confragoso diluvio supergressus subdita viae culta inundaverat, quamquam depositurus insanam mox abundantiam, quippe quam pluviis appendicibus intumescens nil superna venae perennis pondera inflarent.

[5] There is another kind in which, though the metre is unchanged, only the words are read backwards, not the several letters. A distich of my own shall illustrate the point, though I am sure I have met with many others in the course of my reading. I amused myself by composing it about a brook which had been filled by sudden rain storms, crossing the highway with a noisy rush of waters, and overflowing all the tilled lands below.

6. igitur istic (nam viator adveneram), dum magis ripam quam vadum quaero, tali iocatus epigrammate per turbulenti terga torrentis his saltem pedibus inessi:

Praecipiti modo quod decurrit tramite flumen
tempore consumptum iam cito deficiet.

Hoc si recurras, ita legitur:

Deficiet cito iam consumptum tempore flumen,
tramite decurrit quod modo praecipiti.

En habes versus, quorum syllabatim mirere rationem. ceterum pompam, quam non habent, non docebunt. sufficienter indicasse me suspicor quod tu requirendum existimasti.

[6] It was merely a passing flood, swollen with transient rains, and not sustained by any perennial flow from spring above. I happened to arrive by the road, and while I waited for the banks to reappear, for the moment giving up the ford, I amused myself by writing the following two verses, on the feet of which, if not on my own, I crossed the foaming torrent.

‘Praecipiti modo quod decurrit tramite flumen,
Tempore consumptum iam cito deficiet.’

You see that, inverting the order, you get the following:

‘Deficiet cito iam consumptum tempore flumen,
Tramite decurrit quod modo praecipiti.’

Of course the merit all lies in the arrangement of the words; elegance you must not expect, for there is none. The example sufficiently explains, I think, what you wanted to know.

7. simile quiddam facis et ipse, si proposita restituas eque diverso quae repeteris expeditas. namque imminet tibi thematis celeberrimi votiva redhibitio, laus videlicet peroranda, quam edideras, Caesaris Iulii. quae materia tam grandis est, ut studentum si quis fuerit ille copiosissimus, nihil amplius in ipsa debeat cavere, quam ne quid minus dicat. nam si omittantur quae de titulis dictatoris invicti scripta Patavinis sunt voluminibus, quis opera Suetonii, quis Iuventii Martialis historiam quisve ad extremum Balbi ephemeridem fando adaequaverit?

[7] It now falls to you to oblige me in a similar way by following my lead, and sending me something which I in my turn request. An ideal chance is yours in the near future of speaking in public on the most notable of subjects, the glory of that Julius Caesar in praise of whom you have already written. The theme is so great that even the most exuberant of orators might doubt his power of

rising to the occasion. Even if we leave out of the account all that the historian of Padua has written on the fame of the invincible dictator, who could hope to challenge with the living word the work of Suetonius, or Juvenius Martialis, or the *Ephemerides* of Balbus? Be the enterprise reserved for your hand.

8. sed tuis ceris haec reservamus. officii magis est nostri auditoribus scamna componere, praeparare aures fragoribus intonaturis, dumque virtutes tu dicis alienas, nos tuas dicere. neque vereare me quospiam iudices Catonianos advocaturum, qui modo invidiam, modo ignorantiam suam factae severitatis velamine tegant, quamquam imperitis venia debetur; ceterum quisquis ita malus est, ut intelligat bene scripta nec tamen laudet, hunc boni intellegunt nec tamen laudant.

[8] My friendly care it shall rather be to see that the benches are well filled with auditors, and to prepare men's ears for the coming bursts of applause. While you exalt the virtues of another, it shall be my part to celebrate yours. Have no fear that I shall bring an audience of ignorant or spiteful Catos, ready to cloak either defect under a pretence of critical severity. One can make allowance for honest lack of culture, but people sly enough to detect good work, and at the same time grudge it credit, are detected and discredited themselves by every man of honour.

9. Proinde curas tuas hoc metu absolvo: faventes audient cuncti, cuncti fovescentes, gaudiisque, quae facies recreatus, una fruemur. nam plerique laudabunt facundiam tuam, plurimi ingenium, toti pudorem. non enim minus laudi feretur adulescentem vel, quod est pulchrius, paene adhuc puerum de palaestra publici examinis tam morum referre suffragia quam litterarum. vale.

[9] Do not, then, be apprehensive on this account; every one will lend a favouring ear and a fostering support; we shall all enjoy together the refreshing pleasure which your recitation will give us. Some will extol your fluency, more your talent, all of us your freedom from conceit. For it is laudable indeed, when a young man, I might almost say a boy, can stand forth in the open arena and be adjudged the prize on the double ground of character and talent. Farewell.

Sidonius Gelasio suo salutem.

XV.

To his friend Gelasius c. A. D. 481

1. Probas (neque deprecor) me deliquisse; deliqui, quippe qui necdum nomine tuo ullas operi meo litteras iunxerim. sed tamen scribis tum quod erraverim veniabile fore, si quod et ipse decantes mittam ab exemplo, quia scilicet Tonantio meo ad parem causam futuras usui litteras bimetras miserim. praeter hoc quereris paginam meam, si resolvatur in lusum, solis hendecasyllabis frequentari. qua de re trochaica garrulitate suspensa senariolos aliquos plus requiris. servio iniunctis; tu modo placidus accipias, sive oden hanc ipsam mavis vocare sive eglogam. nam metrum diu infrequentatum durius textitur.

Iubes, amice, nostra per volumina
modis resultet incitatoribus
ferox iambus, ut trochaeus hactenus,
pigrasque bigas et quaterna tempora
(5) spondeus addat, ut moram volucripes
habeat parumper insitam trimetria,
resonetque mixtus ille pes celerrimus,
bene nuncupatus quondam ab arte pyrricha,
loco locandus undecumque in ultimo;
(10) spondam daturus et subinde versui,
modo in priore parte, nunc in extima
anapaestus, ipse quamquam et absolutius
pronuntietur, cum secuta tertia
geminae brevique longa adhaeret syllaba.
(15) Quae temperare vix callet gregarius
poeta, ut ipse cernis esse Sollium;
mihi pecten errat nec per ora concava
vaga lingua flexum competenter explicat
epos. sed istud aptius paraverit
(20) Leo Leonis aut secutus orbitas
cantu in Latino, cum prior sit Attico
Consentiorum qui superstes est patri,
fide, voce, metris ad fluenta Pegasi
cecinisse dictus omniforme canticum,
(25) quotiensque verba Graia carminaverit,
tenuisse celsa iunctus astra Pindaro
montemque victor isse per biverticem
nullis secundus inter astra Delphica.
at uterque vatum si lyrae poeticae
(30) Latiare carmen aptet absque Dorico,

Venusina, Flacce, plectra ineptus exeras
 Iapygisque verna cygnus Aufidi
 Atacem tonare cum suis oloribus
 cana et canora colla victus ingemas.
 (35) Nec ista sola sunt perita pectora,
 licet et peritis haec peritiora sint:
 Severianus ista rhetor altius,
 Afer vaferque Domnulus politius,
 scholasticusque sub rotundioribus
 (40) Petrus Camenis dictitasset acrius,
 epistularis usquequaque nec stilus
 virum vetaret, ut stupenda pangeret.
 potuisset ista semper efficacius
 humo atque gente cretus in Ligustide
 (45) Proculus melodis insonare pulsibus
 limans faceta quaeque sic poemata,
 Venetam lacessat ut favore Mantuam
 Homericaeque par et ipse gloriae,
 rotas Maronis arte sectans compari.
 (50) Ego corde et ore iure despicibilis
 quid inter hosce te rogante garriam,
 loquacitatis impudentiam probans
 animique vota destituta litteris?
 sed quid negabo nec pudore territus?
 (55) amor timere nescit: inde parui.

[1] You prove my offence against you, and I do not defend myself on the charge. In so far as no letter in this collection bears your name, I have indeed offended. But you write that you will regard the fault as venial, provided I send you something for recital at table, like the letter in prose and verse which I sent not long ago to my friend Tonantius for a similar purpose. You conclude by deploring that when I drop into poetry I never write anything but hendecasyllables, preferring that in the present case I should substitute for this trochaic facility something composed in verses of six feet. I acquiesce, only hoping that the enclosed will please you, whether you style it ode or eclogue. The composition was hard work, for when one is out of practice in a given metre, to write in it is far from easy. ‘You wish, dear friend, the fierce iambic to echo through my pages with impetuous rhythm, as hitherto the trochee; the spondee with its two slow feet and its time of four, to hold the flighty dactyl in check awhile; you wish that other swiftest of all feet to resound with these, named fitly from the Pyrrhic dance, and always to be placed at the conclusion; you wish next the anapaest to bound the beginning or the end of the verse, which only in strictness deserves its name when a third long syllable follows upon two short.

An ordinary poet — for such, you know, your Sollius is — has not the skill to manage all these measures. My note is uncertain, my wandering tongue has no art to unroll from echoing mouth the long-drawn epic. That skill is rather Leo's, or his who in Latin song follows in Leo's steps, and in the Greek stands first, who descends from the Sire of the Consentii; who with lyre and tone and measure has sung, men say, by the ford of Pegasus in every form we know, and in the Greek tongue has held the high stars by Pindar's side, and ranged victorious the twin-peaked hill, second to none among the caves of Delphi. But if either bard forsake the Doric speech, and sing to the poet's lyre a Latian strain, then, Flaccus, all too feebly shalt thou wield the plectrum of Venusia, and thou, O vanquished swan of Aufidus, shalt bow thy white and tuneful neck, moaning to hear the music of the swans of Atax.

Nor these alone are skilled, albeit than the common skilled more skilful. For the rhetor Severianus had sung with a more transcending voice, and Domnulus, the subtle bard of Africa, with more elegance, and the learned Petrus with more harmonious strength, whose love of writing letters would never have stayed him from composing marvellous verse. And ever more masterly had been the melodious music of Proculus, him of Ligurian home and race, so finishing his graceful poems as to make his country rival in men's love Mantua of the Venetian land, and himself arise the peer of Homer in his glory, or drive abreast with Maro's car.

But I, whose thought and style merit contempt, how should I raise my babbling voice among these, even for your pleasure, without proof of babbling unashamed and achievement falling ever short of my ambition? Yet if even this shame suffice not to deter me, how shall I deny you? Love knows not fear: 'tis therefore I obey.'

2. Ignosce desueta repetenti atque ob impleta quae iusseras nihil amplius quam raritatis indulgentiam praestolatur. ceterum mihi si similia post iniunxeris, quo queam fieri magis obsequens, curabis ad vicem carminis aut dictare quae cantem aut saltare quae rideam. vale.

[2] Do not, now, be critical with one who picks up a lost thread; all I ask is some indulgence for an art I rarely practise. If in future you make more such demands, you will have to smooth the path of my obedience, by giving me either a subject for my Muse, or a dance to put me in the comic vein. Farewell.

Sidonius Firmino suo salutem.

XVI.

To his friend Firminus c. A. D. 484

1. Si recordaris, domine fili, hoc mihi iniunxeras, ut hic nonus libellus peculiariter tibi dictatus ceteris octo copularetur, quos ad Constantium scripsi, virum singularis ingenii, consilii salutaris, certe in tractatibus publicis ceteros eloquentes, seu diversa sive paria decernat, praestantioris facundiae dotibus antecellentem. sponsio impleta est, non exacte quidem, sed vel instanter.

[1] You may remember, honoured Son, asking me to add a ninth book, specially composed for you, to the eight already issued: those addressed to Constantius, whose great qualities are known to you, his eminent capacity, his sanity in counsel, his pre-eminent gift of eloquence, by which, in the discussion of public affairs, he eclipses all other speakers on his own or on the opposite side. Herewith I fulfil my promise with punctuality, if not strictly as proposed.

2. nam peragratis forte dioecesibus cum domum veni, si quod schedium temere iacens chartulis putribus ac veteriosis continebatur, raptim coactimque translator festinus exscripsi, tempore hiberno nil retardatus, quin actutum iussa complerem, licet antiquarium moraretur insiccabilis gelu pagina et calamo durior gutta, quam iudicasses imprimentibus digitis non fluere sed frangi. sic quoque tamen compotem officii prius agere curavi, quam duodecimum nostrum, quem Numae mensem vos nuncupatis, Favonius flatu teporo, pluviisque natalibus maritaret.

[2] For on my return after my diocesan visitation, I began going through all my mouldering old papers for any chance drafts of letters that might be among them; I worked as fast and as hard as I could, and then had them out and transcribed them with all speed. I did not allow the wintry season to interfere with my resolve of fulfilling your desire, though the copyist was hindered by the cold which prevented the ink drying on the page; the drops froze harder than the pen, and as the hand pressed the point on the page, they seemed to break from it rather than to flow. I have done my best to acquit my obligation before the mild Favonian breeze brings his natal showers to fertilize our twelfth month, which you call the month of Numa.

3. restat, ut te arbitro non reposcamus res omnino discrepantissimas, maturitatem celeritatemque. nam quotiens liber quispiam scribi cito iubetur, non tantum honorem spectat auctor a merito quantum ab obsequio. de reliquo, quia tibi nuper ad Gelasium virum sat benignissimum missos iambicos placuisse pronuntias, per hos te quoque Mitylenaei oppidi vernulas munerabor.

Iam per alternum pelagus loquendi
egit audacem mea cymba cursum
nec bipertito timuit fluento
flectere clavum.

Solvit antennas, legit alta vela,
palmulam ponit manus, atque transtris
litori iunctis petit osculandum
saltus harenam.

Mussitans quamquam chorus invidorum
prodat hirritu rabiem canino,
nil palam sane loquitur pavetque
publica puncta.

Verberant puppim, quatiunt carinam,
ventilant spondas laterum rotundas,
arborem circa volitant sinistrae
sibila linguae.

Nos tamen rectam comite arte proram,
nil tumescentes veriti procellas,
sistimus portu, geminae potiti
fronde coronae,

Quam mihi indulsit populus Quirini,
blattifer vel quam tribuit senatus,
quam peritorum dedit ordo consors
iudiciorum,

Cum meis poni statuam perennem
Nerva Traianus titulis videret,
inter auctores utriusque fixam
bybliothecae;

Quamque post, visus prope, post bilustre
tempus accepi, capiens honorem,
qui patrum ac plebis simul unus olim
iura gubernat.

Praeter heroos ioca multa multis
texui pannis; elegos frequenter
subditos senis pedibus rotavi
commate bino.

Nunc per undenas equitare suetus
syllabas lusi celer atque metro
Sapphico creber cecini, citato

rarus iambo.

Nec recordari queo, quanta quondam
scripserim primo iuvenis calore;
unde pars maior utinam taceri
possit et abdi!

Nam senectutis propiore meta,
quicquid extremis sociamur annis,
plus pudet, si quid leve lusit aetas,
nunc reminisci.

Quod perhorrescens ad epistularum
transtuli cultum genus omne curae,
ne reus cantu petulantiore
sim reus actu;

Neu puter solvi per amoena dicta,
schema si chartis phalerasque iungam,
clerici ne quid maculet rigorem
fama poetae.

Denique ad quodvis epigramma posthac
non ferar pronus, teneroque metro
vel gravi nullum cito cogar exhinc
promere carmen:

Persecutorum nisi quaestiones
forsitan dicam meritosque caelum
martyras mortis pretio parasse
praemia vitae.

E quibus primum mihi psallat hymnus
qui Tolosatem tenuit cathedram,
de gradu summo Capitoliorum
praecipitatum;

Quem negatorem Iovis ac Minervae
et crucis Christi bona confitentem
vinxit ad tauri latus iniugati
plebs furibunda,

Ut per abruptum bove concitato
spargeret cursus lacerum cadaver
cautibus tinctis calida soluti
pulte cerebri.

Post Saturninum volo plectra cantent,

quos patronorum reliquos probavi
anxio duos mihi per labores
auxiliatos,

Singulos quos nunc pia nuncupatim
non valent versu cohibere verba;
quos tamen chordae nequeunt sonare,
corda sonabunt.

[3] I must now ask you not to require of me the two incompatible virtues of perfection and rapidity; for when a book is written, as it were, to order, the author may perhaps expect credit for punctual delivery but hardly for the quality of his work.

As you profess delight with the iambics I recently sent to our very genial friend Gelasius, you too shall have your present in the shape of these little slaves of Mytilene.

* 'Now has my bark steered its bold course on the twin seas of prose and verse, nor have I feared to ply the tiller on their sundered tides. I have lowered the yards, furled the great sails, and laid down the oar; my thwarts have run alongside, I have leapt ashore to kiss the dear-loved sands.

The jealous chorus of my foes makes muttering; they snarl like furious dogs; but openly they dare say nothing; they fear the public approval which is mine. Hissings of evil tongues beat upon the poop, and shake the keel, and toss the curved sides of my boat; they fly about the mast.

For I, having recked nought of the heaving storms, with the steersman's guardian art have held my prow straight and come safe to port, winner of a twofold crown. One the Roman people granted, and the purple-robed senate assigned, and with a single voice the company of the lettered, what time Nerva Trajan's forum saw arise a lasting statue to my honour, set up between the founders of the two Libraries. The other was mine wellnigh two lustres after, when I received the honour of that high office which now alone maintains the rights of people and of senate.

Heroic verse I have written, and much have I woven in lighter vein; elegiacs in six feet I have turned with twin caesura.

Now, trained to ride my course in lines of eleven syllables I have gloried in a swift way; singing many a time in Sapphic metre, rarely in the impetuous iambic.

Nor can I now call to mind all that once I wrote in the ardour of past youth; would that the mass of it might be buried away and withdrawn into silence!

For as we come to our last years, and the goal of old age draws nearer, the

deeper grows our shame, remembering the levities of our callow youth.

In the dread of that remembrance, I transferred all my care to the epistolary style, that though guilty of foolishness in song I might be innocent in deed; nor be esteemed one all dissolved in pretty phrases, filling my page with tropes and idle trappings, by which the poet's empty fame might stain the austerity of the priest.

Henceforth I plunge no more into any kind of verse; be the measure light or grave, I shall not readily be drawn to produce a song again;

Unless it be to sing the trials of men persecuted for the faith, and martyrs worthy of heaven, who have bought by death the reward of eternal life.

First my chant should celebrate the prelate who held the throne of Toulouse, whom they flung headlong down from the highest steps of the Capitol.

Who denied Jove and Minerva, and confessed the blessing of Christ's cross, and therefore was bound by a raging mob to the wild bull's back.

That when the beast was driven to full speed over the height, his rent body was flung to earth, and the rock reddened with the pulp of his reeking brain.

And after Saturninus my lyre should sing all those other guardian saints who through many tribulations have proved my helpers at need.

Their several names my pious song may not rehearse; but though they sound not from the strings, they shall ever find echo in my heart.'

4. *Redeamus in fine ad oratorium stilum materiam praesentem proposito semel ordine terminaturi, ne, si epilogis musicis opus prosarium clausurimus, secundum regulas Flacci, ubi amphora coepit institui, urceus potius exisse videatur. vale.*

[4] Let me at the end drop verse for prose, and so conform to the scheme originally proposed for my book. If I closed an unmetrical work with rhyme, I should break the rule of Horace, and turn out as common pot what began as amphora. Farewell.

* Translated into German verse by Fertig, Part iii, pp. 23-4.

The Biographies



Illustration of Euricat (c. 440–484), who ruled as king of the Visigoths, after murdering his brother, Theodoric II— between 471 and 475, Auvergne was the target of Visigothic expansion and the city was frequently besieged, including once by Euric. Although defended by Sidonius, the city was ceded to the Visigoths by Emperor Julius Nepos in 475 and it became part of the Visigothic kingdom until 507.

INTRODUCTION TO SIDONIUS by W. B. Anderson



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I. HISTORICAL SKETCH:

FROM A.D. 406 TO THE "FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE"

THE sources available for our knowledge of the fifth century are meagre and often obscure, and the attempts of modern historians to reconstruct the facts show marked divergences. Even if the facts were certain, it would not be easy to present in short compass the history of a period so confused, so full of intrigues and struggles in so many countries.

Gaul holds a position of special prominence not only in the career of Sidonius but in the story of the decline and fall of the western Empire. It is reasonable, therefore, to start our narrative at the end of the year 406, when four German peoples (Asding and Siling Vandals, Alans, and Suevians) made an incursion across the Rhine, sacking Mainz, burning Trier, and spreading their depredations far and wide. The invasion of Gaul by the usurper Constantine from Britain in 407 may have checked them for a short time, but he soon allowed them to pursue their activities without serious opposition. In 409 they crossed the Pyrenees and occupied a large part of Spain. Meanwhile the Burgundians had likewise moved across the Rhine from their territory on the upper Main, and in the end the Emperor Honorius, making a virtue of necessity, allowed them to remain in occupation of the province of Upper Germany (Germania Prima) as *foederati* (413).

We must now turn to the Visigoths, who were destined to play a leading part in the dissolution of the Empire. In 410 Alaric, their king, died, a few months after his capture of Rome. Athaulf, his successor, left Italy for Gaul early in the year 412, carrying off with him Placidia, sister of Honorius. After bringing about the fall of the new usurper Jovinus, who had started an insurrection in 411 and found many adherents, he made overtures to the Emperor, but as he refused to give up Placidia, nothing came of them. He then occupied Narbonne, where he married Placidia (414). Vigorous measures by the general Constantius made his situation in Gaul precarious; he therefore proceeded to Spain early in the following year, probably intending to found a Visigothic kingdom in the province of Tarraconensis, which had not been occupied by the previous German invaders. He was, however, assassinated at Barcelona; seven days later the same fate befel his successor, and Wallia became king. Debarred from food-supplies by the Romans and foiled in an attempt to cross to Africa, Wallia came to terms, agreeing, in return for large supplies of corn, to restore Placidia and to make war upon the German invaders of Spain (416). On the first day of the following year Constantius married Placidia.

Wallia vigorously set about his task of conquering his "barbarian" neighbours. In their alarm they sought to make terms with Rome. The Asding Vandals and the Suevians seem to have gained recognition as "federates" of

the Empire, but Wallia was left to work his will with the other two peoples. In a campaign of two years (416-418) he almost wiped out the Silings, and inflicted such grievous losses on the Alans that the survivors at last sought refuge with the Asdings in Gallaecia. The Vandal king Gunderic thus became "King of the Vandals *and Alans*" and handed down the title to his successors.

Then followed a momentous event. It was decided to allow the Goths to settle in Gaul as *foederati*. The lands assigned to them were the province of Aquitanica Secunda (extending from the Loire to the Garonne) and adjacent portions of Narbonensis (including Toulouse) and of Novempopulana (west of Narbonensis). Thus began the Visigothic kingdom in Gaul. Wallia died soon after leading his people to their new abode, and Theodoric I reigned in his stead. The same period saw the quelling of a serious revolution among the Aremoricans of Brittany. In Spain, soon after the departure of the Goths, Gunderic, king of the Vandals and Alans, attacked and defeated the Suevians, and, although more than once defeated by Roman forces, ultimately triumphed and established himself in the southern province of Baetica, from which his successor Geiseric was soon to aim a blow at the very heart of Rome.

National feeling in Gaul, which boded ill for the future of the Empire, had been accentuated in the time of the usurpers Constantine and Jovinus, who had found many adherents in that country, and it was further heightened by the severe measures which Constantius took against the ringleaders of the insurgents. It was more than ever necessary to consolidate the loyalty of the Gallo-Romans. From this time dates the regular custom of appointing natives to the office of Praetorian Prefect of Gaul and to the other important official posts in the country. Another significant measure was the organisation in the year 418 of the Council of the Seven Provinces (*Concilium Septem Provinciarum*), in which leading men of the southern provinces met every year to discuss matters affecting the public interest and to make recommendations to the authorities. Among the provinces which sent representatives were Aquitanica Secunda and Novempopulana; thus the Roman inhabitants of the occupied lands were stimulated to retain their Roman feelings in their "barbarian" environment. The council met at Arles, which had now become the residence of the Praetorian Prefect, after Trier had been sacked not only by the Vandals but on two occasions by the Riparian Franks from the lower Rhine. Arles became a proud capital, and everything possible was done to make it a centre of Roman influence.

On the 2nd of July, 419, Flavius Placidus Valentinianus, the future Emperor, was born. His father, Constantius, was made a colleague in the Empire by Honorius on 8th February, 421, but died in the same year. He had worked hard, and with considerable success, to maintain the cohesion of the Empire in the West. On the 15th of August, 423, Honorius died. After two years of the usurper John, the boy Valentinian came to the throne as Valentinian III. For the first twelve years of his reign his mother Placidia

acted as regent. From this time the disintegration of the Empire proceeds apace, despite the emergence of a great military leader in the person of Aëtius. The Goths, under Theodoric I, had turned longing eyes on the Mediterranean shores of Narbonensis. Early in the new reign they were hurled back by Aëtius from the walls of Arles to their own territory, where they remained comparatively quiet, but always a potential source of danger, for a few years. The "barbarian" peoples on the Rhine-frontier could not be trusted to keep the peace for long, and the Aremorici might cause trouble again. Gaul thus made constant demands upon the vigilance of Aëtius. This fact, together with the enmity of Placidia and her partiality for less able supporters, prevented him from intervening in another sphere where his tried troops and his generalship were sorely wanted.

In the year 427 Count Boniface, governor of the diocese of Africa, on being summoned home to give an account of his actions, disobeyed and was proclaimed a rebel. Unable to cope with the forces sent against him, he took the fatal step of inviting the Vandals to come to his help from Spain. King Gunderic lent a willing ear to this proposal, but died before he could carry it into effect (428). His successor Geiseric was only too glad to complete the preparations. In May, A.D. 429, the combined host of Vandals and Alans crossed the Straits of Gibraltar. The Imperial government came to terms with Boniface, but this reconciliation made no difference to the greedy schemes of the Vandals. Boniface, now entrusted with the defence of Africa, was no match for the enemy, and was eventually compelled, in the spring of 430, to shut himself up in Hippo Regius, which underwent a long siege. Meanwhile the Vandals made themselves masters of the valuable corn-lands of Tunisia. In this critical situation Placidia appealed to the eastern Emperor, Theodosius II, for help. His trusted general, Aspar, entered Africa with a combined force drawn from east and west, which perhaps succeeded in raising the siege of Hippo, but soon sustained a severe defeat (431 or 432) and was unable to prevent the capture of town after town by Geiseric. Soon almost every important place, with the exception of Cirta (the capital of Numidia) and Carthage, was in the hands of the Vandals. Not until the year 435 did relief come. Aëtius, with his formidable army, composed largely of Huns, seemed now in a position to turn his attention to Africa. Geiseric dared not challenge him. On the 11th of February, 435, a treaty was concluded, whereby the Vandals were allowed to retain, as *foederati* of the Empire, a part of the African diocese (probably the provinces of Mauretania Sitifensis and Numidia and the north-western corner of the old proconsular province). With a man like Geiseric such an arrangement could not be permanent. An unrestricted African dominion was his first and chief object. His covetous eyes were already fixed upon Carthage.

We must now return to Aëtius. In 428 he had driven the Riparian Franks back from the left bank of the Rhine. Another successful contest with the Franks seems to have taken place about three years later. In the interval he

had conducted decisive operations against the Iuthungi and other troublesome peoples in Noricum and Rhaetia, and he had been made generalissimo of the western forces of the Empire. In 432, the year of his first consulship, he was deposed from his command to make way for Placidia's favourite, Boniface, who was recalled from Africa. Thereupon he concluded a treaty with the Franks and marched against Boniface, but was defeated near Ariminum. Boniface died two months later, and was succeeded by his son-in-law Sebastian. Aëtius betook himself to his old friends, the Huns, and returned to Italy with a large force. Placidia was compelled to reinstate him. The treaty with Geiseric in 435 enabled him to concentrate his attention once more upon Gaul. In that year the Burgundians, who seem to have been joined by Alani from Mainz, invaded the province of Belgica Prima (the district round Trier and Metz). About the same time the Ripuarian Franks descended upon the same province from the north, after taking Cologne, and Trier was captured for the fourth time in a quarter of a century. Matters were further complicated by a revolt of the oppressed classes (peasants and slaves) under one Tibatto. With the aid of a large force of Huns from Germany, Aëtius utterly routed the Burgundians and laid their lands waste (436). The Frankish invasion seems to have evaporated, and the capture of Tibatto quelled the insurrection of the Bagaudae, as they were called (437). But the Goths were quick to avail themselves of these disturbances, and once more invaded the Mediterranean fringe of Narbonensis. Litorius, the chief lieutenant of Aëtius, had had to subdue a revolt in Aremorica; he now hastened southward and relieved the siege of Narbonne (437). After a short-lived peace, negotiated by Avitus (the future emperor), the Goths renewed their attacks on Roman territory, but Litorius in a series of battles drove them back. Near Toulouse, their capital, they turned at bay. Litorius was defeated and fatally wounded in a bloody battle. The Goths, though victorious, had suffered heavily, and were in a mood to listen to Avitus, who had just become Praetorian Prefect, when he proposed terms of peace. It is probable that the Goths were now recognised as a sovereign people (no longer *foederati*), and that their domains were increased by the cession to them of the whole of Novempopulana.

This treaty was far from being the only blow which the Roman power and prestige sustained in that momentous year (439). Geiseric perfidiously seized Carthage and made himself complete master of the proconsular province. His ruthless expropriation of the land-owners, his drastic proceedings against the orthodox Church, and the other features of his conquest are related in all histories of the period and need not be dwelt upon here. Both Valentinian, who had now taken the reins of government into his own hands, and Theodosius, the eastern Emperor, were seized with consternation. Theodosius sent a powerful naval expedition to bring the Vandals to their senses, but it never got beyond Sicily, where it was delayed by Geiseric's diplomacy until trouble nearer home necessitated its recall. A treaty was then made (442), in which the best provinces of Africa were surrendered to the Vandals, though

Geiseric undertook to supply Rome with corn and gave his son Huneric as a hostage. He was soon compelled by disturbances in his own realm, caused by his despotic conduct, to seek a further *rapprochement* with the western Emperor. He brought about the betrothal of Huneric to Valentinian's daughter, Eudocia, who was then six years old (445). Huneric (who was restored to his father at this time) was already married to a daughter of the Visigothic king, Theodoric I, but a charge of attempted poisoning was made a pretext for discarding her, and she was sent back to her father with her ears and nose cut off. From 442 to the death of Valentinian in 455 Geiseric kept the peace with the Empire, though this did not prevent him from encouraging the designs of the Huns on Gaul.

Meanwhile Aëtius had been active in Gaul, but the details of his operations are not very clear. We learn that the Alani and the Burgundians, who had suffered grievously in the disaster of 436, at last had lands assigned them, in which they settled as *foederati*. One body of Alans found a home in the neighbourhood of Valence (440 or earlier), another, under King Goar, the old supporter of the usurper Jovinus, was settled near Orleans (442). In the following year the Burgundians received a permanent abode in Sapaudia (Savoy). It was apparently about this time that Roman troops were finally withdrawn from Britain. In 446 Aëtius obtained the signal honour of a third consulship. We have scanty details of another rising in Aremorica, occasioned by the exactions of the Roman treasury. It began perhaps in 446, and lasted for some years; in the end the Aremoricians gained a position of complete independence, nominally as *foederati*, and some other Celtic peoples who had joined them seem to have won the same privilege. Some time before 446 the Ripuarian Franks were once more flung back across the Rhine by Aëtius. Probably after this came the attempt of the Salian Franks under Chlogio to extend their territory to the Somme, and their defeat near Vicus Helenae. In Spain the Suevians, under their king Rechiar, who had recently married a daughter of Theodoric, crowned their long-standing hostility by devastating the province of Tarraconensis, the great stronghold of the Roman Empire in Spain.

The approach of the half-century was darkened by the growing menace of the Huns under Attila. It was fortunate for Aëtius and for the Roman cause that the specious overtures of Attila were regarded with suspicion by Theodoric and that the mission of Avitus secured the support of the Goths. The bloody battle of the Mauriac (or Catalaunian) Plains, near Troyes, in which Theodoric lost his life, saved Gaul from the invaders (451). Aëtius, however, did not follow up his success. He persuaded the new Gothic king, Thorismund, to lead his warriors home, and Attila was enabled to withdraw with comparative ease, to ravage northern Italy and to threaten the existence of Rome until his death in 453. Before the end of this year Thorismund, who had renewed the old policy of Gothic expansion, was murdered by his brothers Theodoric and Frederic, and the former ascended the throne as

Theodoric II. The new king had a tincture of Latin civilisation, gained partly through the teaching of Avitus, and at the beginning of his reign he gave signal proofs of friendship. He resumed the “federate” status which his father had discarded, then he proceeded to Spain, where he quelled an anti-Roman peasant rising and induced his Suevian brother-in-law, Rechiar, to restore the province of Carthaginiensis to the Empire (454). The western Roman world was beginning to breathe more freely, when it was suddenly convulsed by the news that Aëtius had been murdered by his Emperor.

Whatever one may think of Valentinian’s motives, the results of this deed were serious. The Goths became restless, the Salian Franks under Chlogio took Cambrai and extended their conquests to the Somme, the Ripuarian Franks and the Alamanni once more crossed the Rhine, and Count Marcellinus, who commanded in Dalmatia, declared himself independent of the western Empire. A conspiracy was formed, in which Petronius Maximus, a prominent noble who had filled the highest offices of state, joined forces with old followers of Aëtius, and on the 15th of March, 455, Valentinian met the fate which he had brought upon Aëtius in the previous year. With him died that loyalty to the dynastic principle which had protected his family for nearly a century. The Empire of the West now begins to fade away in a miserable succession of brief reigns. The first in this series of ill-fated princes was the Petronius Maximus who has just been mentioned. Little more than two months after his accession he was seeking flight before the approach of Geiseric, whom he had wantonly provoked. The furious crowd fell upon him, stoned him to death, and tore him limb from limb. The Vandals entered Rome three days later and plundered it for two weeks, returning at last to Carthage with immense booty and some very important captives, including Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian, her two daughters, and Gaudentius, the younger son of Aëtius.

Petronius Maximus had made Avitus a *magister militum*, and had sent him to secure the favour of Theodoric for the new regime. Avitus was at the court of Toulouse when news came of the Emperor’s assassination and of the sack of Rome. Theodoric urged him to seize the throne, and offered his support. Avitus allowed himself to be persuaded. A hastily summoned gathering of Gallo-Roman senators met at Viernum, or Ugernum (Beaucaire, near Arles), and enthusiastically hailed him as the future champion of Gaul and saviour of the Empire. On the 9th of July, 455, he was proclaimed Emperor by the soldiers. He reached Rome in September, and assumed the consulship at the beginning of the following year. The Vandals claimed his immediate attention. Geiseric had seized the lands which had been left to Rome by the treaty of 442, and had declared his independence of the Roman suzerainty. Avitus tried both threats and armed force against him. An armament which he sent to Sicily under Ricimer foiled a Vandal attempt on Agrigentum and afterwards won a naval victory near Corsica (456). But the Gallic Emperor was looked on askance by the Italian senators, and the people began to

murmur when a failure of the corn-supply threatened them with famine. Avitus agreed to lessen the number of mouths to be fed by dismissing the force of federate troops which had accompanied him from Gaul. But these had first to be paid; he therefore melted down and sold a number of bronze statues which had escaped the ravages of the Vandals. An open revolt broke out. At the head of it were Ricimer, the ambitious Suevian whom Avitus had raised to the second military command of the West, and Majorian, friend and old companion-in-arms of Ricimer, who had been made *comes domesticorum* by Valentinian after the murder of Aëtius. Avitus, deprived of his loyal troops, was helpless, and fled to Arles. After a vain appeal to Theodoric, who had gone to Spain and was engaged in a merciless war with the Suevian king, he mustered a force as best he could and marched into Italy. Near Placentia he was defeated and captured. He was spared for the moment and allowed to become Bishop of Placentia (October 17th or 18th, 456); but he could not feel safe, and soon attempted to return to his home in Auvergne. He died on the way; possibly he was murdered.

The fall of Avitus aroused consternation and indignation in Gaul. Both the national feeling of the Gallo-Romans and their loyalty to the Empire had received a rude shock. The central government had shown its weakness in many ways; Africa was lost to the Empire, and the Roman name, of which they were proud, was sadly tarnished. In order to repair the distresses of the time the resources of Gaul had been raided with special severity. To Avitus the Empire had owed much in time of peril. Both as Gauls and as Romans they had looked to him to inaugurate a brighter era. And now these hopes had gone for ever; the Italian senators, it seemed, would rather let the Empire go to ruin than allow the supreme power to be held by one outside their own charmed circle. It is no wonder if this sudden revulsion of feeling led to desperate measures. Lyons was the centre of the revolt. The rebellious Gallo-Roman nobles allied themselves with the Burgundians and admitted a Burgundian garrison into the town. The insurgents, or a section of them, seem to have invited Count Marcellinus to lead them and to assume the Imperial diadem. He had held a command under Aëtius, and after the murder of his old chief he had shown vigour and decision and the courage of his convictions; he would be an inspiring leader, and he would make short work of an Italian clique if it stood in his way. Theodoric, who had seen in his compact with Avitus a satisfactory accommodation of Gothic and Imperial interests, was now in no mood to keep the peace. On his return from Spain he renewed the old attacks on Narbonensis.

The coalition of Ricimer and Majorian resulted in the elevation of the latter to the throne (457). Whatever one may think of his part in the fall of Avitus, Majorian was certainly a man of ability and character. Apart from internal affairs, his most urgent task was the crushing of Geiseric. He enlisted a great army, composed mostly of foreign contingents, and prepared a large fleet, which was to assemble off the coast of Spain. His plan was to march through

Gaul and Spain, gathering contingents from the federate peoples as he went, and then to cross the strait for a decisive struggle. He set out late in the year 458. On his way he had to subdue the rebellious Gallo-Romans. Lyons capitulated, apparently a little before the Emperor arrived in person, on favourable terms which seem to have been arranged by the quaestor Petrus. Majorian showed a wise leniency. Even the severe taxation which he at first imposed upon the insurgents seems to have been remitted, and danger from the Burgundians was removed by allowing them to occupy the province of Lugdunensis Prima, with the exception of Lyons itself. The Goths had next to be mastered; this was accomplished by Aegidius, who, with the aid of reinforcements sent by the Emperor, drove them back from Arles. In their case also Majorian was conciliatory, and Theodoric agreed to a continuation of the old federate status.

Majorian's expedition came to grief in the following year (460). An act of treachery enabled Geiseric to surprise the Roman fleet off the coast of Spain between Cartagena and Alicante and to capture a great number of the ships. Majorian had to conclude a humiliating treaty by which Geiseric probably obtained legal possession of the African provinces which he had recently seized; he may also have received at the same time Corsica, Sardinia, and the Balearic Islands, which were certainly in his possession a few years later. After spending some time in Gaul, Majorian returned to Italy with a small following, having disbanded the "barbarian" contingents enlisted for the Vandal campaign. On the 2nd of August, 461, he was attacked and captured near Tortona by a large body of Ricimer's armed retainers, and five days later he was beheaded.

Ricimer, the Patrician (a title which he had held since 457), was now the real ruler of the West, though as a "barbarian" and an Arian he could not aspire to the throne. In November, 461, he set up a puppet-Emperor in the person of Libius Severus. But he soon found himself in difficulties. Geiseric, who hated him, made piratical attacks on the coasts of Italy and Sicily. Marcellinus, who probably held the rank of *magister militum* in Dalmatia, and Aegidius, the *magister militum* in Gaul, threw off their allegiance, and Theodoric renounced the compact which he had made with Majorian. The eastern Emperor was induced to hold Marcellinus in check, but the troubles in the Gallic provinces were not so easily ended. The threatened invasion of Italy by Aegidius was kept off by purchasing Gothic and Burgundian friendship at a heavy price. The Burgundians, under King Gundioc, were allowed to occupy Lyons, and their territory was further enlarged, so that they barred the land-route to Italy; the sea-route was barred by allowing the Goths to seize Narbonne and the greater part of Narbonensis Prima, which extended from the Pyrenees to the Rhone (462). The Goths were also encouraged to extend their conquests in Spain, but when Theodoric's brother Frederic tried to push the Gothic power beyond the Loire he was signally defeated near Orléans by Aegidius (463), who had found a valuable ally in Childeric, king of the Salian

Franks. Fortunately for Ricimer and his allies, Aegidius died in the following year. But the wily Vandal had still to be dealt with. Geiseric thought it politic to listen at last to the representations of Leo, the eastern Emperor, so far as to give up Eudoxia and her daughter Placidia, whom he sent to Constantinople; Eudocia, the other daughter, who had married Huneric, was retained. In return for this concession he is said to have received as much of Eudocia's inheritance as was situated in the East and also a promise from Leo to abstain from hostilities against him. Soon he addressed further demands to the West, claiming a large share of the property of Valentinian III, and making the capture of Gaudentius a pretext for claiming the property of Aëtius. In addition he demanded that Olybrius, an accommodating senator who had married Placidia either in Africa or in Constantinople, should receive the sceptre of the West. Annual raids on Italy and Sicily reinforced his demands. Nothing short of a great effort of East and West in common had any prospect of crushing him.

On the 14th of November, 465, Libius Severus died. He had really been a usurper, as Leo, who had never acknowledged him, had legally been the sole Roman Emperor since the death of Majorian. There followed seventeen months in which Leo had no colleague in the West. Geiseric continued to press the claims of Olybrius and to attack Italy and Sicily. At last he had the temerity to raid the Peloponnese.

Leo was stung to action. He now acceded to insistent requests from Italy, and appointed a colleague to rule in the West and to collaborate in a great offensive against the Vandals. The man of his choice was Anthemius, who besides being a son-in-law of the late Emperor Marcian had a distinguished record of public service to his credit. Anthemius was created Augustus on the 12th of April, 467. In the same year his daughter Alypia was given in marriage to Ricimer. Next year the great offensive was launched. Basiliscus, the commander-in-chief, sailed with an enormous force to take Carthage; an army began to march from Egypt through Tripolitana to co-operate in the conquest of Africa; Marcellinus, who held the chief command of the western forces, was sent to capture Sardinia. Basiliscus, after defeating a Vandal fleet sent against him, anchored near Carthage, and had Geiseric at his mercy, but the resourceful Vandal persuaded him (probably with the aid of a large bribe) to grant a truce of five days. Thereupon the Vandals brought up fire-ships and launched an unexpected attack, inflicting such serious losses that Basiliscus retreated to Sicily. The final blow came with the assassination of Marcellinus, who had crossed over to Sicily after recovering Sardinia. This dastardly deed was almost certainly brought about by Ricimer, whose position in Italy would have been very insecure if Marcellinus had come back covered with glory. Geiseric promptly regained Sardinia, and a little later Sicily. The eastern forces were withdrawn, and those of the West were required for the defence of Italy and for operations against the Goths in Gaul.

In 466 Euric had murdered his brother Theodoric and become king of the

Visigoths. It soon became clear that he meant to throw off his nominal dependence on Rome and to extend his dominions over all the Gallic lands. The union of East and West for the war against Geiseric, with whom he had meditated an alliance, deterred him for a time, but the disastrous failure of the great expedition gave him his opportunity. He seems to have counted on a large measure of support from the Gallo-Romans. His success in this direction was probably less than he had expected, owing to the antagonism of the Catholic Church and the traditional loyalty of the upper classes; but Arvandus, the Praetorian Prefect, and many others went over to his side. Arvandus was summoned to Rome, impeached for High Treason, and condemned to death, though the sentence was afterwards commuted to one of banishment. Matters now came to a crisis. Anthemius prepared an expedition, and the Bretons of *Aremorica*, under King *Riothamus*, marched to defend the territory north of the *Loire*. *Riothamus* was completely defeated near *Vicus Dolensis* (*Déols*, *dép. Indre*), and fled with the remnant of his army to the Burgundians. Euric thus became master of *Tours* and *Bourges* and of a large part of the province of *Aquitania Prima* (east of *Aquitania Secunda*, which had been occupied by the Goths for more than fifty years); he was, however, prevented from extending his conquests north of the *Loire* by Count *Paulus* and, after the death of *Paulus* in 470, by *Syagrius*, son of *Aegidius*, with the aid of the Franks under King *Childeric*. But there were prizes to be won in other parts. In *Aquitania Prima* *Auvergne*, whose inhabitants prided themselves on their Latin blood and on their connexion with Rome, still remained unconquered; more important still were those cities of *Narbonensis* which still remained Roman, especially *Arles*, the headquarters of the Roman administration. But before these could be subdued the army which Anthemius had organised had to be met and defeated. It crossed the Alps in 471, under the leadership of *Anthemiolus*, son of the Emperor, and three other generals, but on its way to *Arles* it was totally defeated on the left bank of the *Rhone*, all its generals being slain. Euric overran and plundered the lower *Rhone-valley* from *Valence* to the sea, but as he had impinged on Burgundian territory he thought it prudent to abandon for the present his conquests in that region and to transfer his attention to two centres of opposition farther west. A fierce war had been waged with the Suevians in Spain for some years. Euric himself took command, and ultimately (about 473) made himself master of practically the whole of the peninsula except the old home of the Suevians in the north-west. This diversion of large Gothic forces made it easier for the Arvernians to defend their capital (modern *Clermont-Ferrand*). The exploits of *Ecdicius*, the youngest son of the late Emperor *Avitus*, the courageous helpfulness of his brother-in-law *Apollinaris Sidonius*, now Bishop of *Auvergne*, and the garrison provided by the Burgundians, who had no desire to see a further extension of Gothic power, enabled the townsmen to hold out for some years. But their resistance could not go on for ever, and the Empire was too weak to defend its last strongholds in the west.

In 472 Ricimer, whom no Emperor could satisfy in the long run, brought about the fall and assassination of Anthemius. A few weeks later he himself died, and before the end of the year the Emperor whom he had set up, Olybrius (who, as we have seen, had been Geiseric's nominee) was also no more. Four months later (March, 473) the Burgundian Gundobad, Ricimer's successor as Patrician, caused the *comes domesticorum* Glycerius to be proclaimed Emperor by the troops in Ravenna. This election, however, was not recognised by the eastern Emperor, Leo I, who nominated Julius Nepos, a nephew of Marcellinus. Glycerius could offer no resistance, and was put out of harm's way by being consecrated Bishop of Salona, in Dalmatia. Nepos seems at first to have planned vigorous measures against the Goths, and he made the heroic Ecdicius *magister militum praesentalis* and Patrician. But a change soon occurred, the details of which are not entirely clear. Whatever the reason, Ecdicius soon lost his new dignities and was replaced by Orestes, a Roman from Pannonia, who had once been Attila's secretary. Nepos, in agreement with the Burgundian king, sought to arrange terms of peace with Euric (475). The negotiations were entrusted to a delegation of bishops. They arranged that Auvergne should be surrendered, while the Empire should still rule in southern Provence, including Arles and Marseilles. It was a bitter blow to the Arvernians to be thus sacrificed by an Empire for which they had fought and suffered so long. The rule of Rome in the west was now crumbling to pieces. The Danubian provinces had actually, if not nominally, thrown off their allegiance, and Spain was lost.

The rest of the miserable tale may be told in a few words. Orestes rose against Nepos, compelling him to take refuge in Dalmatia. Preferring to remain Patrician, he elevated to the Imperial throne, on 31st October, 475, his son Romulus, who is generally designated by the nickname given him in pity or contempt for his youth, Augustulus. Less than a year sufficed to end this usurping reign. The "barbarian" mercenaries quartered in Italy, unable to obtain pay from a depleted exchequer, demanded that one third of the land should be made over to them. When their demand was refused they rose in rebellion and proclaimed their leader, the Scirian Odovacar, King of Italy. Augustulus was mercifully allowed to retire into private life. In this situation Euric found an opportunity of winning the coveted strip of Provence for which the Romans had recently sacrificed Auvergne (476 or 477).

Nepos was still legally Emperor, and thus the eastern Emperor had a colleague until the death of Nepos in 480. Even apart from this, as modern historians do not fail to point out, it is incorrect to speak of the year 476 as marking the fall of the Roman Empire in the West. Nevertheless, the events of that year were of immense significance. Italy, the ancient home of the Empire, now saw one third of her land in possession of "barbarians," and began to suffer the fate which had already overtaken the proud lands of Gaul and Africa. She had a foreign ruler in her midst, unhampered by the presence even of a puppet-Emperor such as Ricimer had liked to set up. It is true that the

Roman Empire continued to exist in the West even after the death of Nepos. Legally the lack of a western Emperor did not matter; the Emperor who ruled in Constantinople ruled also in Italy, and even “barbarian” rulers such as Odovacar and Theodoric the Ostrogoth found it expedient to acknowledge his sovereignty. But such legal technicalities and such ostentatious deference cannot hide the fact that the substance of power was in other hands and that a momentous change had taken place.

II. LIFE AND WORKS OF SIDONIUS

GAIUS SOLLIUS MODESTUS(?) APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS was born at Lyons (Lugdunum) on the 5th of November; the year is uncertain, but it must have been about A.D. 430. His family was one of considerable distinction. His great-grandfather had held an official position of some importance, his grandfather, the first of his family to adopt the Christian religion, had been Praetorian Prefect of Gaul, and his father held the same exalted position when Sidonius was little more than a boy. His mother was connected with the distinguished house of the Aviti. We do not know where he received his education; some think it was partly at Lyons and partly at Arles. The great institutions of higher learning in Gaul, which had flourished so long under Imperial patronage, seem by this time to have fallen on evil days, but the upper classes still retained their predilection for the traditional training of pagan Rome as represented in the schools of grammar and rhetoric. Sidonius went through the usual courses in grammar, literature, rhetoric, philosophy (with its satellites arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music) and law. He has recorded the names of two of his teachers, Hoënius, who taught him poetry, and Eusebius, who taught him philosophy. He mentions Claudianus Mamertus, the famous author of the *De Statu Animae*, as having conducted edifying philosophical disputations with him and other ardent students; but it is not certain that Claudianus held any official post as a teacher, or that this seminar, as one might call it, formed part of Sidonius's regular course of higher education; it may have taken place later and in a different place. Certainly these teachers never made Sidonius a philosopher. He seems to have learnt enough Greek to construe Menander without much difficulty.

A good deal of the learning acquired in the schools at this time was somewhat superficial, and much of it was in "tabloid" form. Historical examples were a regular part of the educational course; Sidonius was always ready to produce one or a dozen at the shortest notice (though not always accurately) to embellish his writings. The way in which he repeats the same stock illustrations time after time casts some light on the nature of the instruction received. The case was somewhat similar with myths and legends, which sprout up everywhere in his poetry, and with literary criticism, in which lists of past authors with brief ready-made descriptions were served up to the student. Nevertheless a great deal of literature was read, with comments on diction, style, and subject-matter, great emphasis being placed on antiquarian details, especially those dealing with mythology. Sidonius shows an intimate acquaintance with many writers, especially poets, and he must have acquired much of it in his student days. Among the poets, Virgil, Horace, Lucan, Juvenal, Martial, Statius, Ausonius, Claudian and others were known to him at first hand, most of them intimately. Among the prose authors whom he knew well were Pliny the Younger, Apuleius, and Symmachus. But the letter

counted for more than the spirit. The authors of the past were treasures from which to steal subject-matter, learned allusions, and tricks of diction. The highest compliment which could be paid by one fifth-century writer to another was that he recalled one or more of the ancients. Creative work in the true sense was not fostered in the schools. The training in rhetoric had the same tendency as that given by the *grammaticus*. The study of rhetoric, though not without good points, had for centuries emphasized the importance of form rather than of matter. A straining after effect, an ostentatious and often unnatural use of words, forced antithesis, far-fetched conceits, silly paradoxes, over-elaboration and a constant sacrifice of clearness to cleverness — these were some of the features which this training too often produced. They are all found abundantly in Sidonius, and, strange to say, his contemporaries admired them, even if they did not always understand what he meant.

Amid the almost complete silence of Sidonius about his formative years we read of one trivial incident which gave him much pleasure. At the beginning of the year 449 the new consul Astyrius inaugurated his office in an imposing ceremony at Arles, and the young Sidonius, whose father was Praetorian Prefect of Gaul at the time, occupied a place of great honour, being allowed to stand beside the curule chair. There is no doubt that the young man was already planning to follow the family tradition by entering the government service and attaining to high office, perhaps even to the consulship itself, which none of his family had reached. His prospects, already bright, were soon greatly enhanced when he married Papianilla, daughter of Avitus. The marriage, which was obviously a happy one, brought him the delightful estate of Avitacum, near Clermont-Ferrand. Auvergne, in which it was situated, thus became “a second fatherland” to this young Lyonese, who was destined to have a pathetic opportunity of showing his devotion to it. There seem to have been four children of the marriage, a son and three daughters.

Avitus was proclaimed Emperor in July, A.D. 455, and his proud son-in-law accompanied him to Rome. On the first of January in the following year the new Emperor assumed the consulship, and Sidonius delivered to an applauding throng a long panegyric in verse (*Carmen* 7). The honour of a bronze statue in the Forum of Trajan was decreed to the young poet, whose fortune now seemed to be made. But his elation was short-lived. The fall of Avitus and the subsequent rebellion in Gaul have already been described. Sidonius might well be excused for joining in the insurrection. Petrus, the Imperial secretary, who seems to have arranged the terms of capitulation, would no doubt recognise this; moreover he was a literary man himself, and he probably admired the young poet who had so recently won the plaudits of the Romans. It seems certain that he secured pardon for Sidonius at the earliest opportunity. When Majorian arrived in Lyons late in the year 458 Sidonius, already pardoned (see *Carm.* 4), delivered a panegyric in his honour (*Carm.* 5). The concluding lines of the poem show that Majorian had not yet fully decided the fate of Lyons and of the insurgent Gallo-Romans. The poet

seeks to arouse his pity, and professes to detect in the Imperial countenance a look of compassion. Whether the poet's pleading worked on Majorian or not, it is certain that he was merciful, though he imposed a heavy tax as a punishment. In *Carmen* 13, which was in all probability composed very soon after the panegyric, Sidonius pleads for a remission of this burden, and it seems safe to conclude that his plea was successful. Although it must have been very hard to forgive the man who had conspired with Ricimer to bring about the downfall of Avitus, the generosity of Majorian, his innate nobility of character and his attractive personality won the heart of Sidonius, and Majorian did what he could to cement their friendship. In the following year or in the year 460 we find Sidonius occupying a government post at Rome, and in the year 461 we find that he has the title of Count (*Comes*), which, if not given in virtue of a definite office of state, betokened at least that he was an accepted member of the court circle. In that year he travelled from Auvergne to Arles, where Majorian was sojourning after the disastrous failure of his expedition against Geiseric, and he has left us a long and interesting account of an Imperial dinner-party at which he was a guest. But the end of Majorian was at hand, and in August of that year Sidonius was once more bereft of an Imperial patron.

How he spent his time in the ensuing six years may be partially inferred from his own writings, several of which, both poems and letters, must have been written in this period, although anything like an accurate dating is generally impossible. It seems certain that he lived partly in the old family home at Lyons and partly at Avitacum, and that from time to time he visited numerous friends in different parts of the country, passing many a happy day like those which he spent with Tonantius Ferreolus and Apollinaris (*Epist.* II. 9). His visit to Bishop Faustus at Riez (*Carm.* 16. 78-88) almost certainly took place in the same period. It is quite possible that the visit to the court of Theodoric II at Toulouse (*Epist.* I. 2) occurred in one of these years, and he may well have combined it with a series of visits to friends in Bordeaux and its neighbourhood, including a stay with Pontius Leontius at Burgus, which he celebrates in *Carm.* 22. We learn from *Carm.* 22 *epist.* § that he spent a considerable time at Narbonne, where Consentius and many other friends lived, in A.D. 462 or a very little later. In all probability this was the occasion on which he enjoyed the hospitality which he celebrates in *Carm.* 23. 434-506.

The murder of Theodoric, the accession of Euric (466), and the elevation of Anthemius to the Imperial throne (April 12, 467) have been related elsewhere. Early in the new reign Sidonius was commissioned by the Arvernians to present to the Emperor a petition, the subject of which he does not disclose. He has described his journey in a long and interesting letter (I. 5), which was supplemented early in the following year by another (I. 9). He arrived in Rome at a time when the whole city was joyfully celebrating the marriage of Ricimer to Alypia, the daughter of Anthemius. To further the

business with which he was entrusted, Sidonius attached himself to two powerful senators, Gennadius Avienus and Caecina Basilius. As the 1st of January, 468, approached, on which date Anthemius was going to assume the consulship, Basilius suggested to Sidonius that it would be profitable for him to "bring out the old Muse" and compose a panegyric. This he did, and once more he stood before a Roman throng to sing the praises of an emperor-consul. He must surely have spoken with a lump in his throat as he thought of that other New Year's Day, twelve years before, when he had stood before a similar gathering and prophesied a glorious reign for Avitus. But his facile Muse did all that was necessary, and his reward came promptly in his appointment as Prefect of the City. This preferment may have been designed to please the Gallo-Roman nobles as well as to recognise the virtues of the panegyric, but it obviously gave him great delight. The office of Prefect of the City was still one of the most exalted in the Empire. The Prefect was President of the Senate and also head of the judicature and of the police both in Rome and for a hundred miles around it. Besides this he was controller of the food-supply. This was a worrying responsibility in a period when the hostility of Geiseric might at any time cause a shortage, and we read of one occasion when Sidonius feared an outcry from the populace and anxiously awaited the arrival of five ship-loads of wheat and honey.

He tells us no more of his prefectship, which he held for a year. We may imagine that he was glad to be freed from a rather thankless office and to leave Rome with the prestige of an ex-prefect and the honourable title of Patrician. He had another reason for preferring Gaul to Rome in the year 469, for it was then that his friend Arvandus was brought to Rome for trial on a serious charge and so conducted himself that it was impossible to save him. Arvandus had become Praetorian Prefect of Gaul in A.D. 464, and had given such satisfaction at first that his term of office was increased to five years. But his conduct had undergone a change, and his oppression and malversation could no longer be borne. He was arrested by order of the Council of the Seven Provinces and sent to Rome for trial. Meanwhile the three delegates sent from Gaul to prosecute him were furnished with evidence which made the charge against him infinitely more serious. A letter from him to Euric had been intercepted, in which he advised the Gothic king to abandon his pacific attitude toward the "Greek Emperor" (Anthemius), to attack the Bretons, and to arrange a division of Gaul between the Goths and the Burgundians.

Sidonius was in an embarrassing position. The three accusers sent from Gaul were old friends of his, but he had also been on friendly terms with Arvandus. Along with some others he did all that was possible to help the prisoner by advising him to make no admissions and to be wary of any traps that might be set for him. Their advice was received with scorn by Arvandus, whose arrogance and self-confidence almost passed belief. Sidonius left Rome before the trial came on. Arvandus was condemned on a charge of High Treason and sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted to one of

exile.

We next find Sidonius (apparently in A.D. 469 or 470) enthroned at Clermont as Bishop of the Arverni. We do not know what immediately led to this change, but he was not the first or the last noble who abandoned the honours of state for the responsibilities of a see. There were various reasons which made such a translation desirable. The weakening power of the Empire was bitter to all who loved the Roman name. As the Imperial power declined, it was the Church above all that upheld the standard of Roman civilisation and maintained and diffused the Roman spirit amid "barbarian" surroundings. To Sidonius this must have meant much. Again, the bishop was a great refuge in time of trouble. He could aid the distressed in a very special way and stand up to the oppressor, whether Roman official or barbarian potentate. It had long been the custom to vest certain judicial powers in him. He also administered large funds, which might be used both for the relief of distresses and for the furtherance of the Catholic religion, but which too often tempted greedy intriguers to possess themselves of a diocese. In Gaul, Euric, a fanatical Arian, was hostile to the orthodox church, seeing in it not only the promoter of a hated creed but the fosterer of the Roman, "anti-barbarian" spirit. There was, therefore, plenty of work to challenge the zeal of a patriot who cared also for religion. In countries like Gaul it was not merely the man of piety that was required for this task. It was often not only a great advantage but a necessity to have as bishop a man of rank and wealth, a man who could face even Euric himself and command respect, and who could, through his experience as an administrator backed by his own generosity, provide the means to resist aggression and to help the ruined and homeless outcasts whose numbers were being multiplied by the excesses of friend and foe alike. Sidonius must have felt all this. At the same time he felt how ill-fitted he was for the task. A sense of his own unworthiness to be a spiritual guide oppressed him not only now but to the end. The worldly ambitions which were characteristic of his class might often be patriotic, but they were not set upon the "City of God." Moreover he was now asked to become a bishop so suddenly that any adequate preparation for his ecclesiastical duties was out of the question. In entering the Church he would be entering a world which was strange to him, and in which he would have much both to learn and to unlearn. And he was no theologian. His poem to Faustus (*Carm.* 16) shows not only an imperfect knowledge of the Scriptures but a naïve unorthodoxy which would have drawn from a less tolerant ecclesiastic a horrified rebuke. He remained a close friend both of the heretical Faustus and of Claudianus Mamertus, who dedicated to Sidonius the *De Statu Animae*, in which the views of Faustus are vigorously assailed. This impartiality does credit to his heart; at the same time it cannot be said with certainty that he really understood what the controversy was all about. Nevertheless, the poem to Faustus shows Sidonius as a devout Christian with a profound admiration for the saintly character, and there is plenty of other evidence that along with all his enthusiasm for the pomp and

pageantry of power and amid all his literary preoccupation with the products of heathen mythology he retained a sense of humble dependence on a divine Providence. It is easy to be cynical and point out that the position of a bishop gave both dignity and (what offices of state did not always give) comparative safety. It must, however, be remembered that he felt both then and even later the glamour of the government service, and as far as we know he might have looked forward to further distinctions, perhaps even to the most coveted honour of all, that of the consulship. Be that as it may, we cannot deny that he was renouncing much; his domestic and social life could not be quite the same as before, his liberty was curtailed, his wealth might have to be sacrificed, and there were dangerous times ahead in Auvergne, which he cannot have failed in some measure to foresee and to fear. The insinuation of some historians that Sidonius sought the episcopal throne, and that he did so from motives of worldly prudence, is not justified either by his own words or by intrinsic probability.

It is sometimes held that Sidonius spent some time in the lower ranks of the clergy before being installed as bishop; but the evidence for this is not conclusive.

Sometimes a layman was rushed through the lower degrees, but in some cases even this formality was dispensed with. Sidonius took his new status very seriously. He resolved to write no more worldly verses. This was a great renunciation for a man who had for so many years found delight in thrumming on the antique lyre. On the whole, his austere vow was kept as well as could reasonably be expected. There was indeed sterner work to be done, even apart from the ordinary duties of spiritual oversight. Auvergne, with all its ancient pride in the Roman name, was in imminent danger of going the way of other parts of Gaul and falling into the clutches of the barbarian. Romans, even members of the old governing class, were more and more inclined to acquiesce in the new order of things, and even to accept official positions under the sovereign Goth or the nominally federate Burgundian. In the parts of the country which still remained to the Empire there were traitors to the Roman name. Seronatus, undeterred by the fate of Arvandus, freely encouraged Gothic encroachment, and did what he could to curry favour with Euric and to further his designs. He was indeed, thanks to Arvernian loyalty, brought to justice and executed, but this was only a slight set-back to the sinister schemes of Euric. Sidonius soon found that the see of Clermont called for all the qualities of a man and a patriot. Unfortunately it is impossible to follow with any certainty the course of the struggle, which began probably in A.D. 471 and ended four years later with the sacrifice of Auvergne by the Empire for a transitory gain. The Goths besieged the city every year, retiring on the approach of winter after wasting the land. There were sallies and some fierce fighting, but the pressure went on relentlessly. The Burgundians had sent a garrison to help the besieged, Ecdicius, brother-in-law of Sidonius, raised a force mostly at his own expense and himself

performed prodigies of valour, and the good bishop did all that he could to animate the defenders and to relieve the distressed. That they were distressed there is no doubt. In all probability the citizens who resided outside the walls, when they had not fled to safer regions, had taken refuge within, and these, along with the Burgundians and other troops, were difficult to house as well as to feed. The Burgundians seem to have been troublesome, and the Goths had seen to it that supplies were scarce. As things grew worse, Sidonius could not help feeling that the troubles must be a divine judgment for some unknown sin; and indeed the people had grown slack in their public prayers. He therefore instituted at Clermont the special prayers, or "Rogations," which Bishop Mamertus was said to have used with miraculous effect at Vienne. But although these, as he tells us, had a good effect, circumstances were too strong; as their privations increased and no help came, the people murmured more and more, and all the efforts of their bishop could not quell the talk of surrender. At this juncture Sidonius besought the saintly priest Constantius to come from Lyons to his aid. Aged though he was, Constantius braved the rigours of a severe winter and a difficult journey to encourage the waverers, and succeeded in nerving them to further resistance. Ecdicius seems to have been absent for a considerable time at the Burgundian court. Perhaps he was trying to persuade the king to launch a great offensive against the Goths. The language of Sidonius is vague (he does not even say what court Ecdicius was visiting); but we must remember that his letters were revised and modified before publication and that the original wording may have been much more explicit.

In the year 474 the Quaestor Licinianus arrived in Gaul, carrying with him the patent of the patriciate, which, with the Mastership of the Forces, was now conferred upon Ecdicius. Sidonius was delighted at this, and he reposed great hopes in the coming mission of Licinianus to the Gothic court. We know nothing of that mission except that it gained no concession from Euric, at least as far as Auvergne was concerned. If the appointment conferred on Ecdicius was meant to convince the Goth that the Emperor Nepos was organising a formidable resistance, it failed dismally. It seems safe to say that the speedy supersession of Ecdicius, the declared enemy of the Goths, by a more innocuous *magister militum* betokened a change of policy in the direction of conciliation with Euric. But the history of all these doings is so obscure that we need not dwell longer upon them. The end came in the following year (475), when Rome ceded Auvergne to the Goths in order to retain or regain a small strip of Provence. At this betrayal of the most loyal part of Gaul after years of suffering for the Roman cause Sidonius was filled with consternation. A moving letter written to Bishop Graecus of Marseilles, who had had a hand in the drafting of the treaty, voices his indignation and scorn. "Our slavery," he says, "is the price that has been paid for the security of others."

Clermont was occupied by Victorius, a Roman in the Gothic service, now created Count of Auvergne. He spared the town, no doubt by order of Euric,

and probably pardoned all but the most prominent of the resisters. It was impossible to ignore the uncompromising hostility of the bishop. Sidonius was confined in the fortress of Livia, near Carcassonne. He seems to have been given some titular duties to alleviate the indignity of his imprisonment, and although he complained bitterly of his lot, he does not seem to have been badly treated. He had a friend at the Gothic court, Leo of Narbonne, who was now a trusted minister of Euric, discharging duties similar to those discharged for the Roman Emperor by the *quaestor sacri palatii*. Leo asked him to transcribe the life of Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus, probably wishing to give him a task which would take his mind off his troubles. When this was completed and sent to Leo Sidonius had already won his freedom through the good offices of his friend (possibly before the end of the year 476). His movements after his release are not entirely clear. It seems certain that he was not allowed to return to Clermont immediately. Sooner or later he went to Bordeaux, and eventually he appeared as a suppliant at the court of Euric. Two months passed without an answer to his suit. At this point he sent to his friend Lampridius, who enjoyed the favour of the Gothic king, a letter containing a poem of 59 hendecasyllabic lines, in which he not only makes reference to his own plight but draws an impressive picture of the Gothic court, crowded with embassies from near and far — even from distant Persia — all anxious to win the gracious favour of the mighty Euric. It is almost certain that he wished this poem to be brought to the notice of the king. Whatever its effect may have been, it is certain that Sidonius was eventually allowed to return to Clermont and to resume his duties as bishop.

The events of the past few years had left their mark upon him. Truer to the traditions of his class than most of his friends had been, he had clung wistfully, hoping against hope, to his faith in the Empire. Even as late as the year 474 he regarded the consulship as a dazzling prize. He had indeed come to see that worldly ambition is not everything, and he maintained in his later years that the humblest of Gods ministers held a rank more exalted than the highest dignities of state. But in his eyes the two views were not inconsistent. Church and State were merged in the great unity of Romanism. To maintain the Catholic faith against Arianism and to maintain the Roman civilisation against barbarism — these were sacred duties bound up with the heritage into which he had been born. The sense of that heritage was strong in Sidonius. As a Gallo-Roman noble he had been cradled and nurtured in the traditions of the past, and it was a matter of pride as well as of conviction to uphold them. The whole tendency of his education had been to turn his gaze backward. The literature and the history of bygone days were his inspiration, and he could not imagine any culture worth having which was not drawn from that all-sufficient source. Deep down in his heart was the vision of the Empire, a spiritual as well as a material force, appointed from of old to guard all that was most precious. In that last struggle of the Arvernians the heroic bishop was fighting for this idealised Rome, majestic even in her day of humiliation.

Amid all the despair of those times there had lurked a hope that somehow the Empire might arise from its ashes and assert itself. But such selfdeception could continue no longer. He had to realise that now, for better or worse, the “barbarian” kings were the inheritors of the Empire in the West. Perhaps, as he surveyed the scene at Euric’s court, even he dimly perceived that the change now going on was “not so much the Germanisation of the Romans as the Romanisation of the Germans.” Rome was not a spent force, even in the West. But for Sidonius the revulsion was too violent. Although the pictures sometimes drawn of his despair after his return to Clermont have been exaggerated through misunderstanding of his Latin combined with arbitrary dating of his letters, there can be little doubt that the shattering of his hopes and ideals told heavily upon him. But he did not break down utterly. He had many friends who did what they could to cheer him. The preparation of his letters for publication helped to divert him, though it must have given him many a pang by calling up memories of other days. Above all there were his episcopal duties. All the evidence goes to show that he was loved and trusted by his flock, that he took a helpful interest in their various concerns, and that he was assiduous in the performance of his ecclesiastical functions. The governor, Count Victorius, who was a Catholic, showed himself helpful and sympathetic — but alas! only for a time. One would like to think that Sidonius did not live to see the change which happened. It is just possible that he was spared the distress which his son brought upon his house. We do not know the year of his death; A.D. 479 seems the earliest date to which it can be assigned, but a somewhat later date seems probable. He was canonised, and in Clermont his feast is still celebrated on the 21st of August.

Sidonius is one of the many writers who “lisped in numbers, for the numbers came.” He wrote poetry from early years, and some of it was circulated among his friends, but there is no evidence that any of it was published before the collection still extant appeared. That collection falls into two parts, which were probably published separately but subsequently combined. The first part consists of the panegyrics mentioned above, which occur in reverse order, together with prefaces and dedications. The second professedly consists of youthful poems. The panegyrics are constructed on the formal lines laid down by the rhetoricians and hitherto carried out most thoroughly in poetry by Claudian. Sidonius observes all the pitiable conventions of the *genre*, and succeeds in writing three “poems” which for prolonged insipidity, absurdity, and futility would be hard to beat. It is often very difficult to see what he means — all the more difficult because he so frequently means very little. It is true that he occasionally brings forth a striking epigram — all the Latin poets could do that, — but these are by no means always as new as some of their admirers seem to think. A tenacious memory has given him plenty of material to steal from his predecessors. If imitation is the sincerest flattery, never — not even by Silius Italicus — were previous writers honoured with a more thorough-going adulation. But the

imitation does not go beneath the surface. Some of it is merely mechanical. The old mythological machinery is made to work overtime; its figures are now rusty, creaking puppets, but he dresses them up in garish tinsel and spangles and makes them present a ludicrous caricature of their old-time splendour. It is pathetic to think that such mouldy antiquarianism was considered a worthy tribute to the master of the Roman world. The thought, when there is any worth speaking of, is thin, or at least unoriginal. The great object is not to think noble thoughts but to coin clever phrases. The ancients are ransacked for suggestions of all kinds, but their features are disguised by all the virtuosity of the schools, verbal jingles and bad puns, forced contrasts, unnatural use of words, straining after "point" in season and out of season. It cannot be said that any one of these faults was new; but in Sidonius they occur with such devastating frequency and with such grotesque exaggeration that the reader is often driven to distraction. The English language is quite incapable of reproducing all the oddities of these poems. The consequence is that, however feeble the translator, they must needs seem more tolerable in his version than in the original. Having said all this — and one could easily say a great deal more to the same effect — one feels bound to admit that there are a few places where the author deviates into sense, and even into real feeling not ineptly expressed, as when he exposes the sorrows of Lyons in the panegyric on Majorian or the character and prowess of the Arvenians in the panegyric on Avitus. There are also some descriptive touches and sentimental outbursts which suggest that the poet might have been more worthy of his calling if he had lived in an age of less depraved taste. But even these better morsels are soon spoilt by some bizarre absurdity. The chief value of the panegyrics — apart from the light which they incidentally throw on the literary training and ideals of the fifth century — lies in their historical information, which is of considerable importance.

The second part of the poems (*Carm.* 9-24) was dedicated to Felix. The dedicatory poem is a most extraordinary production. It is 346 lines long and consists mostly of a list (with various embellishments) of the subjects (mostly mythological) which he is not going to treat and the writers whose themes or style he is not going to reproduce. The other poems are of various kinds. Some are in hexameters, the others are in elegiacs or hendecasyllabics. There are a few epigrams, not unpleasing, especially nos. 12 and 17. No. 13 is the poem already mentioned in which he beseeches Majorian to remit the tax. Of the two *epithalamia* (nos. 11 and 15), each of considerable length, the best that can be said is that they are not the only absurd experiments in that conventional form to be found in European literature. The first one, with its tortuous conceits, is a nerve-racking problem for the would-be interpreter; in the second one Sidonius, after parading unblushingly his ignorance of philosophy and astronomy, shows one or two genial traits which the jaded reader will scarcely appreciate. It is rather inappropriately followed by a very pious poem to Bishop Faustus. The description of Jonah in the whale's belly

(vv. 25-30) is a striking instance of the poet's uncanny powers. It is, unfortunately, quite possible that Faustus and some other contemporaries admired its ingenuity. But the poem is not all as bad as that part. Although Sidonius can never wholly rid himself of his mannerisms, the second half (and indeed some of the earlier parts also) does at least suggest some sincere feeling, and the parts dealing with Lérins and Riez have an interest of their own. No. 22 is a very showy and obscure description of the "Burgus" of Pontius Leontius. Sidonius has no idea that the reader of what purports to be a description of a house might desire to learn what the house was really like rather than what the author could achieve as a verbal trickster. There is also the inevitable parade of gods and other mythological figures. *Hic multus tu, frater, eris* (v. 220; see note *ad loc.*) is, unfortunately, the best thing in this poem of 235 lines. No. 23 is a *tour deforce*, 512 hendecasyllabics addressed to his friend Consentius of Narbonne. Though it has a fair share of the usual faults, it shows some skill and is probably the most interesting of all the longer poems. The description of the battered city, recently occupied by Theodoric, has a certain effectiveness. The praise of Theodoric may profitably be compared with *Epist.* I. 2. Pantomimic performances, which obviously enjoyed a considerable vogue even in those Christian times, are described in a notable passage. The picture of the chariot-race is a wonderfully vigorous effort, based on Statius; unfortunately it is marred by some obscurity in the climax. The last part of the poem gives an interesting and valuable picture of the social life enjoyed by the Gallo-Roman nobles. The collection ends with an epilogue speeding the book on its way from the author to friends in different parts of the country.

Poem 22 (see the prefatory letter, § 1) was written not long after the occupation of Narbonne by Theodoric in A.D. 462. Probably the visit to Narbonne there mentioned is the same as the one mentioned in no. 23, which must in any case have been written not earlier than the year 462 and not later than 466 (the date of Theodoric's death). If these two poems were specially written for inclusion in the published edition (see p lv, n. 1), we may plausibly assign the publication of poems 9-24 approximately to A.D. 463. The panegyrics must, of course, have been published after the delivery of the panegyric to Anthemius in the year 468. It is customary to assign them to 469. The letters also contain a number of poems. Several of them, in accordance with the stem resolution which Sidonius took on obtaining his bishopric, are of a religious cast, but these, with the exception of the poem in IX. 16. 3, are all very short. It may be of some interest, as the statements made on the subject are generally rather vague, to examine the letters with the object of discovering how seriously Sidonius took his vow to keep the old pagan Muse in check. Book II contains an inscription for the church built by Bishop Patiens at Lyons (II. 10. 4) and also an epitaph (II. 8. 3), which has no Christian content; but as the letters in this book seem all to have been written before his episcopate, they are not relevant to our enquiry. Apart from these,

there are five poems in the first seven books. Three of these, all with a Christian tone (IV. 11. 6, a lament for Claudianus Mamertus, IV. 18. 5, an inscription for the rebuilt church of St. Martin at Tours, and VII. 17. 2, an epitaph on the monk Abraham), may be assigned to the period of his bishopric, but the other two (III. 12. 5, a Christian epitaph on his grandfather, and IV. 8. 5, a trivial inscription for a drinking-cup) cannot be assigned to the same time with any probability. Thus the complete collection of his letters as originally planned contains no evidence of "pagan" poetry written by Sidonius after becoming bishop. The first of the two supplementary books contains the poem already mentioned describing Euric's court (VIII. 9.5); it has no trace of Christian influence. In the same book (VIII. 11. 3) Sidonius quotes a poem written in his old style which certainly belongs to his pre-episcopal days. So far he has only once broken his vow, and that one breach is so venial that it can scarcely be counted against him. Book IX is interesting. In the 12th letter, written "three Olympiads," *i.e.* 12 years, after his entry into holy orders (§ 2), he tells Oresius of the vow he had made on entering the ranks of the clergy to give up his old habit of versifying. This letter is placed, surely of set purpose, immediately before one written several years later, which contains a breach of his rule. Then, after a kindly letter to a young man with literary ambitions, there comes another in which his rule is broken. Next there comes, in the last letter of all, a sort of palinode in verse, in which, after sketching his secular career and mentioning the honorary statue which his poetry had brought him, he speaks in penitent tones of his early verses and registers a vow no more to indulge in verse-writing, unless it be to celebrate the holy martyrs. The way in which these last few letters expose his lapse from grace is as good as a sermon. Oresius had asked him for a poem (*Epist.* 12). After explaining that he had renounced such frivolities Sidonius promises to see if he can find any old compositions to satisfy his friend. Nothing of the kind is given in the letter. In the next letter (IX. 13) we find that Tonantius has asked him for a poem in Asclepiads which he might recite at a dinner-party. Sidonius with some show of diffidence sends him 28 Asclepiad verses in which he protests that he cannot now fitly satisfy such a request. This is a small lapse, but the mischief has been done; the memory of his happy days in the Muses' company comes upon him and he goes on to quote a poem of 120 lines which he had composed at a dinner-party in the reign of Majorian. In letter 15 he relapses more completely into the bad old ways. Gelasius has heard of the verses written to Tonantius and wants some for himself. Sidonius composes a poem specially for him, 55 lines praising contemporary writers, and at the end he hints that he might be induced to write some more poetry for his friend. Then comes the great renunciation in the last letter of the book. Thus we find that the poem to Euric, which is scarcely to be counted, the very short poem in *Epist.* IX. 13, and the longer one in no. 15 are the only breaches of his self-denying rule, as far as one can gather from his correspondence. It is a very creditable record.

It is not known in what year Sidonius began to prepare his letters for publication; A.D. 469 is as likely a date as any. The idea was suggested by his friend Constantius of Lyons, to whom the work was dedicated in the introductory letter. It is certain that the collection was published in instalments, and not improbable that each book was published separately. The last letter of Book VII is an epilogue addressed to Constantius. There the work was meant to end. But the letters had aroused much interest; there was a demand for a supplement, and more and more friends wished to be represented in the collection by letters addressed to them. At the instance of Petronius he added an eighth book. In the last letter of this book, which is, like the epilogue of Book VII, addressed to Constantius, he says that he has now no letters left which are worth publication, but he gives a broad hint that with a little more time he might work up a few, and that a ninth book is not an impossibility. Firminus urged him to produce another book, pleading that Pliny had written nine books. Sidonius complied, and added a book of sixteen letters which are by no means the least interesting in the collection. With that volume the published correspondence closes.

Sidonius revised his old letters for publication and added several specially written for inclusion in the collection. His chief model is Pliny, though Symmachus also had a great influence on him, especially in the later books. The mere fact that nearly every letter has only a single theme is, as in the case of Pliny, a sure sign that they were considerably modified; real letters to friends are not generally so limited. Much that we should have liked to know about the age and its personalities must have been pruned away. Many of the letters are simply miniature panegyrics; derogatory remarks are much rarer than one would expect them to be in the genuine familiar correspondence of an average human being. The many letters to bishops assume a very humble, sometimes abject, tone. Nearly every letter is assiduously worked up according to the principles of contemporary rhetorical teaching. It is impossible here to give any adequate idea of the ostentatious combination of stylistic elaboration with sesquipedalian verbiage, Frontonian archaisms, weird neologisms, and verbal jingles which makes the correspondence such a nerve-wracking conglomeration. But it would be a mistake to regard the style and diction of Sidonius as something new and without precedent. He was in the main only carrying out with misguided zeal and a conspicuous lack of taste the principles which had been taught in the schools of rhetoric for centuries. These principles were often sound enough, and might be helpful to people who really had something to say, but even as the young men in Quintilian's time had seized on Senecas *dulcia vitia* for imitation and ignored the qualities which made him a great writer, so also after his time the young students and, too often, their professors as well, were inclined to regard composition as a field for the exploitation of specious "tricks of the trade," which became ends in themselves and were developed in the most fantastic manner. This tendency increased as time went on. Sidonius was not an

original genius: he was a conscious artist working with traditional materials and seeking only to exploit to the uttermost limit all the "tips" which he had derived from the mechanical teaching of the schools and from his reading of earlier writers. The result is a *reductio ad absurdum* of all the resources of rhetoric and a travesty of the Latin language. But although he had detractors, most of his educated contemporaries seem to have admired him. So many *recherché* effects had never before been found concentrated in such small space. If he took liberties with the meaning of words, that only increased the dazzling glamour of it all. If he was obscure — well, anyhow it was great art, great art, my masters! It is pathetic to find Ruricius humbly trying to imitate him though compelled to admit that he did not understand him. One may be sure that in preparing the letters for publication Sidonius elaborated and multiplied their mystifying artifices; but most of them must have been rather terrible even in their original form. There are some cases where he writes more simply, but his manner never completely leaves him.

Sidonius, imitating Pliny, arranges his letters with-out regard to chronological order, though all the letters contained in Books I and II seem to have been originally written before his election to the bishopric. There are some signs of intentional grouping. The whole of Book VI and the first eleven letters of Book VII are addressed to bishops; the same is true of letters 13-15 in Book VIII and 2-4 in Book IX. In the latter part of Book IX, as we have seen, the letters seem to be arranged according to a set plan. The collection includes a letter from Claudianus Mamertus (IV. 2), which is followed by the reply of Sidonius. There is one letter to Papianilla; all the other recipients are men. Not many people are honoured by more than one letter, as the number of persons anxious to have their names perpetuated by inclusion in the correspondence was very large and Sidonius was anxious to oblige them.

Whatever one may think about their style and diction, the letters of Sidonius are an invaluable source of information on many aspects of the life of his time. It is true that one is often tempted to sigh for information which he withholds and to upbraid him for telling us so little when he might have told so much. The appetising lists sometimes drawn up of subjects on which he might well have thrown light make one's mouth water. But he did not set out to write a history, and he was unfitted for such a task. His views were limited. It is doubtful if he really thought or cared much about the social evils and distresses of his day until he was brought into contact with them as a bishop; and even then perhaps he only partially realised them. For a good part of his life his horizon was bounded by the pride and prejudices of his class; indeed his aristocratic pride sometimes breaks out rather ludicrously even in his later years. He was not a deep thinker, but he was a keen observer of external details. Many of his descriptions, in spite of their pretentious language, are both vivid and picturesque. From his pages we gather much knowledge of the lives led by the Gallo-Roman nobility as the Empire in the West tottered to its fall. Its pleasures, its good-fellowship, its ambitions, and

sometimes its lack of ambition, its often narrow and pedantic but not unwholesome interests, its apparent indifference to many of the most terrible things going on around it, all pass before our eyes. We find also some valuable pictures of the "barbarians" who were taking over the Roman heritage. Here and there we get pleasing sidelights on the lives of great clerics, and we are helped to realise the power, mostly beneficent, wielded by the great Gallic bishops and priests in those troubled times. For these and many other glimpses we may well be grateful. As for Sidonius himself, when one has recovered from the exhaustion caused by wrestling with his showy pedantry one cannot repress a liking for him. Amid all his prejudices, his time-serving pliability at certain junctures, his excessive pride in his lineage and his ill-disguised literary vanity, one can discern a sympathetic nature and a simple goodness of heart. He accepted great responsibilities at a testing time and rose nobly to the occasion. He walked humbly before God, and all his pride fell from him as he contemplated his unfitness for his high *lxx* calling. Though strictly orthodox he is untouched by the bitterness which so often showed itself in the religious controversies of the day. He abhors the religion of the Jews, but he can admire a Jew as a man, and he dares to say so. No one without goodness and charm could have had such a circle of devoted friends as he had. He could write in all sincerity to Bishop Faustus: "Thanks be to God, not even my enemies can charge me with half-hearted friendship" (*Epist.* IX. 9. 5).

Besides his poems and letters Sidonius wrote a number of short speeches or addresses (called by him *contestatiunculae*), a copy of which he sent to Bishop Megethius (*Epist.* VIII. 3). It is not certain that he published them. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Fr.* II. 22) refers to masses (*missae*) composed by him. He was urged to write on the war with Attila and especially on the siege of Orléans and the wonderful achievements of its bishop, Anianus. He found such a large task too exacting, but promised to celebrate the glories of Anianus (*Epist.* VIII. 15). There is no evidence that this projected work was ever written. He declined to write a historical work which Leo had suggested to him (*Epist.* IV. 22). He did not translate the life of Apollonius of Tyana, as is often said, but merely transcribed it (see p xlix). He wrote many poems besides those which have come down to us, but it is not certain that he published any collection of them.

The numerous manuscripts of Sidonius seem all to be derived from a single archetype of no great antiquity. They suffer from extensive dislocations, interpolations, corruptions, "corrections" and lacunae, but as they can very often be successfully used to check one another a text in the main satisfactory can be evolved from them. It is difficult to construct a convincing *stemma codicum*, but we may divide the MSS. into four classes on the basis of certain dislocations and of differences in their contents. I have added to the MSS. most used by Luet-johann and Mohr the codex R. It is impossible to mention all the codices.

Class I. (containing all the writings in the proper order, except that in *Epist.* IX letters 6 and 7 are put after 9).

C. *Matritensis* Ee 102 (formerly at Cluni), Madrid. X-XI cent. Much interpolated. Akin to this MS. is Vaticanus 3421. X cent.

Class II. (All with disturbance in the order of the letters in Books VI and VII; some contain all the works, some *Epist* alone, some *Epist* and some poems).

F. *Parisinus* 9551. XII cent.

Class III. Intermediate between I and II.

P. *Parisinus* 2781. X-XI cent.

Class IV. (a superior class, but with large lacunae. Some contain only *Epist.*)

T. *Laurentianus* plut. XLV. 23, Florence. XI-XII cent.

M. — *Marcianus* 554, Florence. X cent. (*Epist* and *Carm.* I-VIII.)

L. *Laudianus* lat. 104, Oxford. *Epist* only. IX cent. The best MS.

N. — *Parisinus* 18584. *Epist* only. X cent. Closely akin to L, but with more lacunae and numerous "corrections."

V. *Vaticanus* 1783. *Epist* only. Xcent. Mutilated at the beginning and in the middle.

R. *Remensis* 413, Rheims. *Epist* only. IX-X cent. Closely akin to V. V and R. are less closely related to L than N is.

The fullest account of variant readings is given in Luetjohann's edition. Mohr gives a shorter but very useful *apparatus criticus*.

The following is a short list of works useful to the student of Sidonius. An excellent and, on the historical side, much more comprehensive bibliography will be found in the work of Stevens mentioned below, pp. 216-220.

TEXT WITH COMMENTARY.

Caii Sollii Apollinaris Sidonii opera. Io. Savaro recog et librum commentarium adiecit. II. editio auctior et emendatior. Parisiis, MDCIX.

Ill-digested learning, with much irrelevance, but useful in several places.

C. Sol. Apollin. Sidonii opera, lac. Sirmondi cura et studio recognita notisque illustrata. Editio secunda. Parisiis, MDCLII.

A masterpiece, invaluable for its notes on subject-matter: the only pity is that they are not more numerous. The commentary is reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, LVIII.

There are some useful notes in the edition with French translation by Grégoire and Collombet, 3 vols., Lyon-Paris, 1836, but as the text is antiquated and the translation contemptible, the work is of no great value.

TRANSLATIONS.

Sidonius has very seldom been translated into any language. The only rendering worth mention is a translation into English of the letters alone by O. M. Dalton, 2 vols., Oxford, 1915. This translation, though it does not profess to follow the Latin closely, has been justly welcomed by students of Sidonius. It is accompanied by a valuable introduction and some helpful notes. Besides the effort of Grégoire and Collombet, mentioned above, there is another French translation (not markedly superior) by Baret in Nisard's *Collection des auteurs latins* (with text: along with Ausonius and Venantius Fortunatus), Paris, 1887.

LIFE AND WORKS OF SIDONIUS.

Chaix, L. -A. *Saint Sidoine Apollinaire et son siècle*. 2 vols. Clermont-Ferrand, 1866.

Uncritical, but of considerable value.

Fertig, M. *Cajus Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius* “*seine Zeit, nach seinen JVerken dargestellt*.” 3 parts. Wiirzburg, 1845-6, Passau, 1848. Germain, A. *Essai littéraire et historique sur Apollinaris Sidonius*. Paris, 1840.

Kaufmann, G. *Die Werke des Cajus Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius als eine Quelle fur die Geschichte seiner Zeit*. Gottingen, 1864. Mommsen, T. *Apollinaris Sidonius* “*seine Zeit*.”

In *Reden u. Aufsätze*, Berlin, 1905 etc.

Also in Luetjohann's edition; see above.

Stevens, C. E. *Sidonius Apollinaris and his Age*. Oxford, 1933.

A stimulating and valuable work, to which every reader must feel much indebted, even if he cannot everywhere agree with the author.

There are useful articles on Sidonius in the Herzog-Hauck *Realencyclopädie fur protestantische Théologie und Kircke* (by Arnold), the Pauly-Wissowa *Real-encycl d. klass. Altertumsrvissenschaft* (by Klotz), the histories of Latin Literature by Teuffel (vol. 3, 6th ed by Kroll and Skutsch) and Schanz-Hosius-Krüger (IV. 2); also in Ebert's *Allgemeine Gesch d. Litteratur d. Mittelalters im Abendlaride*, 2nd ed., vol. I, pp. 419-448.

HISTORY AND CIVILISATION OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

Bury, J. B. *History of the later Roman Empire*. Vol. I, London, 1923.

Cambridge Medieval History. Vol. I. 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1924.

Dill, S. *Roman Society in the last Century of the Western Empire*. 2nd ed., Lond., 1899, etc.

A very readable and illuminating work, with some excellent pages on Sidonius and his times.

Duchesne, L. *Early History of the Christian Church*, Vol. III. Translated by C. Jenkins. London, 1924.

Fauriel, C. *Histoire de la Gaule méridionale sous les conquérants germains*. Vol. I, Paris, 1836.

Gibbon. *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, cc. 35 and 36 (in vols. III and IV of Bury's edition, Lond., 1909).

This part scarcely shows Gibbon at his best.

Hodgkin, T. *Italy and her Invaders*. Vols. I and (especially) II. 2nd ed., Lond., 1892.

Marked by good sense and an absence of the vagueness and evasiveness too often found in historical works on the fifth century.

Roger, M. *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin*. Paris, 1910.

Seeck, O. *Geschichte d. Untergangs d. Antiken Welt*. Vol. VI. Stuttgart, 1920. Also articles in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, on various personages, e.g. Avitus, Anthemius, Euric.

Seeck's work is valuable, but prejudiced and often unreliable.

Stein, E. *Geschichte d. spät-römischen Reiches*. I Band. Vienna, 1928.

A very able and important work, though one may not always agree with it.

Sundwall, J. *West-römische Studien*. Berlin, 1915.

With a valuable prosopography of the fifth century.

THE LANGUAGE OF SIDONIUS.

No comprehensive treatment of this subject exists.

Besides Grupe's contribution to Luetjohann's edition the following pamphlets may be mentioned:

Engelbrecht, A. *Untersuchungen uher die Sprache des Claudianus Mamertus*. Vienna, 1885.

Grupe, E. *Zur Sprache d. Apoll. Sidonius*. Zabern, 1892.

Stresses the influence of legal language on the vocabulary of Sidonius.

Kretschmann, H. *De latinitate C. Sollii Apoll. Sidonii*. 2 parts. Memel, 1870, 1872.

Mohr, P. *Zu Apoll. Sidonius*. Bremerhaven, 1886.

Müller, M. *De Apoll. Sidonii latinitate*. Halle, 1888.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Bitschofsky, R. *De C. Sollii Apoll. Sidonii studiis Statianis*. Vienna, 1881.

Brakman, G. *Sidoniana et Boethiana*. Utrecht, 1904.

Geisler, E. *De Apoll. Sidonii studiis*. Breslau, 1885.

Holland, R. *Studia Sidoniana*. Leipzig, 1905. Kraemer, M. *Res libraria cadentis antiquitatis Ausonii et Apoll. Sidonii exemplis illustrata*. Marburg, 1909.

Schuster, M. *De C. Sollii Apoll. Sidonii imitationibus studiisque Horatianis*. Vienna etc., 1908. Semple, W. H. *Quaestiones exegeticae Sidoniana*. Cambridge, 1930.

Discusses the interpretation of various passages. A very helpful work.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXTUAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

add. = *addidi(t)*.

C.M.H. = *Cambridge Medieval History*.

Class. Quart, loc cit. — *Classical Quarterly* xxviii. (January, 1934). *codd.* = *codices*, i.e. all the MSS. (or all the other MSS.) whose readings seem worth recording *def.* = *défendit*. *dist.* — *distinnxi(t)* (“punctuated”). *edit.* = *editio*.

Other abbreviations, when not self-evident, refer to authorities mentioned in the bibliographical part of the Introduction.

SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS by Henry Wace



From 'Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature'

SIDONIUS (2) APOLLINARIS, St. His grandfather Apollinaris had been praefectus praetorio of Gaul under the rival emperor Constantine, a.d. 408 (Zos. vi. 4; Olympiodorus, *ap. Phot. Bibl.*, ed. Bekker), and was the first of the family to become a Christian. An epitaph written by his grandson for his tomb

near Lyons speaks of him in the highest terms, especially on this account. His great-grandfather held a high official situation (Sid. *Ep.* iii. 12, i. 3); his father was a tribune and a notary or secretary under Honorius, and under Valentinian III. became praefectus praetorio of Aquitania I. a.d. 449 (*ib.* iii. 1, v. 9, viii. 6).

First Period, 431–471. — Sidonius was born Nov. 5, 431 or 432, probably at Lyons (*Carm.* xx. 1). He was apparently educated at that then famous seat of education, in the same school as his cousin Avitus. Soon after he was 20 years old he married Papianilla, only daughter of Flavius Eparchius Avitus, a native of Auvergne, who was praefectus praetorio at Arles from 439 to 443. Avitus, a soldier, diplomatist and lover of nature and literature, retired after 451 to his own house and patrimonial estate at Avitacum, near the modern Clermont (*ib.* vii. 230, 316, 339, 460, etc.). Avitus had two sons, Ecdicius and Agricola, with whom, after his marriage, Sidonius lived on most friendly and affectionate terms. He had a son Apollinaris and two daughters, Roscia and Severiana. A letter is extant, addressed to Apollinaris when almost 16 years old, commending his blameless behaviour, and warning him against the bad example and vicious society of some profligates at Lyons, where he was studying (*Ep.* iii. 13). There is also a letter to Agricola, mingling tender feeling with quiet humour, excusing himself from joining a fishing excursion as his daughter Severiana was alarmingly ill, on whose behalf, as well as his own, he begs Agricola's prayers. He expresses his firm trust in Christ as his best support (*Ep.* ii. 12). On the death of Maximus, Avitus was proclaimed emperor at Toulouse and at Beaucaire, a.d. 455, and was followed to Rome by his son-in-law, who pronounced on him a panegyric poem of 602 hexameter lines on Jan. 1, 456 (*Carm.* vii. 369–404, 510–572), and as a reward received the honour of a brazen statue in the basilica of Trajan, in a space between the two libraries. The reign of Avitus ended in 456. Majorian, who became emperor, crossed the Alps, defeated the Burgundian invaders, captured Lyons, imposing hard conditions and heavy taxes on the citizens, which he was induced to remit (Mar. 459) by a florid panegyric in 603 hexameters pronounced by Sidonius and some elegiac verses addressed to him and to his

principal secretary Peter, a man ambitious of literary renown, whom Sidonius calls his Maecenas. Sidonius obtained also, perhaps somewhat later, the office of count of the Palace (*Ep.* i. ii; *Carm.* iii. iv. v. xiii.). In 460, when the emperor was holding his court at Arles, and had gathered round him the most eminent literary men Of Gaul, Domnulus, Lampridius, and Severianus, Sidonius distinguished himself by an improvised poem in praise of a book by secretary Peter. From 461 to 465 Sidonius appears to have lived in retirement from public business, but fulfilling his part as a great landed proprietor at Avitacum of a possession into which he came in right of his wife on the death of Avitus, and which he describes enthusiastically, in a letter written in the style of Pliny to his friend Domitius. His description of the house and grounds is very pleasing and picturesque, its trees and underwood, its lake, fountains, and cascade.

Several letters to friends belong to this period, especially one to Eriphius, a citizen of Lyons, perhaps a.d. 461, describing a church gathering in commemoration of St. Justus at Lyons on Sept. 2, the procession before daybreak, the large congregation of both sexes, the psalms sung antiphonally by monks and clerks, the Eucharistic celebration, the great heat caused by the crowd and the number of lights, cooled after a time by the autumnal morning.

When Anthemius became emperor, a.d. 467, he sent for Sidonius to Rome, on business which the people of Auvergne deputed him to manage on their behalf. Under the favour of Christ, as he says, he undertook the mission, his expenses being provided by the imperial treasury. At Rome he stayed at the house of Paulus, a man of prefectorian rank, possessing literary and scientific ability, who persuaded him, as likely to promote his own interests, to celebrate the inauguration of Anthemius the new consul by a poem. The result was a panegyric in 548 hexameters. This was rewarded by the high office of prefect of the senate and of the city of Rome, of which he writes in a tone of gratified ambition to Philimatus. He remained at Rome until 469, and then retired to Gaul, residing partly at Lyons and partly at Avitacum. Towards the end of that year or the beginning of 470, the province of Lugdunensis I. was surrendered by Anthemius to the Burgundians as the price of their assistance against the Visigoths (*Tillem. Emp.* vi.) These barbarians Sidonius describes as less ferocious than other German races, but complains of their perverse ways, revolting and odious to those over whom they domineered. Of their ruler (tetrarches) Chilperic II., and his wife Agrippina, he speaks more favourably (*Ep.* v. 7; *Carm.* xii.). About this time a new church was erected at Lyons through the exertions of bp. Patiens, for whom Sidonius had the most affectionate reverence. He was present at the dedication, which he describes in hendecasyllables (*Ep.* ii. 10). At the request of bp. Perpetuus he wrote an elegiac inscription for the church of St. Martin at Tours, which Perpetuus had enlarged (*Ep.* iv. 18).

Second Period, 471–475. — Threatened by invasion and surrounded by enemies political and religious (for Euric, the Visigothic king, whose capital

was Toulouse, was a zealous supporter of Arian doctrine and persecuted the Catholics with great severity), the people of Clermont, when their bishop, Eparchius, died, a.d. 471, united in a clamorous demand that Sidonius should succeed him. He was not in holy orders, but had shewn himself without ostentation a devout Christian, though a somewhat flexible and elastic politician. His ability was beyond question; as a man of letters he stood in the foremost rank; he held a high place, probably the highest, among the landed proprietors of his province, whose interests he was firm and patriotic in upholding, and had taken an active part more than once on behalf of its inhabitants, in which also he had been ably and zealously supported by his friends, of whom, both in military and civil

affairs, Ecdicius, his wife's brother, held the chief place in the district (Greg. Tur. ii. 21). Fully aware of his own deficiencies, he accepted the office unwillingly, begging his friends, among them Fonteius bp. of Vaison, Euphronius bp. of Autun, Leontius bp. of Arles, and Lupus bp. of Troyes, who wrote to congratulate him on his appointment, to pray for him (*Epp.* v. 3; vi. 1, 3, 7; vii. 8, 9; ix. 2). From this time he gave up writing verses of a light kind, as ill-suited to his time of life and the gravity of his office (*Ep.* ix. 12). But at his friends' requests he criticized compositions and wrote hymns in honour of martyrs. With his wife Papianilla, though there is no doubt of his undiminished affection for her, he probably, as is assumed by Sirmond, Tillemont, and others, lived on terms not of connubial but of fraternal intimacy; no evidence of this appears from his own writings. That they continued to live together is plain from the story told by Gregory of Tours, that she found fault with him for parting with his plate to give to the poor (Greg. Tur. ii. 22). He became a diligent student of Scripture, though disclaiming earnestly any ability as a commentator, and also of ecclesiastical writers, as Augustine, Jerome, Origen, etc. (*Epp.* viii. 4; ix. 2).

From 471 until 474, when Auvergne was first attacked formally by the Visigoth, it is not easy to fix accurately all the dates of events or of letters.

After he came to the throne of Toulouse in 466 Euric lost no opportunity of increasing his dominions by aggression upon the Roman. During 473, or early in 474, the province of Berry fell to him, and he took advantage of the weakness of the Roman empire after the death of Anthemius to extend his dominion towards the Rhone and the Loire; Auvergne being now the only province remaining to the Romans W. of the Rhone and in constant danger of invasion. No formal attack, however, took place until the autumn of 474. At some time in 474, as it seems, Avitus, brother-in-law of Sidonius, endowed the see of Clermont with a farm called Cuticiacum (Cunhiae), not far from the city, and in the letter mentioning this Sidonius speaks also of the threatened invasion and of his confidence in Avitus in case of negotiation (*Ep.* iii. 1). Meanwhile, as the autumn advanced, the Visigoths entered the territory of Auvergne, and communication with distant places became more difficult. In preparations to resist the enemy Sidonius acted as a leader of the people, and

was greatly assisted by his brother-in-law Ecdicius, who with a handful of cavalry attacked and defeated a large force of the enemy. They retired at the end of 474 or beginning of 475, but not so completely as to remove the apprehension of future attack or the necessity for watch to be kept on the walls during the snowy days and dark nights of winter (*Ep.* iii. 7). A brief truce with the Visigothic king appears to have been arranged early in 475, perhaps through the agency of Epiphanius, bp. of Pavia. During this temporary cessation of hostilities a report became current that Euric had invaded the Roman territory of Auvergne, and Sidonius summoned his people to join in acts of fasting and prayer conducted like the Rogations instituted, or rather revived and reorganized, some years previously by Mamertus, bp. of Vienne, and of which, in a letter to him, he recounts the history. He also begs the prayers of the bishop and his flock for the people of Auvergne, and as a claim upon their attention mentions the transfer to Vienne at some previous time of the remains of Ferreolus and the head of Julian, both of them martyrs and natives of Auvergne. He also wrote to his friend Aper, entreating him as a citizen of Clermont to leave his warm baths at *Aquae Calidae* and come to Clermont to take part in the solemn service (*Epp.* v. 14; vii. 1; *Greg. Tur. Hist. Fr.* ii. 11, *de Mirac.* ii. 1, 2; "Rogation Days," *D. C. A.* vol. ii. ; *Baron. ann.* 475, xii.–xxi.; *Tillem.* vol. xvi. p. 248). No actual invasion of Auvergne appears to have occurred, and negotiations, in which bps. Basilius of Aix, Faustus of Riez, Graecus of Marseilles, and Leontius of Arles, were among the acting counsellors, ultimately resulted in the surrender of Auvergne to the Visigoths. It was probably during these negotiations that Euric, a zealous partisan of the Arian heresy, whose hostility in this direction, Sidonius says, he feared more than his attacks on Roman fortifications, deprived of their sees and in many cases put to death or banished many bishops in the regions subject to him, allowing no successors to be appointed. Churches were overthrown, their sites overrun by animals, Christian discipline destroyed; and writing to Basilius, Sidonius implores him, as in touch with the political negotiators, to obtain permission for the exercise of episcopal ordination (*Ep.* vii. 6).

The surrender of Auvergne, marking as it did the utter prostration of Roman influence, was a heavy blow to Sidonius, and he wrote to Graecus, bp. of Marseilles, recounting the unswerving loyalty of the Auvergnians and their sufferings during the siege, and inveighing bitterly against the selfish policy which, to secure for a time only the districts in which the negotiators were interested, had handed over the faithful province of Auvergne for punishment to the enemy. The remonstrance was fruitless, and Auvergne passed to the Visigoth. It was placed under a governor named Victorius, with the title of Count, who appears at first to have behaved with real or affected moderation (*Greg. Tur. Hist. Fr.* ii. 20; *Sid. Ep.* vii. 17; *Chaix*, ii. 290).

Third Period, a.d. 475–489. — Sidonius was soon banished for a time to a fort named Livia, probably Capendu, about ten miles from Carcassonne on the

road to Narbonne (*Epp.* viii. 3; ix. 3; Vaissette, *Hist. de Languedoc*, V. vol. i.). Some of the inconveniences he suffered there are described in his letters to Faustus, bp. of Riez, and to a friend, Leo, a native of Narbonne and of Roman origin, but filling a high office under Euric. They consisted chiefly in the annoyance caused by his neighbours, two quarrelsome drunken old Gothic women (*Ep.* viii. 3). Through Leo's influence he soon obtained release from confinement, but his return to Clermont was delayed by an enforced sojourn at Bordeaux, whither he went to seek from Euric authority for recovering the inheritance belonging to

him in right of his mother-in-law. Two months passed before Euric would grant him an interview, nor do we know its result.

In no letter does he speak of opposition or personal ill-treatment, and the tone of his later letters is cheerful, and he appears from the last of them to have met with no hindrance in his episcopal duties except from weather. Gregory of Tours relates that, in the later years of his life, he was much annoyed by two priests, probably of Arian opinions, whose names he does not mention, but said by Chaix, though without citing any authority, to have been Honorius and Hermanchius. These men, Gregory says, succeeded in preventing him exercising his episcopal functions and even in reducing him to extreme poverty; but after the death of Honorius he was restored to his office, and being attacked by fever, desired to be carried into the church of St. Mary, and there, after speaking words of love to his people, and pointing out Aprunculus, bp. of Langres, as fit to be his successor, he died, though not, apparently, in the church, Aug. 489. He was buried in the chapel of St. Saturninus, in the centre of Clermont, beside his predecessor Eparchius, and an epitaph in hendecasyllabic verse by an unknown author was placed near his tomb with the date, "XII. Kal. Sept. Zenone imperatore." This has disappeared, but a copy is preserved in a MS. of the abbey of Cluny.

A gentleman of easy fortune living in the country, Sidonius entered eagerly into its employments and active amusements, but was also keenly sensible of the more refined and tranquil pleasures derived from natural objects. He exerted without scruple a lordly influence over his own dependants in the province, sometimes in a high-handed and peremptory manner, but usually with kindness and consideration. Affectionate and constant to his friends, he loved to give and receive hospitality, and some of his most agreeable letters describe such social gatherings. His eulogies were poured forth without stint or discrimination, alike on Avitus, Majorian, and Anthemius, and even Nepos did not fail to obtain a small share. He has compliments at fitting seasons, direct or indirect, for Euric and his wife. A poet laureate by nature, he must be regarded as a pliant politician, but he never forgot his duty as a patriotic citizen. Faithful to his countrymen, whether by birth as of Lyons, or of adoption as in Auvergne, he never failed to plead their cause, uphold their interests, denounce their oppressors, and stand by them against injustice or hostile invasion, nor need we wonder that his memory should be revered by

them as that of a saint. Invested against his will, and without previous preparation, with the episcopate, he laboured hard to repair the deficiencies of which he was conscious. He shrank from no duty, personal trouble, or responsibility, and in times of extreme difficulty shewed courage, prudence, and discretion. His character and abilities commanded the respect and cordial affection of the best men of his time, as Basilus, Felix, Graecus, Lupus, Patiens, Principius, Remigius, as well as Leo and Arbogastes, and many others; and though he did not shrink from remonstrating gravely and even bitterly with some of them, especially Graecus, he does not appear to have forfeited their esteem and affection. A man of kindly disposition, he treated his slaves with kindness and took pains to induce others to do likewise. He was friendly to Jews, employed them, and recommended them to the good offices of his friends.

Literary Character. — Though he shewed himself a sincere and devout Christian, both before and after he became bishop, it is as a man of letters that he will always be best known, for, as it has been observed, his writings are the best-furnished storehouse we possess of information as to the domestic life, the manners and habits of public men, and in some points the public events of his period. Gifted with a fatal facility of composition, his longer poems are remarkable more for adroit handling of unpoetical material than for poetry in its true sense, and deserve to a great extent the contemptuous judgment of Gibbon. Yet some of the shorter compositions, especially those in hendecasyllabic metre, are more successful, and touch scenes and characters with a light and discerning hand. His letters, though often turgid and pedantic, defaced by an artificial phraseology and abounding in passages of great obscurity, often describe persons, objects, and transactions in a very lively and picturesque manner.

The ed. of his works by M. Eugène Baret (Paris, 1879) has an extremely valuable introduction, containing remarks on the times and state of society, and lists of grammatical forms, words, and phrases used by Sidonius, illustrating the transition state of the Latin language, and some peculiar to himself; also an attempt to settle the chronology of the letters, a task of great difficulty. The best ed. is by Lütjohann, in *Monum. Germ. Hist. Auct. Antiquiss.* (Berlin, 1887), viii., and a smaller ed. is by P. Mohr (Leipz. 1895).

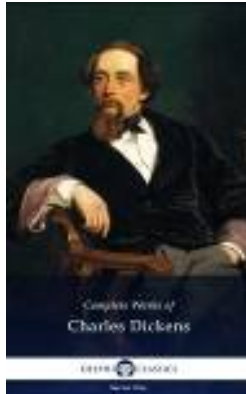
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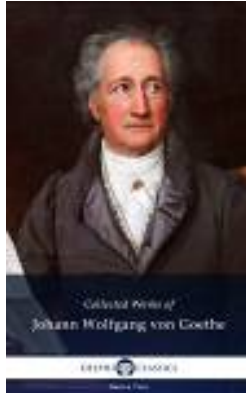
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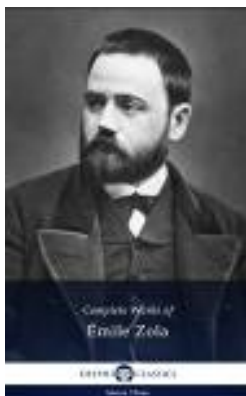
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Jack London
James Joyce
Jane Austen
Joseph Conrad
Leo Tolstoy
Louisa May Alcott
Mark Twain

Oscar Wilde
Robert Louis Stevenson
Sir Arthur Conan Doyle
Sir Walter Scott
The Brontës
Thomas Hardy
Virginia Woolf
Wilkie Collins
William Makepeace Thackeray



Series Two

Alexander Pushkin
Alexandre Dumas (English)
Andrew Lang
Anthony Trollope
Bram Stoker
Christopher Marlowe
Daniel Defoe
Edith Wharton
F. Scott Fitzgerald
G. K. Chesterton
Gustave Flaubert (English)
H. Rider Haggard
Herman Melville
Honoré de Balzac (English)
J. W. von Goethe (English)
Jules Verne
L. Frank Baum
Lewis Carroll
Marcel Proust (English)
Nathaniel Hawthorne
Nikolai Gogol
O. Henry
Rudyard Kipling
Tobias Smollett
Victor Hugo
William Shakespeare



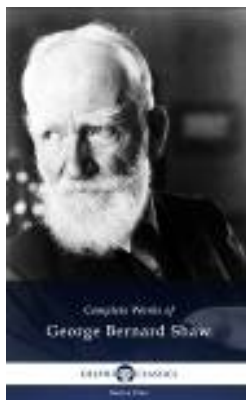
Series Three

Ambrose Bierce
Ann Radcliffe
Ben Jonson
Charles Lever
Émile Zola
Ford Madox Ford
Geoffrey Chaucer
George Gissing
George Orwell
Guy de Maupassant
H. P. Lovecraft
Henrik Ibsen
Henry David Thoreau
Henry Fielding
J. M. Barrie
James Fenimore Cooper
John Buchan
John Galsworthy
Jonathan Swift
Kate Chopin
Katherine Mansfield
L. M. Montgomery
Laurence Sterne
Mary Shelley
Sheridan Le Fanu
Washington Irving



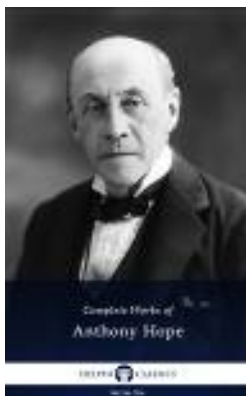
Series Four

Arnold Bennett
Arthur Machen
Beatrix Potter
Bret Harte
Captain Frederick Marryat
Charles Kingsley
Charles Reade
G. A. Henty
Edgar Rice Burroughs
Edgar Wallace
E. M. Forster
E. Nesbit
George Meredith
Harriet Beecher Stowe
Jerome K. Jerome
John Ruskin
Maria Edgeworth
M. E. Braddon
Miguel de Cervantes
M. R. James
R. M. Ballantyne
Robert E. Howard
Samuel Johnson
Stendhal
Stephen Crane
Zane Grey



Series Five

Algernon Blackwood
Anatole France
Beaumont and Fletcher
Charles Darwin
Edward Bulwer-Lytton
Edward Gibbon
E. F. Benson
Frances Hodgson Burnett
Friedrich Nietzsche
George Bernard Shaw
George MacDonald
Hilaire Belloc
John Bunyan
John Webster
Margaret Oliphant
Maxim Gorky
Oliver Goldsmith
Radclyffe Hall
Robert W. Chambers
Samuel Butler
Samuel Richardson
Sir Thomas Malory
Thomas Carlyle
William Harrison Ainsworth
William Dean Howells
William Morris



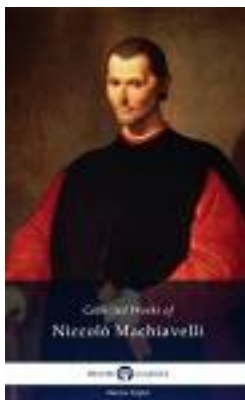
Series Six

Anthony Hope
Aphra Behn
Arthur Morrison
Baroness Emma Orczy
Captain Mayne Reid
Charlotte M. Yonge
Charlotte Perkins Gilman
E. W. Hornung
Ellen Wood
Frances Burney
Frank Norris
Frank R. Stockton
Hall Caine
Horace Walpole
One Thousand and One Nights
R. Austin Freeman
Rafael Sabatini
Saki
Samuel Pepys
Sir Issac Newton
Stanley J. Weyman
Thomas De Quincey
Thomas Middleton
Voltaire
William Hazlitt
William Hope Hodgson



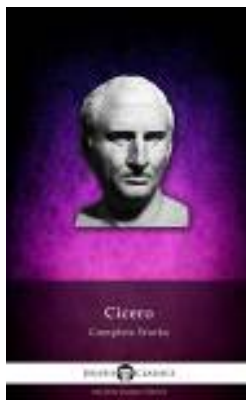
Series Seven

Adam Smith
Benjamin Disraeli
Confucius
David Hume
E. M. Delafield
E. Phillips Oppenheim
Edmund Burke
Ernest Hemingway
Frances Trollope
Galileo Galilei
Guy Boothby
Hans Christian Andersen
Ian Fleming
Immanuel Kant
Karl Marx
Kenneth Grahame
Lytton Strachey
Mary Wollstonecraft
Michel de Montaigne
René Descartes
Richard Marsh
Sax Rohmer
Sir Richard Burton
Talbot Mundy
Thomas Babington Macaulay
W. W. Jacobs



Series Eight

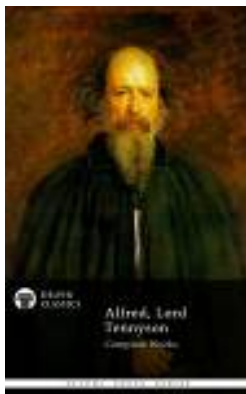
Anna Katharine Green
Arthur Schopenhauer
The Brothers Grimm
C. S. Lewis
Charles and Mary Lamb
Elizabeth von Arnim
Ernest Bramah
Francis Bacon
Gilbert and Sullivan
Grant Allen
Henryk Sienkiewicz
Hugh Walpole
Jean-Jacques Rousseau
John Locke
John Muir
Joseph Addison
Lafcadio Hearn
Lord Dunsany
Marie Corelli
Niccolò Machiavelli
Ouida
Richard Brinsley Sheridan
Sigmund Freud
Theodore Dreiser
Walter Pater
W. Somerset Maugham



Ancient Classics

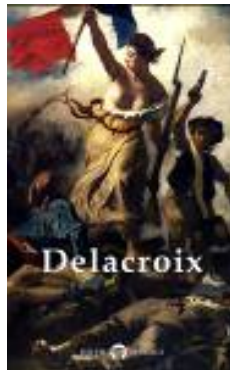
Achilles Tatius
Aeschylus
Ammianus Marcellinus
Apollodorus
Appian
Apuleius
Apollonius of Rhodes
Aristophanes
Aristotle
Arrian
Augustine
Aulus Gellius
Bede
Cassius Dio
Cato
Catullus
Cicero
Clement of Alexandria
Cornelius Nepos
Demosthenes
Diodorus Siculus
Diogenes Laërtius
Euripides
Frontius
Herodotus
Hesiod
Hippocrates
Homer
Horace
Isocrates
Josephus
Julius Caesar
Juvenal
Livy
Longus
Lucan
Lucian

Lucretius
Marcus Aurelius
Martial
Nonnus
Ovid
Pausanias
Petronius
Pindar
Plato
Plautus
Pliny the Elder
Pliny the Younger
Plotinus
Plutarch
Polybius
Procopius
Propertius
Ptolemy
Quintus Curtius Rufus
Quintus Smyrnaeus
Sallust
Sappho
Seneca the Younger
Septuagint
Sidonius
Sophocles
Statius
Strabo
Suetonius
Tacitus
Terence
Theocritus
Thucydides
Tibullus
Virgil
Xenophon



A. E. Housman
Alexander Pope
Alfred, Lord Tennyson
Algernon Charles Swinburne
Andrew Marvell
Beowulf
Charlotte Smith
Christina Rossetti
D. H. Lawrence (poetry)
Dante Alighieri (English)
Dante Gabriel Rossetti
Delphi Poetry Anthology
Edgar Allan Poe (poetry)
Edmund Spenser
Edward Lear
Edward Thomas
Edwin Arlington Robinson
Ella Wheeler Wilcox
Elizabeth Barrett Browning
Emily Dickinson
Ezra Pound
Friedrich Schiller (English)
George Chapman
George Herbert
Gerard Manley Hopkins
Gertrude Stein
Hafez
Heinrich Heine
Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow
Isaac Rosenberg
James Russell Lowell
Johan Ludvig Runeberg
John Clare
John Donne
John Dryden
John Keats
John Milton
John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester
Joseph Addison
Leigh Hunt
Lord Byron
Ludovico Ariosto
Luís de Camões
Matthew Arnold
Matthew Prior
Michael Drayton
Nikolai Nekrasov
Percy Bysshe Shelley
Petrarch
Ralph Waldo Emerson
Robert Browning
Robert Burns

Robert Frost
Robert Southey
Rumi
Rupert Brooke
Samuel Taylor Coleridge
Sir Philip Sidney
Sir Thomas Wyatt
Sir Walter Raleigh
Thomas Chatterton
Thomas Gray
Thomas Hardy (poetry)
Thomas Hood
Thomas Moore
Torquato Tasso
T. S. Eliot
W. B. Yeats
Walter Savage Landor
Walt Whitman
Wilfred Owen
William Blake
William Cowper
William Wordsworth

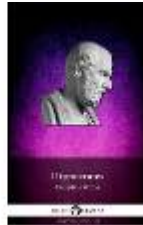


Masters of Art

Albrecht Dürer
Amedeo Modigliani
Artemisia Gentileschi
Camille Pissarro
Canaletto
Caravaggio
Caspar David Friedrich
Claude Lorrain
Claude Monet
Dante Gabriel Rossetti
Diego Velázquez
Edgar Degas
Édouard Manet
Edvard Munch

Eugène Delacroix
 Francisco Goya
 Giotto
 Giovanni Bellini
 Gustave Courbet
 Gustav Klimt
 J. M. W. Turner
 Johannes Vermeer
 John Constable
 Leonardo da Vinci
 Michelangelo
 Paul Cézanne
 Paul Gauguin
 Paul Klee
 Peter Paul Rubens
 Piero della Francesca
 Pierre-Auguste Renoir
 Pieter Bruegel the Elder
 Sandro Botticelli
 Raphael
 Rembrandt van Rijn
 Thomas Gainsborough
 Tintoretto
 Titian
 Vincent van Gogh
 Wassily Kandinsky

Alphabetical List of Titles



A. E. Housman
 Achilles Tatius
 Adam Smith
 Aeschylus
 Albrecht Dürer
 Alexander Pope
 Alexander Pushkin
 Alexandre Dumas (English)
 Alfred, Lord Tennyson
 Algernon Blackwood
 Algernon Charles Swinburne
 Ambrose Bierce
 Amedeo Modigliani
 Ammianus Marcellinus
 Anatole France

Andrew Lang
Andrew Marvell
Ann Radcliffe
Anna Katharine Green
Anthony Hope
Anthony Trollope
Anton Chekhov
Aphra Behn
Apollodorus
Apollonius of Rhodes
Appian
Apuleius
Aristophanes
Aristotle
Arnold Bennett
Arrian
Artemisia Gentileschi
Arthur Machen
Arthur Morrison
Arthur Schopenhauer
Augustine
Aulus Gellius
Baroness Emma Orczy
Beatrix Potter
Beaumont and Fletcher
Bede
Ben Jonson
Benjamin Disraeli
Beowulf
Bram Stoker
Bret Harte
C. S. Lewis
Camille Pissarro
Canaletto
Captain Frederick Marryat
Captain Mayne Reid
Caravaggio
Caspar David Friedrich
Cassius Dio
Cato
Catullus
Charles and Mary Lamb
Charles Darwin
Charles Dickens
Charles Kingsley
Charles Lever
Charles Reade
Charlotte M. Yonge
Charlotte Perkins Gilman
Charlotte Smith
Christina Rossetti
Christopher Marlowe
Cicero

Claude Lorrain
Claude Monet
Clement of Alexandria
Confucius
Cornelius Nepos
D. H Lawrence (poetry)
D.H. Lawrence
Daniel Defoe
Dante Alighieri (English)
Dante Gabriel Rossetti
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David Hume
Delphi Poetry Anthology
Demosthenes
Dickensiana Volume I
Diego Velázquez
Diodorus Siculus
Diogenes Laërtius
E. F. Benson
E. M. Delafield
E. M. Forster
E. Nesbit
E. Phillips Oppenheim
E. W. Hornung
Edgar Allan Poe
Edgar Allan Poe (poetry)
Edgar Degas
Edgar Rice Burroughs
Edgar Wallace
Edith Wharton
Edmund Burke
Edmund Spenser
Édouard Manet
Edvard Munch
Edward Bulwer-Lytton
Edward Gibbon
Edward Lear
Edward Thomas
Edwin Arlington Robinson
Elizabeth Barrett Browning
Elizabeth Gaskell
Elizabeth von Arnim
Ella Wheeler Wilcox
Ellen Wood
Émile Zola
Emily Dickinson
Ernest Bramah
Ernest Hemingway
Eugène Delacroix
Euripides
Ezra Pound
F. Scott Fitzgerald
Ford Madox Ford

Frances Burney
Frances Hodgson Burnett
Frances Trollope
Francis Bacon
Francisco Goya
Frank Norris
Frank R. Stockton
Friedrich Nietzsche
Friedrich Schiller (English)
Frontius
Fyodor Dostoyevsky
G. A. Henty
G. K. Chesterton
Galileo Galilei
Geoffrey Chaucer
George Bernard Shaw
George Chapman
George Eliot
George Gissing
George Herbert
George MacDonald
George Meredith
George Orwell
Gerard Manley Hopkins
Gertrude Stein
Gilbert and Sullivan
Giotto
Giovanni Bellini
Grant Allen
Gustav Klimt
Gustave Courbet
Gustave Flaubert (English)
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Guy de Maupassant
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H. P. Lovecraft
H. Rider Haggard
Hafez
Hall Caine
Hans Christian Andersen
Harriet Beecher Stowe
Heinrich Heine
Henrik Ibsen
Henry David Thoreau
Henry Fielding
Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey
Henry James
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow
Henryk Sienkiewicz
Herman Melville
Herodotus
Hesiod
Hilaire Belloc

Hippocrates
Homer
Honoré de Balzac (English)
Horace
Horace Walpole
Hugh Walpole
Ian Fleming
Immanuel Kant
Isaac Rosenberg
Isocrates
Ivan Turgenev
J. M. Barrie
J. M. W. Turner
J. W. von Goethe (English)
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James Fenimore Cooper
James Joyce
James Russell Lowell
Jane Austen
Jean-Jacques Rousseau
Jerome K. Jerome
Johan Ludvig Runeberg
Johannes Vermeer
John Buchan
John Bunyan
John Clare
John Constable
John Donne
John Dryden
John Galsworthy
John Keats
John Locke
John Milton
John Muir
John Ruskin
John Webster
John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester
Jonathan Swift
Joseph Addison
Joseph Addison
Joseph Conrad
Josephus
Jules Verne
Julius Caesar
Juvenal
Karl Marx
Kate Chopin
Katherine Mansfield
Kenneth Grahame
L. Frank Baum
L. M. Montgomery
Lafcadio Hearn
Laurence Sterne

Leigh Hunt
Leo Tolstoy
Leonardo da Vinci
Lewis Carroll
Livy
Longus
Lord Byron
Lord Dunsany
Louisa May Alcott
Lucan
Lucian
Lucretius
Ludovico Ariosto
Luís de Camões
Lytton Strachey
M. E. Braddon
M. R. James
Marcel Proust (English)
Marcus Aurelius
Margaret Oliphant
Maria Edgeworth
Marie Corelli
Mark Twain
Martial
Mary Shelley
Mary Wollstonecraft
Matthew Arnold
Matthew Prior
Maxim Gorky
Michael Drayton
Michel de Montaigne
Michelangelo
Miguel de Cervantes
Nathaniel Hawthorne
Niccolò Machiavelli
Nikolai Gogol
Nikolai Nekrasov
Nonnus
O. Henry
Oliver Goldsmith
One Thousand and One Nights
Oscar Wilde
Ouida
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Paul Cézanne
Paul Gauguin
Paul Klee
Pausanias
Percy Bysshe Shelley
Peter Paul Rubens
Petrarch
Petronius
Piero della Francesca

Pierre-Auguste Renoir
Pieter Bruegel the Elder
Pindar
Plato
Plautus
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Plutarch
Polybius
Procopius
Propertius
Ptolemy
Quintus Curtius Rufus
Quintus Smyrnaeus
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R. M. Ballantyne
Radclyffe Hall
Rafael Sabatini
Ralph Waldo Emerson
Raphael
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Richard Marsh
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Robert E. Howard
Robert Frost
Robert Louis Stevenson
Robert Southey
Robert W. Chambers
Rudyard Kipling
Rumi
Rupert Brooke
Saki
Sallust
Samuel Butler
Samuel Johnson
Samuel Pepys
Samuel Richardson
Samuel Taylor Coleridge
Sandro Botticelli
Sappho
Sax Rohmer
Seneca the Younger
Septuagint
Sheridan Le Fanu
Sidonius
Sigmund Freud
Sir Arthur Conan Doyle
Sir Issac Newton
Sir Philip Sidney

Sir Richard Burton
Sir Thomas Malory
Sir Thomas Wyatt
Sir Walter Raleigh
Sir Walter Scott
Sophocles
Stanley J. Weyman
Statius
Stendhal
Stephen Crane
Strabo
Suetonius
T. S. Eliot
Tacitus
Talbot Mundy
Terence
The Brontës
The Brothers Grimm
Theocritus
Theodore Dreiser
Thomas Babington Macaulay
Thomas Carlyle
Thomas Chatterton
Thomas De Quincey
Thomas Gainsborough
Thomas Gray
Thomas Hardy
Thomas Hardy (poetry)
Thomas Hood
Thomas Middleton
Thomas Moore
Thucydides
Tibullus
Tintoretto
Titian
Tobias Smollett
Torquato Tasso
Victor Hugo
Vincent van Gogh
Virgil
Virginia Woolf
Voltaire
W. B. Yeats
W. Somerset Maugham
W. W. Jacobs
Walt Whitman
Walter Pater
Walter Savage Landor
Washington Irving
Wassily Kandinsky
Wilfred Owen
Wilkie Collins
William Blake

William Cowper
William Dean Howells
William Harrison Ainsworth
William Hazlitt
William Hope Hodgson
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William Shakespeare
William Wordsworth
Xenophon
Zane Grey

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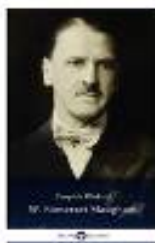
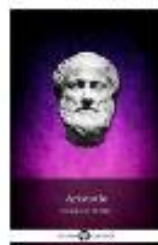
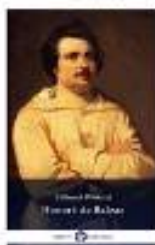
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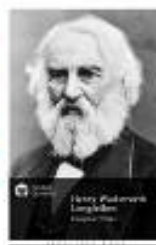
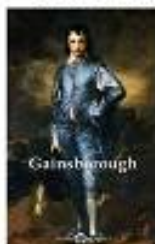
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